



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

B 1,299,733



1



James Oglethorpe

Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis:

A

COLLECTION OF SCARCE AND CURIOUS TRACTS,

RELATING TO THE

COUNTY AND CITY

OF

G L O U C E S T E R ;

ILLUSTRATIVE OF, AND PUBLISHED DURING

THE CIVIL WAR;

WITH

AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION, NOTES,

AND ; ;

AN APPENDIX.

GLOUCESTER:

PRINTED FOR THE EDITOR.

MDCCCXXV.

DA
670
G5
W3



1071

TO
HIS MOST SACRED MAJESTY
GEORGE THE FOURTH,
KING OF GREAT BRITAIN,
&c. &c. &c.

THIS WORK
IS
WITH HIS MAJESTY'S GRACIOUS PERMISSION,
MOST HUMBLY DEDICATED
. BY HIS MAJESTY'S
MOST LOYAL SUBJECT,
AND GRATEFUL
AND DEVOTED SERVANT,

JOHN WASHBOURN, JUN.

H. N. M.
E. E. M.
E. E. M.
H. E. M.

Hugh Taylor
Esq. Librarian

HISTORICAL RELATION *Gloucester*
OF THE
MILITARY GOVERNMENT
OF
G L O U C E S T E R.

BY JOHN CORBET.

To which is prefixed the Author's Life.

1. 2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

9.

10.

11.

12.

13.

14.

15.

16.

17.

18.

19.

Spaulding Mem. Coll.
harp
2-16-29
20438

BIOGRAPHICAL
AND
HISTORICAL MEMOIR
OF
JOHN CORBET.

THE subject of the present biographical sketch, though of humble origin, was one of the many who, in the most memorable of our revolutionary conflicts, attracted the notice of their countrymen, and raised themselves from obscurity by the outcry of "persecution," and by an unshaken adherence to their religious and political sentiments through every change of fortune. In these sentiments the mistaken rigour of their opponents did but the more confirm them, giving to their resolution the merit of consistency, and the renown of martyrdom, in "times deluded with imaginary inspiration*." John Corbet, the son of Roger Corbet, a shoemaker, was born in the city of Gloucester, in the year 1620, and having received his

* Atkyns.

education at a grammar school there, became, at the early age of sixteen, a batteller of Magdalen Hall, Oxford. Three years afterwards, in 1639, he was admitted bachelor of arts. After he had taken holy orders he preached at Gloucester, where we find him in the following year incumbent of St. Mary de Crypt, one of the city lecturers, and usher of Crypt grammar-school; in the latter office he was for some time the coadjutor of the still more celebrated, but less fortunate John Biddle, the distinguished Socinian, who was appointed master of the same school in 1641. When the civil war commenced, and the city was garrisoned, according to the revolutionary phrase, "for the king and parliament," Corbet, recommended by the anti-monarchical principles he had already ventured to profess, was nominated domestic chaplain to the new governor, Colonel Edward Massey; and the doctrines he promulgated leave no doubt of the sincerity and perfect devotedness with which he laboured in his vocation. The pulpit became the oracle of disloyalty: he lost no occasion of decrying the royal party, and several times declared, even on the most solemn occasions, that "nothing had so much deceived the world as the name of a king, which was the ground of all mischief to the church of Christ." Yet much allowance is assuredly to be made for the season in which such rebellious feelings were suffered to prevail, religious fanaticism and political zeal being at that period universally prevalent. Much also may be fairly ascribed to the ill-advised and irritating measures of a government,

which, "divided against itself," was inevitably doomed to fall. The same act of fatal weakness that gave the royal sanction to the death of Strafford, signed in effect the death warrant of the king. And when Corbet, though we are not his apologists, shall be decried as a revolutionary bigot, it should be remembered that he but trod at a humble distance in the track of the immortal Milton, whom Bayle, merging his poetical in his political character, has designated as "the famous apologist for the beheading of king Charles the First." But it is our purpose to shew the fitness of Corbet for the execution of the work we now republish; and rather to assert his claim to authenticity, than to enter into a defence of his motives, or a vindication of his conduct. We have seen from his official appointment that he was attached in his professional character to the establishment of the Governor Massey: hence he possessed peculiarly favourable opportunities of noticing the events connected with the siege of Gloucester, and of obtaining the best founded information of the state and progress of the civil war. Actively and personally engaged in many of the scenes he describes, and called upon in his station to incite a spirit of resistance to the loyalists, although his discourses were consequently marked with all the bitterness of invective, he appears in the composition of his record to have been actuated solely by the desire of truth; to have divested himself of prejudice and party feeling, and to have laboured anxiously, rather as a faithful narrator of the occurrences of that period, than as a vindicator of the

war in which the city of his birth had become so unfortunately involved ; “ for,” as he emphatically tells us, “ Gloucester did stand alone, without help and hope.” Hence it will be found that, whilst the main facts of Corbet’s military relation are incontrovertible, his statement, if not generally corroborated by the testimony of contemporary writers, is at least not invalidated by any historian of those perilous days. Nor should the forbearance with which he mentions the privations and sufferings of his fellow citizens be forgotten, any more than the modesty with which the achievements of his friend and patron Massey are recorded. He has contented himself with a simple detail, disinterestedly given; as if the soldier, whose triumph he commemorates, were to him an indifferent person ; and this too at a time when every official announcement made by the parliamentary interest in London was enthusiastic in praise of the governor’s bravery and skill.

In Corbet we find no bombastic eulogy, no fulsome adulation; although the man of whom he wrote was the main support of his fortunes: this is strong evidence of the sincerity with which he wrote, and entitles him to the utmost credit in his recital of the facts that passed within his observation, and of which he might say with the hero of the *Æneid*, “ *Quorum pars magna fui.*”

At the end of the war he removed from Gloucester, and we next hear of him as a preacher at Bridgewater, in Somersetshire, whence he removed to Chichester, where he was much frequented by schismatic people. He was

afterwards called to the richer cure of Bramshot, in Hampshire, from which he was, by the act of uniformity, ejected in the year 1662. He then retired to London, and lived in great privacy until the death of his first wife, of whose name and family we have no trace, neither of the period of his first marriage. Upon her decease, however, he went to live, most probably, as chaplain in the house of Sir John Micklethwaite, president of the college of physicians: he subsequently resided with Alderman Webb, and shortly afterwards married a daughter of Dr. William Twysse. Still dreading persecution, he retired to Totteridge, in Hertfordshire, where he lived very privately with his friend Baxter. On the publication of the license granted by Charles the Second, in 1671, he was invited by his old congregation to return to Chichester, where he preached with all his former popularity, and had a conference with Bishop Gunning on the topics which occasioned his non-conformity; but he was too deeply attached to the principles which prevailed during the usurpation, to yield in any point to the discipline of the church. He continued in the exercise of his functions until November, 1680, when being dreadfully afflicted with the gravel, he went to London to undergo a surgical operation, in the hope of obtaining relief; but expired soon after his arrival in the metropolis, in the sixtieth year of his age. He died on the 26th of December, 1680, and was buried in St. Andrew's, Holborn. A funeral sermon was preached on the occasion by Baxter,

who expressed a very high opinion of his learning, piety, and humility, declaring, that he was so blameless in all his conversation, that he never heard one person accuse or blame him, but for non-conformity.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY THE KING. L. P.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF YORK, L. P.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF SUSSEX, L. P.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND, L. P.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, L. P.

His Grace the Duke of Beaufort, large paper. The Right Hon. the Earl of Essex, large paper. The Right Hon. the Earl Somers, large paper. The Right Hon. the Lord Sydney. The Right Hon. the Lord Ducie, large paper. The Hon. and Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry. The Right Hon. Chas. Bragge Bathurst. Sir Berkeley Wm. Guise, Bart. M. P. large paper. Sir Christopher Bethel Codrington, Bart. large paper. Sir Thomas Crawley Boevey, Bart. Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart. London. Sir Thomas Phillips, Bart. Middle Hill, Worcestershire. Sir George Naylor, Knt. Garter King at Arms, London, large paper. Edward Webb, Esq. M. P. large paper. Robert Bransby Cooper, Esq. M. P. large paper. John Edmund Dowdeswell, Esq. M. P. large paper. S. B. M. Barrett, Esq. M. P. one large and one small paper. John Martin, Esq. M. P. London, large paper.	Rev. Dr. Hall, Vice Chancellor of Oxford, large paper. Rev. Archdeacon Rudge, B. D. large paper. Rev. Archdeacon Probyn, Manor House, Long Hope. Rev. Archdeacon Onslow, Newent, large paper. Hon. Miss Monson, Cheltenham. Hon. Mrs. Yorke, Forthampton Court, large paper. Richard Adey, Esq. Gloucester. Mr. Thomas Andrews, Gloucester. Wm. A. Beckett, Esq. Golden Square, London. Mr. Thomas Alder, Cheltenham. John Allen, Esq. London. Matthew Baillie, M. D. F. R. S. Cavendish Square, London. John Baron, M. D. F. R. S. Gloucester. Nehemiah Bartley, Esq. Bristol. John Bayley, Esq. F. A. S. Upper Harley Street, London. Mr. Wm. Baylis, Jun. Painswick. Mr. James Bennett, Tewkesbury. Colonel Berkeley, Berkeley Castle, large paper. Joseph Seymour Biscoe, Esq. Cheltenham, large paper. Thomas H. Bishop, Esq. Stroud.
---	--

- Thomas Blayney, Esq. Evesham,
 Mr. Bonnor, Solicitor, Gloucester.
 Joseph Boughton, Esq. Tewkesbury,
 large paper.
 Mr. Edward Bower, Gloucester.
 Devereux Bowly, Esq. Cirencester.
 Geo. Weare Braikenridge, Esq. Bristol.
 John Brown, Esq. Salperton, large
 paper.
 Mr. James Buchanan, Gloucester.
 Mr. Burrup, Solicitor, Gloucester.
 James H. Byles, Esq. Bowden Hall,
 large paper.
 Mr. Edmund Boughton, Gloucester.
 H. C. Boisragon, M. D. Cheltenham.
 Mr. John Bubb, Solicitor, Cheltenham.
 Mr. Burn, Maiden Lane, London.
 Mr. Edward Brown, Gloucester.
 Mr. Henry Bridges, Tewkesbury.
 Mr. James Bourne, Jun. Tansley Hill,
 near Dudley.
 Mr. Bumpass, London, two copies.

 Charles Owen Cambridge, Esq. Whit-
 minster House.
 Robert Canning, Esq. Hartpury Court.
 Mr. Capes, Fleet-street, London.
 Mr. Hodges Carter, Solicitor, Gloucester,
 large paper.
 Mr. Chadborn, Solicitor, Gloucester.
 Mr. Chadwick, Huntley, large paper,
 Captain Charleton, Gloucester.
 Thomas Christie, M. D. Cheltenham.
 Charles Church, Esq. Gloucester.
 Rev. B. S. Claxon, Gloucester, large
 paper.
 James Rose Clealand, Esq. Rath Gael
 House, Bangor, Ireland.
 Maynard Colchester, Esq. the Grange,
 large paper.
 Coleford Reading Society, large paper.
 J. Collard, Esq. Hempstead.
 Samuel Commeline, Esq. Gloucester.
 Rev. Samuel Commeline, Hempstead.
 Mr. Cooke, Sen. Bear Land, Gloucester.
 Chas. Turner Cooke, Esq. Gloucester.
 Mr. James Cooke, Gloucester.
 Mr. Henry Cooke, Gloucester.
 Mr. Charles Coventry, Dean Street,
 Soho, London.

 George Worrall Counsel, Esq. Gloucester,
 large paper.
 George Cox, Esq. Lincoln's-Inn.
 Mr. T. Critchley, Gloucester.
 Mr. J. M. Croad, Cheltenham.
 Robert Croome, Esq. Cirencester.
 Daniel Croome, Esq. Berkeley.
 Rev. Charles Crawley, Flaxley.
 Rev. R. D. Cumberland, Dryfield.
 Mr. Collings, Bath.
 Mr. Joseph Carter, Gloucester.
 George Chalmers, Esq. Cheltenham.

 Rev. James Dallaway, Earl Marshal's
 Secretary, London, large paper.
 Edward Davies, Esq. Stanley House,
 one large and one small paper.
 Rev. J. Davies, Painswick.
 Rev. Henry Douglas, Newland.
 General Dowdeswell, Pull Court, Worcester-
 shire, large paper.
 Mr. Samuel Dudfield, Gloucester, large
 paper.
 Messrs. Duffield and Weller, Chelten-
 ham, three copies.
 W. W. Darke, Esq. M. D. Stroud. L. P.
 Wm. Dillon, Esq. Mythe, Tewkesbury.
 Miss Delabere, Southam, large paper.

 John Easthope, Esq. Cadogan Place,
 Sloane-street, large paper.
 Wm. Viner Ellis, Esq. Minsterworth.
 Henry Elwes, Esq. Colesbourne.
 Thomas Edwards, Esq. Prestbury.

 Ralph Fletcher, Esq. Gloucester.
 Mr. Fowles, Pitchcomb.
 Captain Mackenzie Fraser, Upton-St.-
 Leonard's.
 Mr. Charles Frost, Bristol.
 Mr. Edward Fricker, Cheltenham.
 Samuel Favell, Esq. London.
 P. H. Fisher, Esq. Stonehouse Court.
 Samuel Fox, Esq. Osmaston Hall, Derby-
 shire.

 Thomas Gardner, Esq. Gloucester, large
 paper.
 Dr. Gibney, Cheltenham.
 Gloucester Permanent Library.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

vii

- S. Y. Griffith, Esq. Cheltenham.
 Mr. Griffiths, Solicitor, Cheltenham.
 Mr. William Gumm, Gloucester, two copies.
 Charles Greenaway, Esq. Barrington Grove, large paper.
 James Haffenden, Esq. Clearwell.
 Edward Haines, Esq. Daglingworth, large paper.
 Mr. Thos. Haines, Jun. Cheltenham.
 W. H. Halpin, Esq. Cheltenham.
 Rev. Charles Hardwick, Gloucester.
 H. Hicks, Esq. the Leaze, Eastington, large paper.
 John Phillimore Hicks, Esq. Eastington.
 Colonel Higgins, Equerry to his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, London.
 Rev. F. W. Holme, Meysey Hampton.
 Mr. Hough, Gloucester.
 Thomas Jones Howell, Esq. Judge Advocate, Gibraltar, large paper.
 Wm. H. Hyett, Esq. Painswick House, large paper.
 Mr. Giles Holl, Rickford, Somersetshire.
 J. Hawkins, Esq.
 Wm. Herbert, Esq. London.
 James Heane, Esq. Gloucester.
 Rev. J. Hurd, Naunton.
 Weston Hicks, Esq. Painswick.
 Jas. Holland, Esq. F.A.S. London.
 Mr. Jas. Horniblow, Tewkesbury, large paper.
 Robert Jackman, Esq. Coleford.
 W. Jackson, Esq. Inner Temple, London.
 Mr. J. Jenkins, Hereford.
 Thomas Jenkins, Esq. Gloucester.
 Edward Jenner, Esq. M.D. Berkeley, large paper.
 Mr. Thomas Jew, Gloucester.
 Rev. Edward Jones, Brockworth.
 Mr. John Jones, Leeds.
 Rev. Thomas Jones, Crypt School, Gloucester.
 Thomas Jones, Esq. Cheltenham.
 Captain J. Jones, Gloucester.
 P. Kelly, Esq. Solicitor, Cheltenham.
 Messrs. Knibb and Langbridge, Worcester, two copies.
 Chandos Leigh, Esq. Addlestrop, large paper.
 Mr. Lewis, Stamp Office, Gloucester.
 Mr. J. G. Lloyd, Sandhurst.
 Joseph Lloyd, Esq. Gunns Mills.
 John Lloyd, Esq. Kingscote, large paper.
 The Library of the London Institution,
 Joseph Longmore, Esq. Mythe Villa, Tewkesbury, large paper.
 Mr. Lovett, Solicitor, Cheltenham.
 Martin Wm. Lucas, Esq. Gloucester.
 Ebenezer Ludlow, Esq. Bristol.
 Wm. Leathley, Esq. Bedford Place, London.
 Nath. Lloyd, Esq. Winchcomb.
 Samuel Lovesey, Esq. Cheltenham.
 Edw. Machen, Esq. Whitemead Park.
 Mr. Major, Fleet-street, London.
 Rev. S. R. Maitland, Gloucester.
 Rev. W. F. Mansel, Sandhurst.
 C. H. Marshall, Esq. M.C. Cheltenham.
 Captain Martin, Gloucester.
 Mr. Wm. Martin, Birmingham.
 Lieut. Col. Mason, Gloucester.
 Captain Mathews, Cheltenham.
 Rev. Dr. Moore, Park Hill.
 Mr. John Moore, Tewkesbury.
 Rev. John Morse, Huntley.
 Mr. James Motley, Stoke Orchard.
 James Mutlow, Esq. York-street, Covent Garden, London.
 Samuel Mutlow, Esq. Gloucester, large paper.
 Wm. Mutlow, Esq. ditto, one large and five small paper.
 Rev. W. W. Mutlow, Gloucester, large paper.
 Wm. Morris, Esq. Sevenhampton.
 Mr. James Moss, Cheltenham.
 Mr. Marshall, Cheltenham.
 Daniel John Niblett, Esq. Haresfield Court, large paper.
 John Nichols, Esq. F.A.S. London.
 Mr. William Nichols, Westbury-upon-Severn.
 Alexander Nicholson, Esq. Charlton.

- Mr. Newman, Solicitor, Cheltenham.
 Geo. Ormerod, Esq. Cavendish-square,
 London, large paper.
 James Sutton Olive, Esq. Tewkesbury.
 Mr. Packwood, Solicitor, Cheltenham.
 Rev. J. Parsons, Oxford.
 Mr. Samuel Payne, Dursley.
 Mr. James Peach, Gloucester, large
 paper, and one copy small paper.
 John Phillips, Esq. Hanbury Hall,
 Worcester, large paper.
 John Phillpotts, Esq. Gloucester.
 Mr. H. Poynter, Cheltenham.
 Thomas Preston, Esq. London.
 Wm. Price, Esq. Gloucester.
 George Prior, Esq. Tewkesbury.
 Mr. Septimus Prowett, London, one
 large and one small.
 Purnell Bransby Purnell, Esq. Stan-
 combe Park, large paper.
 Rev. H. A. Pye, Prebendary of Wor-
 cester.
 Joseph Pyrke, Esq. Little Dean.
 R. C. Pearsall, Esq. Willsbridge.
 Mr. J. B. Peters, Somerset Square, Bristol.
 Frederick Phelps, Esq. Cheltenham.
 Samuel Peploe, Esq. Garnstone, Here-
 ford.
 Samuel Richardson, Esq. the Moat,
 Newent, large paper.
 Thomas Richardson, Esq. Newent, large
 paper.
 Henry Richardson, Esq. ditto, large
 paper.
 Colonel Riddell, Cheltenham.
 Mr. Joseph Roberts, Gloucester.
 Mr. John Robinson, Abinghall.
 Mr. Rodd, Great Newport-street, Lon-
 don, large paper.
 W. E. Rogers, Esq. Gloucester.
 Mr. Rudge, Solicitor, Ross.
 David Arthur Saunders, Esq. Glou-
 cester.
 J. M. Saunders, Esq. Gloucester.
 Captain James Scott, R. N. Tibberton
 Court, large paper.
 Mr. Setchell, King-street, Covent Gar-
 den, London.
 Mr. Thomas H. Short, Painswick.
 H. J. Shrapnell, Esq. Gloucester, large
 paper.
 Rev. Mr. Skillicorne, Cheltenham.
 Thomas Skipp, Esq. Stonehouse, large
 paper.
 Rev. Robert Smith, Gloucester.
 Thomas Smith, Esq. Gloucester.
 Mr. R. Smith, Campden.
 Mr. John Spencer, Jun. Gloucester,
 large paper.
 Charles Stephens, Esq. Stonehouse,
 large paper.
 J. C. Straford, Esq. Solicitor, Chel-
 tenham.
 Mrs. Strickland, Apperley Court, large
 paper.
 Henry Sikes, Esq. Gloucester.
 Amos Slead, Esq. Gloucester.
 Mr. John Stone, Cheltenham.
 Mr. W. Strong, Bristol.
 L. G. Senior, Esq. Tewkesbury.
 John Hugh Smyth, Esq. Wroxall-court,
 Somersetshire, large paper.
 Rev. Edmund Stock, Pyon, Hereford-
 shire.
 Mr. William Stokes, Gloucester.
 Rev. S. Sayer, Bristol.
 Mr. John Tibbitts, Gloucester.
 Mr. Charles Tolley, Gloucester.
 John Tovey, Esq. Gloucester.
 H. N. Trye, Esq. Leckhampton.
 Rev. J. Tucker, Charlton Kings.
 Thomas Turner, Esq. Gloucester.
 George Thomas, Esq. Carmarthen, large
 paper.
 James Tregothic, Esq. Cheltenham.
 Mr. John Taylor, Gloucester.
 William Tanner, Esq. Little Cashibury,
 Herts.
 Mr. B. Thomas, Tewkesbury.
 Peter Veel, Esq. Sodbury.
 Ellis Viner, Esq. Badgeworth.
 Wm. Upcott, Esq. London Institution,
 large paper.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

ix

- | | |
|--|--|
| Mr. Upham, Bath, two copies. | John William Wilton, Esq. Gloucester. |
| Messrs. D. Walker and Sons, Gloucester. | Thos. Williams, Esq. Winchcomb, large paper. |
| J. W. Walters, Esq. Cowley, large paper. | Mr. G. A. Williams, Cheltenham, six copies. |
| Mr. W. C. Ward, Solicitor, Gloucester. | James Wintle, Esq. Saintbridge. |
| Mr. T. R. Ward, Painswick. | Mr. John Wood, Gloucester. |
| Thomas Washbourn, Esq. Gloucester, large paper. | Mr. Hen. Woodburn, St. Martin's Lane, London. |
| Messrs. Washbourn and Son, Gloucester, four copies large, ten small. | Lieut. Woodcock, R.M. Gloucester. |
| Mr. W. T. Washbourn, ditto. | Mr. Thos. Woodward, Cheltenham. |
| Mr. H. Washbourn, London, six copies. | Mr. E. G. Wright, Hereford. |
| Mr. P. Watkins, Cirencester, two copies. | Thomas Wynniatt, Esq. Stanton. |
| Mr. Wells, Solicitor, Dursley. | J. G. Welch, Esq. Arle, large paper. |
| Rev. James Wetherell, Gloucester. | Rev. John Webb, M.A. F.A.S. Gloucester. |
| Edward Wilbraham, Esq. Cirencester. | Mr. Oliver Watts, Cheltenham. |
| H. Hooper Wilton, Esq. Gloucester. | Mr. Thomas Weaver, Cheltenham. |
| Robert Wilton, Esq. Gloucester. | Thomas Whittard, Esq. Gray's Inn Square, London. |
| Rev. C. P. N. Wilton, M.A. F.C.P.S. | Rev. Mr. White, Cirencester. |
| large paper. | S. Y. Esq. Gloucester. |

THE
ADDRESS OF THE EDITOR.

THE Editor of this collection wishes to furnish the reader with a portraiture of the state and circumstances of the county and city of Gloucester during the last great civil war. He is aware that the several pieces here brought together, being contemporary, must form the most pointed evidence of the condition of this part of the kingdom ; and he has accordingly reprinted them with fidelity, abstaining from any interference with their air of originality by insertion of notes. Many obscurities will, however, be found in them, which, though well understood at the time when they were first published, seem now to need elucidation ; and the histories and memoirs of that age, the journals of parliament, and the news-books, contain much important and interesting information, which will supply chasms, and illustrate what in these tracts is altogether omitted or imperfectly recorded. An historical introduction has, therefore, been formed by the help of such materials, derived from authentic sources, and in many instances, from documents of great rarity, chronologically blended with the substance of the several treatises contained in the body of this work: it follows the track marked out

by Corbet, the principal historian of the affairs of Gloucestershire, commencing with their first demonstration in favour of the parliament, and concluding with the demolition of those walls that had proved so fatal to the royal cause.

The Editor feels that he has a duty to perform, which he sincerely regrets he is not more competent to discharge. He might justly be accused of presumption, should it appear that he imagined he could adequately acknowledge, though he will ever gratefully remember the assistance he has received from every individual: and however he may lament that he is not permitted to disclose the names of many of his benefactors, there are some towards whom it would be unpardonable to be silent.

To the Mayor and Corporation of Gloucester he is indebted, for permission to inspect various important records under their charge; and to Henry Hooper Wilton, Esq. the Deputy Town Clerk, for his ready and liberal attention in affording him at all times access to those documents.

To Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart, and to Thomas Chadwick, Esq. for the loan of many scarce tracts, which he was otherwise unable to procure.

To Henry Ellis, Esq. and William Upcott, Esq. for the facilities which these gentlemen afforded him in transcribing materials deposited in the British Museum, and the London Institution.

To George Worrall Counsel, Esq. for several very important communications and suggestions, for the information he has derived from his correct and extensive knowledge of the antiquities

of Gloucester, and for having liberally permitted the inspection and perusal of his valuable collection of MSS. and Tracts.

To William Herbert, Esq. of London, and Henry Halpin, Esq. of Cheltenham, for much valuable historical information relating especially to Corbet and Massey.

To the Rev. James Wetherell, and to the Rev. Doctors Bandinell and Bliss, for their kindness in enabling him to procure extracts from Archdeacon Furney's MSS. deposited in the Bodleian library.

He feels totally at a loss how sufficiently to express his obligations to the Rev. John Webb. To that gentleman's liberality he is solely indebted for the historical introduction; to his judgment he owes several important amendments; and without his able assistance, this work would never have been completed in its present form: for the ready kindness with which this aid was promised and performed from the commencement to the conclusion of the work, the Editor tenders his warmest thanks.

In conclusion, he begs to offer his acknowledgments to the subscribers in general for the very liberal encouragement which they have bestowed on him in promoting this undertaking; and he trusts that the design may be permitted to plead for the imperfection of the execution.

JOHN WASHBOURN, JUN.

Gloucester, May 1, 1825.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

THE design of the following Introduction is to shew the connexion of the tracts in this volume; and to bring together from various sources such facts and illustrations as may blend them into a regular series, and render them more intelligible. Many chasms are filled up; and an outline is offered of some of the principal transactions appertaining to the county of Gloucester during the civil troubles and usurpation.

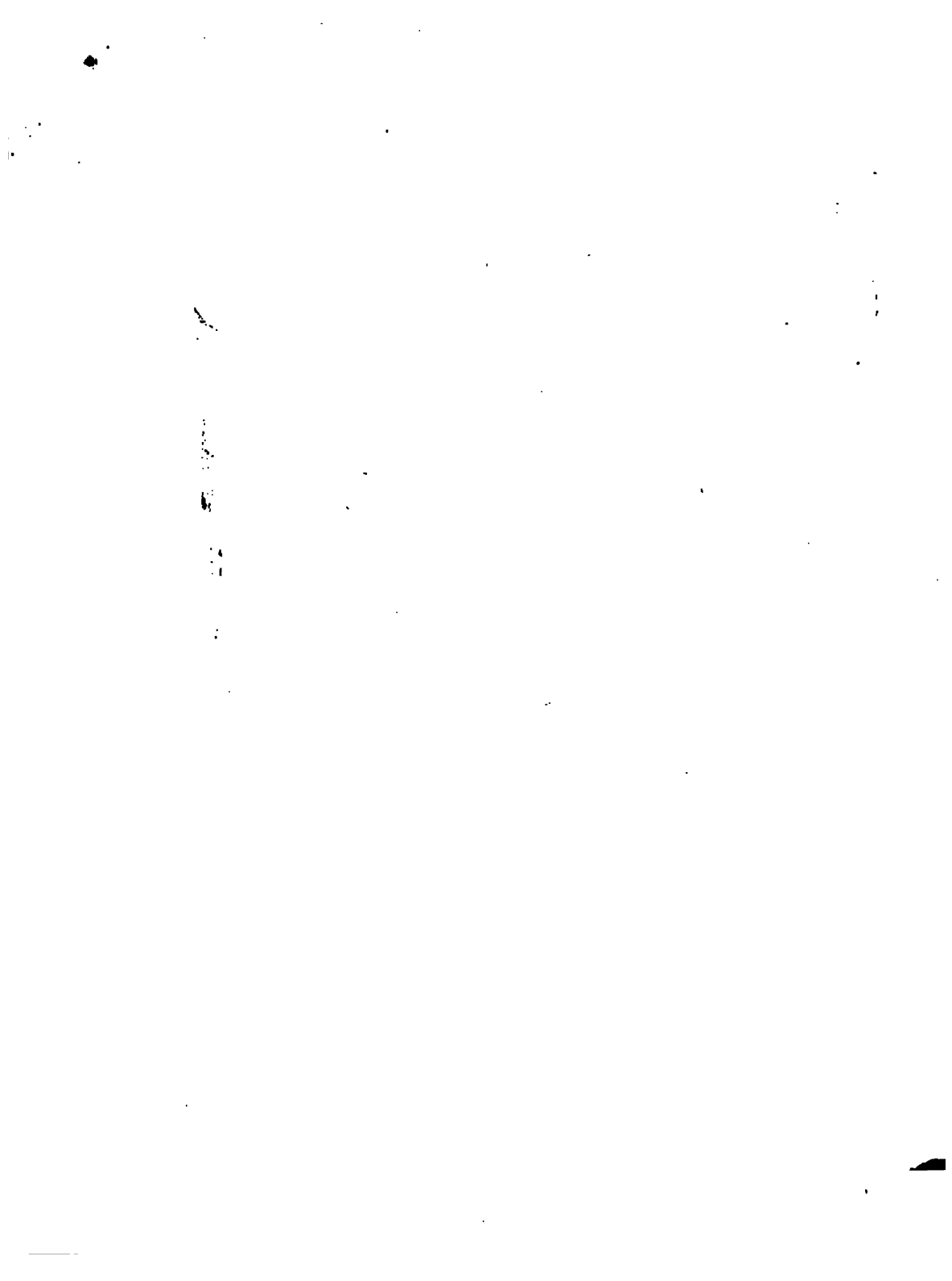
The design, therefore, is local. But in entering upon a subject of this nature, it is impossible not to widen the range, when we discover how much so active a part of England was affected and influenced by the occurrences of the kingdom at large. This may have brought in what may sometimes appear foreign to the matter under discussion. The insertion, however, of any thing which is not immediately or indirectly referable to the point, has usually been avoided; though frequent detached notices may be found relating to the leading circumstances, characters, and peculiar feelings of the times. These are chiefly given in the form of annotation. The Appendix consists, for the most part, of original and inedited papers.

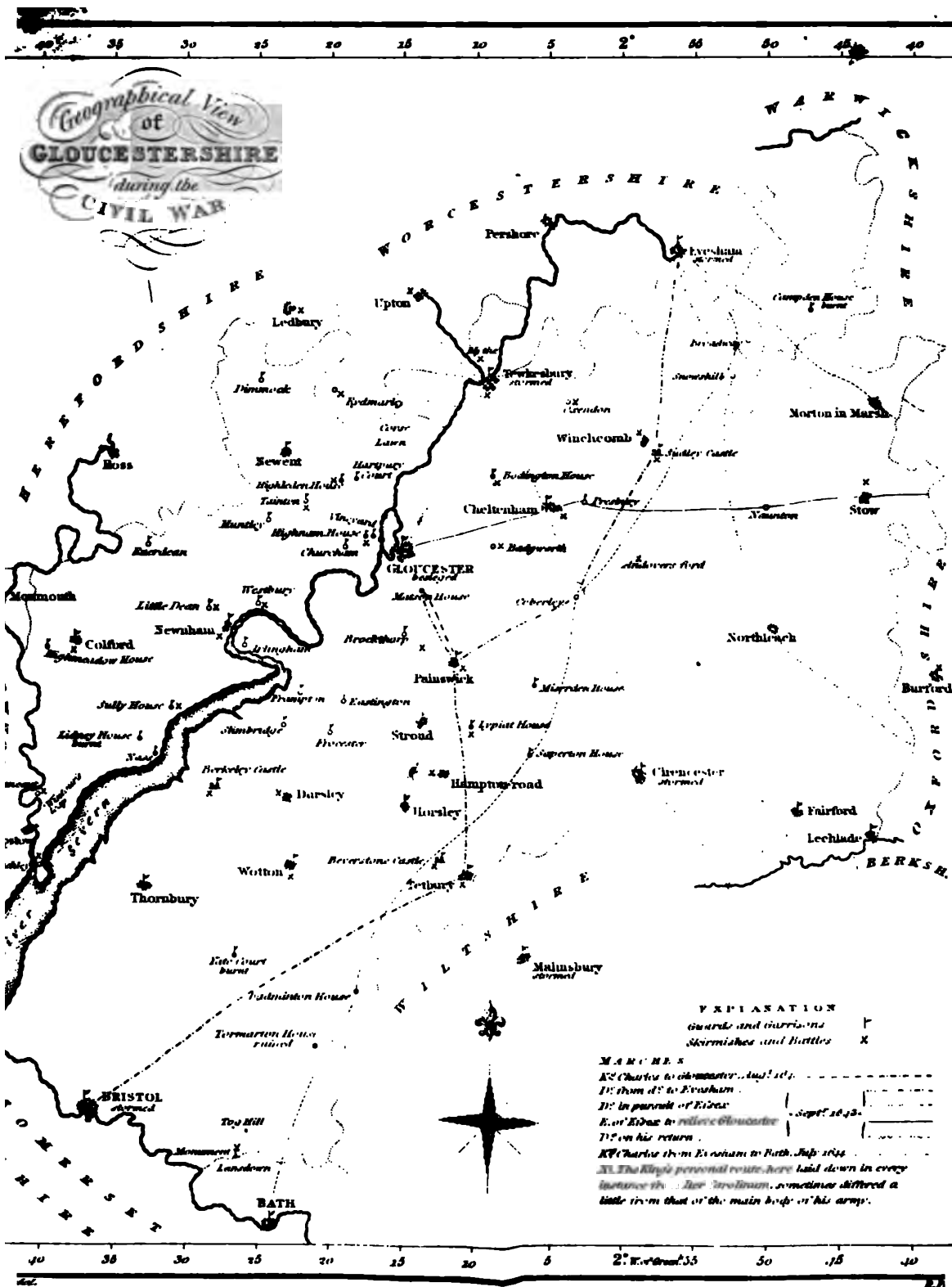
In this limited and imperfect sketch little more is attempted than an arrangement of the materials of history. The principles and origin of the war, and the merits or failings of the contending parties having been sufficiently enlarged upon by others; our purpose is to shew rather the effects of these remoter causes which belong to an earlier period; and to treat less of the controversy of opinion than the debate of the sword. In such a view of the question,

something like impartiality is, perhaps, attainable, but on this head the reader must determine whether the compiler has accomplished that in which many with the best intentions have failed. He may be permitted to say that he has endeavoured to be moderate and just.

J. W.

Gloucester, January 1, 1825.





HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

PART I.

DURING the unfortunate struggle that took place in the reign of Charles the First, no county of England was more deeply engaged than that of Gloucester. It would be difficult to point out any quarter to which, for a time, the eyes of all men were so intensely directed, or that proved by its exertions so instrumental in affecting the success or the ruin of either cause. The memorable siege of its capital had a preponderating influence upon the tide of affairs; it was distinguished by the last decisive action in the field; and the whole of its surface was over-run in every direction, and long exposed to the miseries of petty and desultory warfare.

The disposition of the inhabitants had long been inclined to oppose the existing government. As throughout all England the yeomanry, merchants and manufacturers, generally concurred in the proceedings of the parliament, [1] Gloucester, depending greatly upon trade and manufacture, and holding frequent intercourse with London, had imbibed the prevailing tone of the politics of the two houses. There does not seem to have been any sufficient proportion of individuals among the resident nobles or gentry to act as a counterpoise by influence or example. Thus the measures of the king and his ministers were entertained with disaffection by a considerable majority of the population. A case arising out of resistance to the impost of ship-money, had occurred in the year 1636, when the defendant, who had been assaulted 1636. by the collector, on refusal of payment, was cast at the assizes, amerced in twenty pounds, and imprisoned; [2] and though the opinions of the judges were in favour of such decisions, they could not alter the unpo-

1640.

pularity of these proceedings. Other demands of the state were met with as little cordiality. In 1640, when a levy out of the different counties was made for the purpose of acting against the Scots, the county of Gloucester was ordered to find fifteen hundred men for the service of the king. One hundred and fifty was the proportion required from the city: but obstacles arose against the execution of this demand; complaints were made of the expense of supporting them between their levying and departure; and of the burden of coat and conduct-money; and if the contingent marched at all, it is certain that it was very reluctantly supplied. [3]

In matters of religion and church government, Gloucestershire kept pace with the most zealous promoters of a change. Many of the clergy were attached to the presbyterian discipline, and upon this account some of the lecturers had been removed. It was a season of peculiar difficulty to those who directed the affairs of the church establishment; and Doctor Godfrey Goodman, bishop of the diocese, an eccentric character, who was thought to be inclined towards presbyterianism, but who is said to have afterwards gone over to the communion of the church of Rome, [4] seems to have been by no means adapted to his post or to the times. His conduct had more than once incurred the displeasure of the king and primate; [5] in reply to some of their enquiries, he represented that many of the ministers were poor, and that their poverty made them "fall upon popular and factious courses." [6] On the other hand, the people were not backward in attacking the characters and qualifications of their parochial clergy. The parishioners of Painswick accused their vicar, William Aston, before the Committee for scandalous ministers, in 1640, and procured his ejection from the benefice; this was the second instance of such a deprivation in the church. [7] About the same time, Thomas Widdowes, the college school-master at Gloucester, was turned out of his office for his unbending loyalty. [8] On February 12th, 1640-1, the citizens represented, by petition to parliament, that in eight parishes there was not one constant preacher. [9] A committee for publishing scandalous ministers was shortly after

March 10. established, consisting of twelve persons, at the head of whom were

the mayor for the time being, and William Lenthall, speaker of the house of commons, and recorder of Gloucester. [10] These circumstances are strong indications of the bias of public opinion in the place. In a committee of the house of commons for the utter abolishing of bishops, on a motion for the taking away of deans and chapters out of the Church of England, Mr. Pury, one of the members for the city, spoke earnestly in favour of it; [11] and in expressing his hostility to the establishment, he doubtlessly delivered the sentiments of the greater part of his constituents. As suspicions and disagreements between the king and parliament increased, they every where found their way through all classes of the community. Then arose the opprobrious appellations of Cavaliers and Roundheads, the precise origin of which has never been satisfactorily explained, together with a variety of party terms, that proved sources of daily aggravation. [12] Neither side were deficient in their abuse of each other; but the multitude shewed early symptoms of a disposition to violence. [13]

The counties of Hereford and Worcester were almost wholly for the king: particularly in the latter, the populace expressed their contempt of their adversaries by constant provocations. In some places, if a churchman of this class met a neighbour of different principles, or a stranger, whom he took by his appearance to be a presbyterian, nothing was more common than to hear him exclaim, "there goes a Roundhead; we shall take an order with the puritans ere long." Sometimes he was saluted with "there goes a traitor." When the order was issued for the demolition of those images and crosses that had escaped the zeal of the reformation, they were wrought up to an intemperate display of their feelings; in many instances they proceeded to outrage; and the parliamentarians were equally violent in other quarters. Baxter, the friend of Corbet and Dorney, who, for his adherence to the parliamentary side was forced about this time to quit Kidderminster, has given the following graphic sketch of the different spirit of the cities of Worcester and Gloucester. "In this fury of the rabble I was advised "to withdraw a while from home; whereupon I went to Gloucester: "As I passed through a corner of the suburbs of Worcester, they that

1640-1.

June 15.

1641-2.

164-2 "knew me not, cried, 'Down with the Roundheads;' and I was glad to
 "spur on and begone. But when I came to Gloucester, among strang-
 "ers also that had never known me, I found a civil, courteous, and
 "religious people, as different from Worcester, as if they had lived
 "under another government. There I stayed a month, and whilst I
 "was there, many pamphlets came out on both sides, preparing for a
 "war." [14]

While the minds of men were in this ferment, [15] the parliament had issued their ordinance for the militia, and the king his commission of array; [16] and this brought on the crisis of contention. The king was at York, mustering men and collecting money, and the parliament vigilant in cutting off his supplies; and the highways of the county of Gloucester, were ordered to be watched, that plate or treasure proceeding to him, might be intercepted. [17] Lord Chandos had been appointed lord lieutenant, [18] and no less than twenty-five deputy lieutenants for the county, and seven for the city, were nominated in the month of August, [19] and received their instructions. They were directed to draw together the trained bands, to suppress all who should levy soldiers by any commission from his majesty, seize upon all horses, arms, ammunition, money, plate, or other provisions whatsoever, raised or provided for his majesty's service; be ready to assist the Earl of Essex, with horse and foot, and fight with, kill and slay all such as should by force oppose them; they were ordered to disarm all papists and ill-affected clergy, to take possession of the magazine, [20] and to raise what fortifications should be thought fit, for the preservation of the city, or any other place in the county. These particulars are a clue to several events that ensued.

But, even previous to this, the city of Gloucester had been among the foremost to make ready for an emergency. After the example of London, that in the spring had marshalled its thousands of trained bands under the veteran Skippon, [21] they had called out a force of this description, few in number and altogether inefficient, till some experienced persons arrived to discipline them; to these had been added a company of volunteers; [22] and the whole were formed into a regi-

ment under proper officers. Their next care was to procure ordnance, for the purchase of which they sent to London and Bristol, but the removal of it could not be effected without the consent of parliament. They laid in warlike stores, and were equally expeditious in putting their ruinous works [23] into some posture of defence, at which they laboured with incessant assiduity.

1642.

In the month of August, Lord Chandos attempted to execute the commission of array in behalf of the king: and for this purpose, he came down to Cirencester, about the time that the royal standard was set up at Nottingham. The mob, regarding him as a traitor, rose upon him, threatened his person, and tore his carriage in pieces: it was with great difficulty that he made his escape. [24] The transaction is thus noticed in a contemporary publication. "From Gloucestershire, the House of Commons received letters intimating that the Lord Shandois had come into that county with an intention to execute the commission of array: but the whole county stands for the parliament, and had like to have took Sir William Swig, prisoner, who came to execute the said commission." [25] Lord Say, the lord lieutenant, appointed in his stead by the parliament, met with a very cordial reception, being assisted by his deputies and the county members in forming a militia; while the friends of the king made another fruitless attempt to raise men for his service. Sir Ralph Dutton thus employed, was assaulted by Hill, the undersheriff of Gloucester, and forced with some of his attendants to swim the Severn. [26]

Aug. 23.

Sept.

Lord Herbert, eldest son of the Earl of Worcester, had made great exertions to raise troops in the counties of Monmouth and Hereford and the adjacent parts of Wales, and was laying in stores at Ragland for the equipment of a force, the operations of which are hereafter to be recorded. Several horses, the property of this nobleman, and on their way to him, were stopped as they were passing through Gloucester; and information was immediately communicated to both houses, by a special messenger: [27] their order made upon this occasion, shews of what importance they considered this city, and how much they made it the object of their special care.

1642.

Die Jovis, 15^o, Septembris, 1642.

“Whereas information hath been given to the Lords and Commons assembled in parliament, that seven great horses or geldings, of the Lord Herbert, son of the Earl of Worcester, was lately brought to the city of Gloucester, to be by them employed, (as is justly suspected) upon some design against the parliament; and that great endeavours are used by divers commissioners of array, and other ill-affected persons, in the severall counties of Hereford, Monmouth, Glamorgan, Carmarthen, Brecknock, and Radnor; to draw the said counties by way of association against the parliament, and their adherents, and in particular against the said city, as a place the most advantageous for the furtherance of their malignant designs: therefore upon the humble desire of the citizens of the said city of Gloc'r, and for the better preservation of the safety of the said city, being a place of great importance, and of the counties and parts adjoining; it is thought fit and ORDERED by the said lords and commons, that the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the said city, shall have the use and disposal of the said horses, for the defence of the said city and parts adjacent, and the service of the parliament; and that, for the same purpose, they shall have power to raise one or more troop or troops of horse and men, and to train, exercise, and employ the same, and other forces of the said city, as by the ordinance concerning the militia is appointed; and further; that, for their better encouragement and assistance in this behalf, some such small pieces of ordnance shall be forthwith sent down to the said city, to be used, ordered, and employed for the uses and purposes aforesaid, as to them shall seem most meet and expedient; and that they and every of them, in so doing, shall be protected and assisted by the power and authority of both houses of parliament.” [28]

Mention of these seven great horses frequently occurs from this time in the city records: they were afterwards placed under the command of Lieutenant Backhouse, and kept together till the close of the war. [29]

Hostilities soon commenced in the neighbouring county of Worcester, and at no great distance from the borders. The Earl of Essex having left London, marched with his whole army upon Worcester,

which Sir John Byron [30] had entered before him. The latter had collected five hundred horse in Oxfordshire, and was conveying some money to the king. He had not been in his quarters many hours, when Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes [31] appeared, despatched by Essex to take possession of the city. A London Journal [32] says, he sent for the Gloucester trained bands to join him; and it is known that his object was to block up Byron till Essex should arrive. A party of them, who went to meet him, withdrew, finding that he had retired; but he came back in a few days, with a strong reinforcement, and the volunteers of Gloucester were summoned again. A second time they failed to effect a junction, owing to the indiscreet haste of those with whom they were to have acted, but this circumstance probably prevented their utter extermination. On the morning of Thursday, the twenty-second of Sep-
 ter, before the trained bands made their appearance, Prince Rupert [33] attacked Fiennes and the parliamentarians at Powick bridge, near Worcester; defeated them with considerable loss, and drove them back as far as Pershore. This was the first skirmish of any note that occurred; and though a mere affair of cavalry, produced a sensation that was highly advantageous to the king. Aware of the consequences of unfavourable impressions in the outset of military operations, the parliament not only endeavoured to suppress the exact truth of the tidings, but permitted accounts to be published and circulated, representing it as a victory; and the House of Commons desired the ministers at the next fast to give thanks to God for his blessing upon their forces; [34] an expression couched in ambiguous terms, but evidently intended to convey the notion of success. Charles also celebrated it with thanksgiving. Perhaps it was too highly magnified by the royalists; but, in the opinion of many, the terror that it inspired, contributed to the advantage obtained by Prince Rupert, over the enemies' horse, a few weeks after, in the first great battle. [35]

1642.

Sep. 22.

On the evening after the skirmish, the prince and Sir John Byron drew off towards Ludlow; and in the course of the next day the Earl of Essex made his entry into Worcester, where he established his head-
 quarters for upwards of three weeks. The whole neighbourhood was

Sept. 23.

1642.

filled with his troops, and they were disposed upon a line extending through Warwick, Coventry, and Buckingham; they had their brigades round about even to Gloucester. [36] The military preparations of the latter city continued to advance: arms and ammunition in small quantities were forwarded to them from London; [37] and upon an urgent representation of their necessity, the speaker's warrant was issued to a Mr. Dewzell, "to convey with freedom, and without any let or interruption, to the city of Gloucester, for the use of that city, four or six "small pieces of ordnance, ten barrells of powder, seven carabines, and "seven cases of pistols, and seven swords, with all possible speed "and diligence." [38] As the long expected cannon passed through their streets, the inhabitants regarded them with a mixture of curiosity and astonishment, little anticipating how soon they were all to be familiarised to the roaring of these dreadful engines of war. Reports were spread abroad that Gloucester and Tewkesbury were in great danger; that the former was taken possession of by Lord Grandison; and that the country was plundered. [39] It was also asserted in the public journals, that forty thousand pounds had been sent down for the troops in Gloucester. [40] These rumours, probably designed to answer a particular end, seem to have been altogether void of foundation.

While the Earl of Essex continued at Worcester, he settled the militia in that district, [41] and kept up a communication with the managers of affairs in Gloucester. [42] He despatched Lord Stamford [43] to Hereford, to hold Lord Herbert in check; to prevent his joining the king at Shrewsbury, and to harass the royalists in the marches of South Wales. [44] The chief reason of delay on the part of Essex, at Worcester, was said to have been the expectation of an answer from the king to a message from the parliament inviting him to withdraw from his army and repair to London. This proposition his majesty refused; but employed the interval in completing and arming his force; and having sufficiently accomplished his purpose to enable him to take the field, he marched from Shrewsbury towards the metropolis. Essex followed him; and they came in sight of each other at Edge Hill in Warwick-

Oct. 23. shire; where on Sunday, October the twenty-third, was fought that

1642.

indecisive, but bloody battle, in which both sides were defeated, and both laid claim to the victory. The intelligence was received with horror in all parts of England. [45] Many peaceably disposed persons were now of opinion that the war would be ended, and that the first great field of blood, would also be the last; but their conclusions were rather those of hope than of reasonable expectation; and they little calculated upon the spirit that was abroad. The main strength of the armies withdrew into winter quarters.

Such were the first fruits of the civil war, and of the miseries that ensued during four successive years. The winter, indeed, did not pass away without a variety of military transactions, sieges of towns and castles, and affairs of posts and detachments; but as these were only of secondary importance, and do not fall within our limits, we shall pass them over to confine our narrative to the county to which the tracts in this collection more particularly appertain.

The whole of Gloucestershire having been exclusively under the controul of the deputy lieutenants, the city had hitherto been unprovided with a governor. But its situation and arrangements requiring such an officer, Colonel Thomas Essex, who had been governor of Worcester, [46] came to take the command in the month of November, and brought two Nov. regiments into garrison. [47] After remaining about a month, he was ordered to Bristol, where party spirit was at a great height. The royalists had obtained information of his coming, and endeavoured to oppose his entrance; but he got in by stratagem during the night, and gained that important post for the parliament without bloodshed. [48] A vague account of an attempt of Lord Chandos to secure Gloucester, appeared at London about this time: its authenticity, however, seems very questionable, though it was printed and published by the House of Commons. Dec. [49] After Colonel Essex had left them, the citizens were not long abandoned to their own means of defence; for the Earl of Stamford came up from Hereford on his way into the west of England, where he was destined to command those levies that were to act against the king. Two troops of cavalry and a regiment of infantry accompanied him; he continued his route towards Bristol with the horse, [50] and left the regiment behind under Colonel Edward Massey,

1642.

whom he appointed his deputy governor. Massey was a soldier of fortune, and a stranger to the place and people. But to those among whom he was to dwell as a military protector, it must have been a consolation to discover that he had not to learn the rudiments of the art of war. England, after a considerable interval of peace, disturbed only for a short time by the invasions of the Scots, had yet many soldiers practically acquainted with the profession of arms, who were worthy of command. Most of these had been formed under the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus and the Prince of Orange, in the campaigns of Germany and the war of the Palatinate. Such on the king's side were, the Earls of Lindsey and Forth, Sir Jacob Astley, Sir Ralph Hopton, and Sir Arthur Aston; and on that of the parliament, the Earl of Essex, Sir John Hotham, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and William Waller; such also, in a humbler rank, was Colonel Massey. The king had probably a greater proportion of them in his service. Hence, Ludlow, with reference to the parliament, tell us, "they were a generation of men much cried up at that time." [51]

The king excluded from London, had established himself at Oxford, where he fixed his head-quarters during the whole of the war. Many reasons rendered it expedient that a direct passage should be opened into South Wales. That country had generally declared in his favour, but Gloucestershire interposed upon the regular line of communication. Cirencester, the key of the county upon the frontier, was the first hostile town on that line; and the Marquess of Hertford, general of the royal forces in the west, representing that it straitened their means of subsistence, and hindered their supplies in that direction, is said to have advised an attempt upon it. [52] The town possessed many advantages of situation, and had been fortified to a certain extent, and garrisoned by the deputy lieutenants after the affair of Lord Chandos, already related; for they very justly concluded, that it would be the first object of attack. Excepting two weak regiments of infantry at Bristol, [53] and one at Gloucester, the chief of their strength was drawn thither to prevent the incursions of the royalists; and there also they had formed a magazine.

On Saturday, January the seventh, the marquess, with Princes Rupert and Maurice, Lords Chandos, Carnarvon, and others, appeared before it, and after refusal of a summons prepared to storm; but, probably, not considering themselves strong enough to attempt it, they retired on the following day to Oxford. [54] This gave the new deputy governor of Gloucester an opportunity of shewing his activity and spirit of enterprise. He sent off some ordnance to Cirencester; and on Thursday, January the twenty-ninth, with the concurrence of the deputy lieutenants, ordering out the horse and canoneers, and bringing other troops from Tewkesbury and Gloucester, he laid siege to Sudley Castle, [55] the seat of Lord Chandos, and the strongest hold in that quarter. Captain Bridges the governor, at first refused to surrender, but Massey found means to intimidate him, and the castle was yielded on the third day. The chapel of this building was distinguished by the beauty of its architecture and many costly monuments. [56] The soldiers, in their hatred to Chandos, and contempt of the church, according to their general practice, brought miserable havoc and defilement into this sanctuary. The monuments were broken; the nave was converted into a stable, and the chancel into a slaughter-house; the carcases of sheep were suspended by pegs from the pulpit; and the communion table became a dresser. It were a violation of common decency to relate the whole. [57] But it is not likely that Massey sanctioned or witnessed these proceedings; as soon as he had effected the capture, and provisioned the place, he left the command to Lieutenant Colonel Forbes, and returned to Gloucester.

On Monday, January the thirtieth, Prince Rupert passed by Sudley and quartered that night, at two miles distance, in the open fields. But it was not his intention to waste his time there, while he had an undertaking of greater importance before him, in the success of which the castle would be sure to fall. It was enough that his having shewn himself kept the garrison close, while he advanced once more to Cirencester; where, being reinforced with horse and artillery, on Thursday, February the second, after a contest of two hours, he carried the town by assault. Two tracts in the collection contain the details of this event, varying a little, according to the bias of the writers, but agreeing as to the

1642-3.
Jan. 7.

Jan. 26.

Jan. 30.

Feb. 2.

1642-3. main circumstances ; the royalist complimenting the victors on their moderation ; [58] and his adversary taxing them with cruelty, especially towards the prisoners. Lord Clarendon admits, that " the town " yielded much plunder, from which the undistinguishing soldier " could not be kept, but was equally injurious to friend and foe." It was the first place that was stormed in this part of England, and on that day, for aught that appears to the contrary, was blood first shed in this county.

The greater part of Lord Stamford's detachment, who made the stoutest opposition, were slain ; and Corbet complains of many murders committed after the enemy had entered ; but the account of one who was present, though it may studiously conceal their loss, speaks of no deaths but in the fight and pursuit. [59] Upon the whole, could any thing like consolation be extracted from a review of such scenes, it must be found in the fact that, out of so many defenders and inhabitants, not more than about three hundred, at the highest computation, fell by the sword ; that the vanquished were spared upon submission ; and that the place did not suffer more by fire. The difficulty of arresting the hands of men, whose evil passions are upon such occasions let loose, often beyond all possibility of controul, may render it more worthy of observation. The writer is very far from being an apologist of enormities that were committed on both sides in the course of this miserable civil broil, so many traces of which are visible in the memoirs of the actors. Yet in a contest in which either party, mutually exasperated, looked upon the other, as out of the protection of the law, as rebels to their king, or traitors to the liberty of their country, it should be understood, that the rights of humanity were not always forgotten. If in the heat of open battle or assault, the soldier, while he met with resistance, spared not his adversary, quarter was as habitually demanded and allowed ; though it must be admitted there were some dreadful exceptions to the contrary, and that sometimes when offered by the conqueror, it was rashly refused by high-spirited cavaliers. Yet, during the whole affair, bad enough as it was, it may be affirmed that fewer atrocities were committed in cold blood, than might perhaps have been expected, or would

have occurred under similar circumstances among most other nations of Europe; and this may be asserted without prejudice or partiality, if the historians of those nations may be credited. The temper of armies depends much upon the disposition of their leaders: as the quarrel was protracted, authority fell into the hands of those who had become inured to blood and pillage; but of the commanders in the outset, the king himself, notwithstanding the aspersions of party, and the charges brought against him in his last extremity, though he never showed himself backward to engage in fight, when he deemed it necessary, was anxious to spare the lives of his subjects; [60] Essex gave many proofs of punctilious honour and humanity; [61] and Waller, in an excellent letter, addressed to his former companion, but afterwards antagonist in arms, Sir Ralph Hopton, declared, "with what a sad sense he went upon this service, and with what perfect hatred he detested this war without an enemy." [62] Rupert and Maurice were foreigners, and seem as though they could not forget that they were bearing arms in a foreign country. But even these at Cirencester behaved with a degree of forbearance. Hostilities were carried on with far greater animosity in Scotland and Ireland.

The disposal of prisoners, where the numbers were considerable, appears to have been always attended with some difficulty. It is this difficulty of retaining them, and the danger of permitting them to escape, that often, in civil troubles, has brutalised the combatants, and obstructed the granting of quarter. When they were marched off, they were usually tied together, and when halted, were thrust into some church, the strongest vacant building at hand, where they were too frequently treated with neglect or unwarrantable severity. Arrived at their final depository, if they were neither ransomed nor exchanged, or if they refused to enter into the ranks of their captors, they were dismissed upon oath to abandon the cause for which they had fought, or remained in durance till they could elude the vigilance of their guards. Most of those taken at Powick were set at liberty after they had been sworn. Charles carried all whom he took at Edge-hill to Oxford, and Essex marched his to London. Some who fell into the hands of the parlia-

1642-3.

ment at Farnham, [63] were brought in carts, with their legs tied, to London; and the royalists dragged between eleven and twelve hundred of the captives of Cirencester to Oxford. Having found that great numbers of the soldiers taken at Edge-hill, who were afterwards sworn and dismissed to their homes, had engaged against them in the affair at Brentford, they had now apparently changed for awhile their mode of proceeding: but though they began by detaining them with much pertinacity, they must soon have grown weary of accumulating a multitude of such inmates within the walls of Oxford castle; and the neglect and privations that these endured there, were loudly complained of by the parliament. [64] An article in a contemporary news-book gives a farther account of these persons;—"From Oxford it is informed, that the Cirencester men, which were taken prisoners and brought thither, have submitted themselves to the king, and enlisted themselves for his soldiers; whereupon they are released out of restraint, have their arms restored unto them, and march out daily to be examined and trained: only fifty of them stood out and refused to comply, and thereupon are enforced to work in the trenches that are raising about the city." [65]

- Prince Rupert having left his brother Maurice governor of Cirencester, advanced on the day following to Gloucester. He sent in a summons on the part of his majesty; to which Dennis Wise, the mayor, and Colonel Massey, replied, that they should keep and defend it for the king and parliament. Massey, and his officers, added, that they would not surrender it to a foreign prince; and this is necessary to be observed, as we shall have occasion to advert to it hereafter. The prince, having repeated his demand with as little effect, retired, raising contributions, and plundering the country on his way to Oxford, [66] and proving how effectually the occupation of Cirencester had enlarged the king's quarters. Cirencester lying in the victor's grasp, in a petition, [67]
- Feb. 3. couched in most submissive terms, implored and immediately received the royal pardon; and the neighbouring gentlemen, in the name of the county, agreed to raise money and men for his majesty's service. Charles, in consequence of the refusal of Gloucester, wrote to the sheriff
- Feb. 6.

and justices, prohibiting his subjects in the county from having any traffic or commerce with the city until it should return to its obedience; and his letter was ordered to be read in all churches and chapels, that all persons might know his royal pleasure; and do their duty accordingly. [68] But while Gloucester continued firm to the part that it had embraced, the news of the disaster at Cirencester operated far and wide. Upon the report of it the castles of Sudley and Berkeley were abandoned, and Tewksbury yielded to propositions dictated by Sir William Russell, [69] from Worcester; but a body of the military and townsmen withdrew to Gloucester. The "Certaine Informations," above-cited, says, that "the inhabitants, finding their town not defensible enough if the cavaliers should assault it, have taken their ordinance, armes, and goods out of it, and carried all down the Severn to Gloucester, hoping to secure them all there." Sir Matthew Carew soon garrisoned the place as governor for the king. Communication from above by the Severn being thus closed, the south was still kept open towards Bristol: but on the northern and eastern frontier, Gloucestershire was entirely excluded from intercourse with London. Their friends had not, however, been unmindful of them. Early in the month, according to "the Perfect Diurnal," [70] "it was ordered, ~~that~~ all merchants and other well affected persons of the city of London, who will do any thing for the defence and safety of the west country, and especially of Bristol and Gloucester, should come to the committee of Haberdashers Hall, London, on Thursday next, at five o'clock in the afternoon, who are appointed to consider of this business." And this was followed up by a notice in the "Certaine Informations." [71] "Some thousands of pounds have been subscribed at Haberdashers Hall for the defence of the oppressed county of Gloucester, and for the present security of the cities of Bristol and Gloucester, and other western counties, against the enemies that now infest them, and until they see the armies actually disbanded, let them go on and lose no precious time." At length the public are further informed in the news-book, entitled, "Special Passages," [72] that "there hath been great pains to relieve the distressed county of Gloucester; Sir William Waller [73] is at last gone with what money and power could be got, but not what was necessary for that service." [74] And the result

1642-3.
Feb. 12.

1642-3.

Feb. 20.

of this expedition was an encounter at Padsworth, where he obtained some advantage over a party of the royalists, and put them to flight. [75] It may be inferred, but does not appear, that he continued his course to Gloucester; for it is insinuated that his object was to furnish them with some pecuniary relief. Yet, notwithstanding the collections said to have been made for them, Corbet expressly asserts, that "no monies came from the state," and that the troops were mutinous and desperate for want of pay. [76]

Lord Herbert, who had been made lieutenant general of South Wales, had raised a little army of above fifteen hundred foot, and nearly five hundred horse, which, about the middle of February, marched towards Gloucester. On their way through the forest of Dean, they were opposed at Coleford by a party of parliamentarians under the command of Colonel Berrowe, who with some of the country people had barricaded the town; where from a window they shot Major General Lawdey and two other officers. [77] The Welch, however, forced their passage, took prisoners Lieutenant Colonel Winter and some inferior officers and common soldiers, and put the rest to flight, advancing to Highnam house, within two miles of the city. There they threw up entrenchments which commanded the Forest, Ross and Newent roads; while Prince Maurice, on the east and north, was harassing the country up to the gates. Major General Sir Jerome Brett, who succeeded Lawdey, sent in a summons, which was received with scorn. In the articles for an armistice proposed by the parliament, ostensibly with

Feb. 28.

a view to a treaty of peace, it was stipulated, "That no siege shall be begun or continued against Gloucester; and that his majesty's forces now employed in the siege shall return to Cirencester and Malmsbury, or to Oxford, as shall be most for their convenience; and the Parliament forces which are in Gloucestershire, shall remain in the cities of Gloucester, Bristol, and the castle and town of Berkeley, or retire nearer to Windsor, as they may see cause; and that those of Wales which are drawn to Gloucester, shall return into their quarters, where they were before they drew down to Gloucestershire." [78] Negotiations were carried on at Oxford by commissioners during March and part of April, when all hope of an accommodation ceased. [79]

Among other proposals on the part of the king, is one, which has for its object the restraint of plundering during the suspension of hostilities: but he complains that the parliament took no notice of it: [80] hostilities never totally ceased, and plundering was continued as grievously as ever. Gloucestershire at this juncture suffered from the royalists no less than three several times; [81] and Charles seemed sensible of the excesses committed under plea of raising contributions, when he issued a proclamation from Oxford, dated March the thirteenth, in which he requires his officers and soldiers to abstain from violence to any of his loving subjects of the county, and from taking away their horses on any pretence whatsoever. Devastations of this kind were committed upon an extensive scale over the whole theatre of the war, [82] till in many cases, nothing was left in the houses but lumber. [83] People fled into garrison towns, for security with wives and children, and what little they could rescue from the hands of the spoilers. Such of the loyal clergy as continued in their parsonages, were marked objects to the parliamentary soldiers. The house of the rector of Minchinhampton, Henry Fowler, was plundered by some of the garrison with many circumstances of wanton cruelty. [84] It had been the wish of the king that the assizes should be continued as usual; but this the parliament prevented:

1642-3.

So violence

Proceeded, and oppression and sword law. [85]

It has been related that Colonel Thomas Essex had gained possession of Bristol, which he held for the parliament, though there was a strong loyal party in the place. Several points in his character and conduct having rendered his fidelity questionable, Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes, who was despatched thither, to reinforce the garrison, [86] arrested Thomas Essex, and sent him away; [87] and a few days after he detected a design to secure the city for the king. Communication upon this subject had been held with Prince Rupert and Lord Digby, who drew thither from Basingstoke, with four thousand horse and two thousand foot, and on Tuesday, March the seventh, appeared upon Durdham Down. It had been concerted by some of the principal inhabitants to surprise the main and other guards; to assemble all their

March 7.

1642-3. friends by the tolling of bells and to open Froome gate to the royal army. But at midnight, the conspirators were seized, just as they were about to put their plot into execution. Prince Rupert and his men, waiting for the signal, watched beside their fires upon the Down till the morning; when, perceiving that the design had been thwarted, they retired towards Cirencester and Oxford. [88]

The Welch under Sir Jerome Brett, vainly expecting the co-operation of Prince Rupert, had remained idle five weeks at Highnam. They had occasionally been kept on the alert by Massey from the vineyard, an ancient palace of the bishops of Gloucester, within half a mile distance upon the right bank of the Severn; but he was too weak to attempt any thing of consequence against them, as they greatly outnumbered him, even after he had been reinforced by Captain John Fiennes from Bristol, with two hundred horse and dragoons. In this state matters remained till a plan was settled between the deputy governor and Sir William Waller, for a more formidable attack upon the post. Waller was then in that full career of victory, which had obtained for him the title of "the conqueror." Flushed with success from the taking of Malmsbury, in a night march, he made a demonstration towards Cirencester, whence turning suddenly to the west, by one of those rapid movements for which he was so celebrated, he traversed Gloucestershire, crossed the Severn at Framilode passage, unchecked and unperceived, in the face of day, and pushed forward to Huntley, on the evening of the

March 23. twenty-third of March. Massey, according to their mutual arrangement, had been attacking Highnam house on that day, and the assault

March 24. was renewed at sun-rise. The enemy, who were more than double his number, sallied out, and would probably have had the advantage, had not Waller made his appearance on the other side, when on the report of one of his guns, (his warning piece), the Gloucester soldiers rushed on and stormed a redoubt, and a parley was sounded. The Welch, though urged by their officers, refused to take advantage of a dark and rainy night to effect their escape, and in the morning laid down their arms. The greater part of the horse, under Lord John Somerset, being at some distance, retired without molestation. [89]

When they had yielded, the blue regiment commanded by Dennis

Wise, the mayor of Gloucester, surrounded them; [90] they were found to consist of about one hundred and fifty officers, and one thousand four hundred and forty-four common men, [91] a number equal to the united forces of Waller and Massey. They led them into Gloucester; and, according to the statement of one of the prisoners, the procession in pairs reached from Highnam almost to the city; they locked them up in Saint Mary de Lode and Trinity churches, and a strong guard was set over them; Saint Mary's alone held nearly fifteen hundred. The subject of prisoners has already been mentioned. Corbet upon this occasion vindicates and contrasts the conduct of his own party with that of their enemies. [92] But it does not appear that the parliamentarians, out of London, in all respects treated their inferior prisoners while they had them in their keeping with more attention. Those who agreed to serve against the king were soon set at liberty; and the rest, after taking the usual protestation, [93] were sent home; some of the officers were permitted to ransom themselves; and others were transferred to Bristol, where they remained till that city fell into the king's hands. In fact they were glad to dismiss so many useless mouths from Gloucester. However, it is but justice to observe that during the ten days that they were held in close confinement, the whole of the provision of bread distributed to the privates, at the expense of the city, cost no more than eighteen pounds nineteen shillings; and this seems to have been their only allowance. The evidence of the individual above alluded to, confirms their ill-treatment: they were eager to obtain the refuse of raw vegetables to satisfy their hunger; and if their friends brought any thing to them, it was taken away by the guard. It would be some satisfaction to be enabled to prove that this was in part occasioned by a scantiness of provisions in the city. It is affirmed, that about this time, (it might be somewhat later,) they laid in a considerable store. Certainly in a district exposed to the waste of war, and subjected to such frequent pillage, it behoved the principal city, stocked with an increasing and distressed population, to anticipate supplies.

Though the victory at Highnam was depreciated by many of the royalists as much as it was extolled by the triumphant party, in a pecu-

1642-3.

March 25.

1642-3. niary view it was a serious loss to the king. It was said to be obtained over a mushroom army, whose want of courage rendered their capture and dispersion a matter of little regret; but the efforts and expense of those who had assembled it, taught them to think very differently. Clarendon heard Lord Herbert assert, that the outfit and preparations connected with it, had cost upwards of sixty thousand pounds. [94]

The effect of this blow was the evacuation of Tewkesbury, by Sir Matthew Carew; Captain John Fiennes took possession of it in a few hours after, and was compelled in his turn to retire the same day before a superior force under Lord Grandison from Cheltenham.

1643. In the beginning of April, Sir William Waller advanced into Monmouthshire, where he wearied himself to little purpose among the rocky and impracticable roads; met with no opposition, and established no authority. Prince Maurice, ordered by the king to follow him, passed the river at Tewkesbury, upon a bridge of boats, with two thousand horse and foot, and took up a line to intercept him across the forest of Dean, from Newnham upon the Severn to Ross upon the Wye. As soon as Waller heard of it, he commenced his retreat; [95] sent his foot, April 10. baggage, and artillery by water from Chepstow to Aust; and marched all night with his horse, to steal or force a passage through the enemy. Retarded by an accident, he came up with them at Newnham too late in the morning for a surprise: but he skirmished with them at that place, and at Little Dean; and with the loss of a few of his rear, brought his men off to Gloucester. [96] He encreased his reputation by this achievement; but it was attended with no common hazard; and his own account shews us that he was thoroughly sensible of the risk that he had incurred; and that he duly appreciated his escape.

“ In my retreat from Chepstow, when prince Maurice had laid all the passages between that and Gloucester, with a very considerable army to intercept me, I had no way left but to transport my foot and traine of artillery cross the Severn to Barkley Castle, (from whence they had a secure march), and with my horse and dragoones to beat through his quarters. Upon my march that night through the forest of Dean, itt happened, thorough the sleepiness of an officer, that the main body

“ was seperated from the fore-troope, (with which I marched ;) so that
 “ I was fain to make an halt for above halfe an hour, within little more
 “ than a mile of the prince’s head-quarter, in broad day light; the
 “ allarme taken, and not one hundred and twenty horse with me. Ne-
 “ vertheless, itt pleased God, in his infinite mercy, to direct the rest of
 “ my troopes to me ; and, under the conduct of his providence, to grant
 “ me a safe and honourable retreat to Gloucester, in despiight of the
 “ enemy, who charged me in the reare, with more loss to himself than
 “ to me.” [97] These are Waller’s own observations upon this event,
 among the memoranda of his experiences, drawn up by him many
 years after in retirement.

1643.

Massey came out in the evening to cover his retreat ; but it was unnecessary, as the enemy were not immediately at hand. However, he met Waller within two miles of Gloucester, and communicated a design that he had formed against Tewkesbury, upon which he proceeded without delay. Next morning, at day-break, he cut off the bridge of boats, April 12. surprised and slew the centinel at the western gate, and forced his way into the place. Sir Matthew Carew and the garrison were in their beds ; eight officers and some common soldiers were made prisoners ; but Carew, with the greater part of his men, escaped. Prince Maurice, baffled in his pursuit of Waller, continued his march on the right bank of the Severn, too late to save his bridge ; and the latter, making a parallel movement, endeavoured to hinder him from gaining the left bank, by securing or destroying the bridge at Upton. In this he failed ; but he met the prince in the open plain, called Ripple Field, where the parliamentarians, inferior in numbers, were compelled to withdraw to Tewkesbury in some disorder. Maurice proceeded towards Evesham, whence he was ordered back to Oxford ; and Waller and Massey returned to Gloucester, leaving Tewkesbury under the charge of Sir Robert Cooke.

These companions in arms, kindred spirits in the love of adventure, and alike excellent at the head of flying parties, united in an expedition to Hereford, which they took by surrender : [98] they then scoured the country through Leominster to the gates of Worcester, April 26. where, meeting with an unexpected repulse, they withdrew. Waller

1643.

soon after proceeded to the Earl of Essex at Reading, and thence into Somersetshire; and Massey, no longer a deputy, was advanced to be governor of Gloucester. He raised men; and kept the enemy upon the alert, continuing to give proofs of his personal valour and contempt of danger. In an excursion towards Stow on the Wold, where he beat up some of the king's quarters, he had reason to congratulate himself upon his escape from the pursuit of a force that hung upon his rear, and was joined by others drawn out of Sudley Castle. He displayed great address and courage in extricating himself from this difficulty, but his small party sustained some loss, and he was obliged to abandon all his prisoners. [99]

The design of delivering Bristol to the king having failed, the principal agents had been brought before a council of war and condemned to die; but the king endeavoured to interpose in their behalf, by a letter which General Ruthven, lately created earl of Forth, addressed to the governor at his majesty's command.

"Patrick earle of Forth, Lord Etterick, and lord lieutenant of all
"his Majestie's Forces."

"I, having been informed, that lately at a council of warre you have
"condemned to death Robert Yeomans, late sheriffe of Bristol, who hath
"his majestie's commission for raising a regiment for his service,
"William Yeomans, his brother, George Bouchier, and Edward
"Dacres, all for expressing their loyalty to his majesty, and endeavour-
"ing his service according to their allegiance, and that you intend to
"proceed speedily against divers others in like manner, do therefore
"signifie to you, that I intend speedily to put master George, master
"Stevens, captaine Huntley, and others, taken at Cicester, into the
"same condition. I do further advise you, that if you offer by that
"unjust judgement to execute any of them you have so condemned;
"that those here in custody, master George, master Stevens, and cap-
"tain Huntley, must expect no favour or mercy.

Given under my hand at Oxford this sixteenth of May, 1643.

FORTH.

"To the commander in chiefe of the councill of
"warre in Bristol."

This letter produced from Fiennes the following reply, which contains a striking specimen of the phraseology employed on the parliamentary side. 1643.

“ Nathaniel Fiennes, governour, and the council of war in the city of Bristol.

“ Having received a writing from your lordship, wherein it is declared, that, upon information of our late proceedings against Robert Yeomans, William Yeomans, and others, you intend speedily to put master George, master Stevens, captaine Huntley, and others into the same condition : we are well assured, that neither your lordship, nor any other mortal man, can put them into the same condition ; for whether they live or die, they will alwaies be accounted true and honest men, faithful to their king and country, and such as in a faire and open way have alwaies prosecuted that cause, which in their judgment, guided by the judgment of the highest court, they held the justest ; whereas the conspirators of this city, must, both in life and death, carry perpetually with them the brand of treachery and conspiracy. And, if Robert Yeomans had made use of his commission in an open way, he should be put into no worse condition than others in the like kinde had beene ; but the law of nature among all men, and the law of armes among souldiers, make a difference between open enemies, and secret spyes and conspirators. And, if you shall not make the like distinction, we do signifie unto you, that we will not only proceed to the execution of the persons already condemned, but also of divers others of the conspirators, unto whom wee had some thought of extending mercy. And we do further advertise you, that, if by any inhumane and un-soldier-like sentence, you shall proceed to the execution of the persons by you named, or any other of our friends in your custody, that have been taken in a faire and open way of war ; then Sir Walter Pye, Sir William Crofts, and colonel Connesbey, [100] with divers others taken in open rebellion, and actual war against the king and kingdom, whom we have here in custody, must expect no favour or mercy. And, by God’s blessing upon our most just cause, we have powers enough for our friends security, without taking-in

1643.

" any that have gotten out of our reach and power, although divers of
 " yours, of no mean quality and condition, have been released by us.
 " Given under our hands the eighteenth of May, 1643.

" Nathaniel Fiennes, President.

" Clement Walker, &c.

" To Patrick Earle of Forth,

" Lord Lieut. General." [101]

May 30. The king also wrote to the mayor of Bristol, and to the citizens, commanding them to raise what power they could to hinder the execution of the sentence upon his loyal subjects. But all his efforts proved of no avail. The governor hanged George Yeomans and Robert Bouchier; [102] and Charles prudently and humanely abstained from retaliation.

The severity of the above letters will be agreeably contrasted by part of a correspondence between lady Scudamore at Hom Lacy, in Herefordshire, and Sir William Waller, at Gloucester. Lord Scudamore, who had been taken at Hereford and was a prisoner in London, wrote to Sir Robert Pye, complaining of the injury that his property had sustained at Lanthony; and his wife, upon the same occasion, applied to Sir William Waller. Many passages of Waller's life and writings shew that he was one of the most gentlemanly characters of his party; and the answer she received from him is expressed with a courtesy not unworthy of the chivalry of earlier times.

Noble Lady,

I shall ever take itt a great honour to receive your commands, and I shall, with a ready obedience entertain them. In obedience to your ladyshipp's letter, I sent for Alderman Pury, and questioned with him what wast had been committed upon your ladyshipp's house or grounds. I finde some trees have been felled, and have given order, there shall be no more touched; but I am assured nothing about the house hath been defaced, only a tower of an old chapel adjoyning thereunto was pulled down in regard itt might have been some annoyance to the workes. For your ladyshippes rents I have given order the sequestration should not be executed; so that, Madam, they are still at your command. If there be any thing else wherein I may advance your ladyshipps service, I

humbly beg the favour to be commanded, that I may have opportunity to give some demonstration with what passion, I am, Madam, 1643.

Your devoted humble servant,

Gloucester, June 4, 1643.

WALLER.

For the Right Honourable the Lady Scudamore,
att Homelacy, humbly present these. [103]

While Gloucestershire experienced an interval of comparative repose, the campaign was carried on with great vigour in Wiltshire and Somersetshire. There on the fifth of July Sir William Waller fought at Lansdown with Prince Maurice and Sir Ralph Hopton. It was a bloody, but drawn battle; yet as the immediate consequences were upon the whole advantageous to Waller, it was announced as a splendid victory. When the intelligence reached Gloucester, a thanksgiving was ordered to be held for it on the thirteenth of the same month; and by a singular coincidence, on that very day, [104] while Massey and all Gloucester were joyfully celebrating his triumph, Waller in his turn received so signal an overthrow at Roundway Down, near Devizes, [105] from Lord Wilmot and the Earl of Caernarvon, that his whole army was dispersed, and himself with a shattered remnant of it fled to Bristol. July 5.
July 13.

Fairfax, after a variety of success, being defeated in the North, and Waller in the West, while the army of the Earl of Essex remained paralysed with sickness and inaction, the king's cause seemed rapidly to be gaining the ascendancy. The pen, that throughout the whole affair had been as active as the sword, has left indelible proofs of the fluctuations of feeling among the disputants in every stage of the controversy. "What the king's party conceived then of the other side," says a parliamentary historian, "was expressed in many writings; one of which, in the nature of a jeering epigram, was made at Oxford, and is, I think, worthy to be here inserted, on account of the strong expression it contains of the low condition of the parliament at that time. The thing is written in an odde manner, and the names of the parliament commanders, Fairfax and Waller, are expressed by a rebus way of Latine, as likewise those of the king's side, the Marquess of Hartford, and the Earl

1643. 'of Newcastle. I leave it to the reader without other translation or
" comment.

" Extincta Castro Fax pulchra novo est ;
 " Nec nautæ postea nec militi
 " Sit nota Pharos ; Auster disparem
 " Haud tulit casum : Murus, cui addita est
 " Canina littera, mersa (*sic*) est, suis
 " Cum turmis, nuper, Leporis vado.
 " Euri Βαυορτωει Bristonia
 " Leporinos horrescens vortices.
 " Anglica Claudii timet pares
 " Urbs casus ; Herois Teutonici
 " Myrmidones astant magno cum Duce.
 " Pacata Thule est ; nec Noto timor
 " Popello aut regi : Nihil relictum est
 " Brittanicum domare Cæsarem,
 " Ni νεομαυρομέλου preces Gregis,
 " Hæc Sphinges raptim Oedipo suo." [106]

Julii 20, 1643.

The city of Bristol was struck with terror when Waller hastened in with the fugitives from his late defeat. In a few days he rode away to London, accompanied by a small party of gentlemen ; where the parliament, with a policy that has been compared to that of the Roman senate, when they congratulated the general who had been beaten at the battle of Cannæ, received him with triumphal honours and congratulations ; and this might tend to remedy the depression of the public mind. But he had left the governor and the parliamentarians of Bristol to gloomy forebodings. They had all along considered that the fate of that place depended upon the fortune of Waller. [107] Indeed he had himself cherished the notion ; and, to secure his success, had drained it of twelve hundred of its best troops, now dispersed and lost to the service ; and those that remained, too few to man the extensive works, were dis-

heartened by the unpropitious turn of affairs; and probably placed no great confidence in the military talent and prowess of their commander. 1645.
 Fiennes had made many bold and inflammatory speeches in the house; [108] but, like Demosthenes of old, his talent was rather suited to the senate than the field. [109] He had boasted, indeed, at Bristol, that "he would dispute every foot of ground with the enemy to the uttermost: that his flag of truce should be his winding sheet; that he would keep the city, or it should keep him, or he would lay his bones therein." But as the hour of trial drew nigh, he awaited it with secret apprehensions; [110] while an army led by the Princes Rupert and Maurice re-appeared before the walls, from which the banners of twelve regiments of cavalry, and fifteen of infantry, were discovered floating against him. On the day after their arrival the royalists determined to attempt a general assault; and they executed it on the following morning. Several of the storming parties were repulsed with slaughter; one of them, however, under the command of Colonel Washington, seconded by the Cornish foot, established itself within the rampart at the suburbs, near the College Green. Then it was that the governor's infirmity betrayed itself in pale looks and contradictory commands, and in calling his men from the line under pain of death. Some of his officers, so far as they might, endeavoured to remonstrate; and the soldiers retired murmuring that they were betrayed. The very women, if we may believe the witnesses upon his trial, shewed a more vigorous determination to defend the town. Fiennes hastily proposed a parley, called a council of war, and surrendered. [111] On Wednesday the twenty-sixth of July, the king's troops took possession of the place. July 26.

This was one of the severest losses that the parliament had as yet sustained; and it especially affected the people of London, who carried on a far more extensive intercourse with Bristol than with Gloucester; and whose property to a considerable amount was lodged there at the time of the capitulation. [112] From the first impression of astonishment and vexation, they were quickly called off by alarm for the probable fate of Gloucester. Both houses became seriously alive to its condition; and more than ever aware of the necessity of making some efforts to preserve it.

1643. By letters from the governor and principal officers, dated July the twenty-
July 29. ninth, they were urged to send men, money, arms, and ammunition; and
Aug. 1. the commons immediately passed an order [113] that Sir William Waller
should despatch some troops to strengthen the garrison; and that they
should be assisted with seventeen hundred pounds. An answer was writ-
ten to Massey assuring him of relief; but it may safely be affirmed that
none of the supplies thus voted reached the city in time. [114] In the
mean while the pecuniary burdens imposed upon them by their new poli-
tical masters were not trivial. The tax at this period for the general
maintenance of the army, amounted in the county to the weekly sum of
seven hundred and fifty pounds, and in the city to sixty-two pounds ten
shillings; and this was to be raised by weekly assessments upon the in-
habitants. [115]

The king had long been troubled by distractions and jealousies among his officers, arising chiefly from the advancement of the young princes, his nephews, to high commands. And it happened that, after the surrender of Bristol, a misunderstanding respecting a governor arose between Prince Rupert and the Marquess of Hertford, which Charles found necessary to appease by his presence. He accordingly repaired thither from Oxford, and, having accomplished his object, held a council to deliberate upon the future operations of the campaign. Several days had been passed inactively; and it was necessary to follow up the advantages that had been gained. Never had the cause of the king stood higher since the war began. Two armies, that had been united for the late undertaking against Bristol, were now to be again divided; and it was debated to what points they should be immediately directed. The result of the council was, that one of them should march under Prince Maurice into the west, and that the king should lead the other towards Gloucester. Perhaps no single determination involved more momentous consequences. And forasmuch as the siege of Gloucester is not only the most eminent feature in the historical view of transactions confined to the county, but casts a general shade over the whole civil war, it may be important to enter somewhat minutely into the motives, by which the resolution to undertake it was swayed. It is useless to look at what might have

been done. The city of London, to human calculation defenceless, may seem to have presented a fairer and more decisive object; but the plan of marching at once upon a capital, so frequently and successfully practised in modern tactics, was not then understood. The following were the reasons, as they are given by Clarendon, for attempting the siege of Gloucester.

1643.

“ There was not a man who did not think the reducing of Gloucester a city within little more than twenty miles of Bristol, of mighty importance to the king, if it might be done without a great expense of time and loss of men. It was the only garrison the rebels had between Bristol and Lancashire, on the north part of England, and if it could be recovered, his majesty would have the river of Severn entirely within his command, whereby his garrisons of Worcester and Shrewsbury, and all those parts, might be supplied from Bristol; and the trade of that city thereby so advanced, that the customs and duty might bring a notable revenue to the king; and the wealth of the city increasing, it might bear the greater burden for the war: a rich and populous country, which had hitherto rather yielded conveniences of quarter than a settled contribution, (that strong garrison holding not only the whole forest division, which is a fourth part of the county of Gloucester, absolutely in obedience, but so alarmed all other parts, that none of the gentry, who for the most part were well affected, durst stay at their own houses) might be wholly in the king’s quarters, and by how much it had offended, and disquieted the king, more than other counties, by so much the more money might be raised upon them. Besides the general weekly contributions, the yeomanry, who had been most forward and seditious, being very wealthy, and able to redeem their delinquency at a high price (and these arguments were fully pressed by the well affected gentry of the county, who had carried themselves honestly, and suffered very much by doing so, and undertook great levies of men, if this work were first done); there was another argument of no less, if not greater moment than all the rest. If Gloucester were reduced, there would need no forces to be left in Wales, and all those soldiers might be then drawn

1643.

"to the marching army, and the contributions and other taxes assigned
"to the payment of it." [116]

The benefits that the king might derive from this measure, should it prove successful, did not escape the notice of his opponents, and may serve as some vindication of its having been adopted; and, after all that has been said about the impolicy of it, the earnestness and apprehensions of the parliament are a confirmation that the views entertained respecting it were not so erroneous as may have been supposed. Nathaniel Fiennes and others, in a despatch sent to his father, Lord Say, in the preceding March, pleading the necessities and importance of Bristol, use these words. "If he gaine this town he will soone subdue Gloucester, and become Master of all the tract * between Shrewsbury, and the Lizard's Point in Cornwall, a quarter so * plentifull as his plundering army yet never saw." [117] Besides this, Fiennes and Clifton his lieutenant professed openly after the surrender of Bristol, "that they would be hanged if Gloucester could hold out two days, if the enemy came before it." [118] And though these were the expressions of men who spoke with a keen sense of their own recent misconduct, and a wish to justify it, they might not have been uttered without reason or effect. The general opinion of its own inhabitants was on the same side. "Gloucester," says Corbet, "did stand alone, without help and hope."

Rapin, a soldier by profession, and no mean judge in military and political affairs, is one of the few historians who vindicate the conduct of Charles in this particular. "If even some of his friends," he observes, "have blamed him for undertaking this siege, it may be affirmed, the ill success was the best foundation of their opinion. For my part, I believe he had all the reason in the world to undertake it." [119] The fault was not so much in the design as in the execution. All could foresee the advantages of success if it could be cheaply obtained, but hardly any seem to have anticipated or calculated the immense evils of delay. Some, however, have asserted that the king did not altogether approve of it, and that the queen, then at Oxford, whose influence over his councils is well known, [120] was

averse to it; it was certainly disliked by many persons of rank in the court and army. The blame of having advised it, was afterwards chiefly laid upon Lord Culpepper, whose loyalty, questionless, was above all imputation. But none of the motives already mentioned had been sufficient to determine this doubtful point before the council of war, had not a singular incident put an end to the debate. Colonel William Legge, then in the king's army, was an officer under whom Massey had served in the Scottish war; and they continued on terms of friendship, though their interests were now divided. He had written a letter to Massey urging him to deliver up Gloucester to the king. The governor, in presence of several persons, gave a sharp reproof to the bearer; and returned an answer, in which he rejected the overture, and complained of the unkindness of his friend in endeavouring to corrupt his honour; but he privately recalled the messenger, and desired him to inform Colonel Legge, that, though to avoid suspicion it was necessary he should give him in public such an answer as he had done, "he was "the same man that he had ever been, his servant; that he wished the "king well; and that, though he would defend himself against Prince "Rupert, if he came before Gloucester, yet, if the king himself should "summon it, he would not hold it against him; his conscience would "not permit him to fight against the person of the king; and he should "be able in such a case to persuade the town to yield." [121]

This story, gravely related by Clarendon, has never been confuted, though the accuracy of it has been frequently called in question. Such insincerity has not been thought consistent with the character of Massey, [122] and the determined stand that he afterwards made: there is reason to believe that this circumstance has been mentioned by no other contemporary writer; nor does it even appear to have been alluded to in any way during the governor's subsequent career, when he was tossed about among conflicting parties. No parliamentary pen has exulted in it; nor has any other royalist taxed it with dishonour. Whether Massey actually used such expressions, or whether the messenger, as might naturally occur, mistook or overstated words of mere civility, that could not be extended to such a construction; or lastly,

1643. governor; in some measure, served to appease it. On Sunday, Garrett,
 August 6. a royalist general, shewed himself in the vale with a brigade of cavalry,
 and sent in a message from Tredworth respecting some horses that had
 been taken from him on the Cotswold; while his real object seems to
 have been merely to examine the very ground afterwards occupied by that
 part of the army which was first led up by the king. Plundering and
 skirmishing took place on Monday, within a short distance, at Tuffley
 and Brockthorp, and the inhabitants continued to labour at the fortifi-
 cations. On the hills were observed straggling bodies of royalists,
 doubtless, anticipating the speedy occupation of the city, whose towers
 and spires and whole circumference lay so fairly before their eyes. At
 length, on Tuesday, it was announced that the king was at Berkeley, in
 direct march towards Gloucester; [130] and on Thursday he made his
 appearance. On the day that he came in sight, and demanded admit-
 tance, the house of commons well knowing what was likely to happen,
 directed a letter to be written to the governor and townsmen, en-
 couraging them to hold out against him. [131]

August 10
 to
 Sept. 5, in-
 clusive.

Tredworth is a tract of land lying under the northern side of
 Robin Hood's hill, and extending on a gentle slope from the base of it,
 by Matson meadows, to within cannon-shot of the city. There Charles
 halted in full military display: he was at the head of about six thousand
 horse and foot; two thousand horse went round to face the works on the
 northern side, but the gross of the army, (perhaps of the infantry) had not
 as yet arrived. The spot on which he was posted, since divided by many
 enclosures, was then an open field; and must have been visible from the
 walls, as may now be distinguished by a spectator, in spite of inter-
 vening trees and hedge-rows. There is a tradition among the peasants,
 that the land was covered with standing corn when the army entered
 upon it in the morning, and that the horses were knee-deep in soil
 before the close of the day.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, two heralds [132] bearing a
 summons from his majesty, appeared at one of the gates, and were
 allowed to enter. It may seem trivial or unnecessary to remark that
 one of them at least alighted; but it may be interesting to some readers

to learn that in a hostile town and civil war, the respect at all times due to his office was not laid aside, [133] nor the common courtesies of life forgotten; for, trifling as is the fact that appears upon the records, it is not without its weight, that his horse was led away, stabled and fed while he was fulfilling the object of his mission. This was John Philpot, Somerset herald. He wished to have made proclamation openly in the street; but the governor objected, as the king had not expressly commanded it. So he read the summons in the Tolsey, and withdrew. Two hours were allowed for deliberating whether they would accept or reject his majesty's free pardon without any exception; and the mayor had still some scruples respecting his oath which were previously to be satisfied. But these were soon appeased or removed; and a written answer was prepared and unanimously agreed to. The persons selected to be the bearers were, for the citizens, Tobias Jordan, a bookseller, and member of the corporation, [134] and for the military, Serjeant Major Pudsey; men who would stand unawed in the presence of the sovereign, and had been thoroughly tutored in the doctrines of resistance. The heralds conducted them to the presence of the King, surrounded by his troops, and attended by Prince Charles, the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, the commander of his horse, the Earl of Forth, general of his foot, and the noble and distinguished officers of his train. The contrast exhibited in the appearance and demeanor of these messengers, as they are somewhat sarcastically described by Lord Clarendon, is characteristic of the party and the times.

“ Within less than the time prescribed, together with the trumpeter, returned two citizens from the town, with lean, pale, sharp, and bad visages, indeed, faces so strange and unusual, and in such a garb and posture, that at once made the most severe countenances merry, and the most cheerful hearts sad; for it was impossible such embassadours would bring less than a defiance. The men, without any circumstance of duty, or good manners, in a pert, shrill, undismayed accent, said, “ They had brought an answer from the godly city of Gloucester, to the king; and were so ready to give insolent and seditious answers to

1645. " any question, as if their business were chiefly to provoke the king to
" violate his own safe conduct."

In the answer, subscribed by the mayor and governor, by thirteen of the aldermen and most substantial citizens, and eleven officers of the garrison, [135], they informed the king that they conceived themselves bound to obey the commands of his majesty, signified by both houses of parliament, and accordingly that they should keep the city for the use of his majesty and of his royal posterity. This sort of language, [136] however inconsistent to modern apprehensions, was at first officially adopted by the parliament and all their adherents, and has called forth many animadversions and attempts at vindication. To reconcile the nation at large to their measures they assumed that they were espousing the king's cause; for they wished to make it appear that he had deserted and was contending against himself. Thus they established a distinction between the royal office and person, and maintained that his political person must be and actually was with them, though his natural person was at war with them; and they kept up an appearance of reverence towards the one, while they endeavoured to subdue the other. This is the key to the seeming ambiguity of the reply of the citizens and garrison, and of that comment in which it is defended by their historian: " It was so, that the town was held for the use of " his majesty, but according to the sense of the houses of parliament." [137]

Charles, long accustomed to this style of expression, which he thoroughly comprehended, was not so much surprised at the terms of the answer as at the confidence that dictated it; yet he received it most commendably, without the least symptom of impatience. " Waller is " extinct, and Essex cannot come," was the only remark that escaped his lips upon the perusal of it; but as the question was thus decided, no conference ensued; the messengers were hastily dismissed, and ere the gates had closed upon them hostilities had begun. For straightway the suburbs on the north and east and south were seen in a blaze; and the king's troops who advanced on the side of the Barton-street were

driven out by the fire. In this conflagration one church and upwards of two hundred houses were destroyed. [138] 1648.

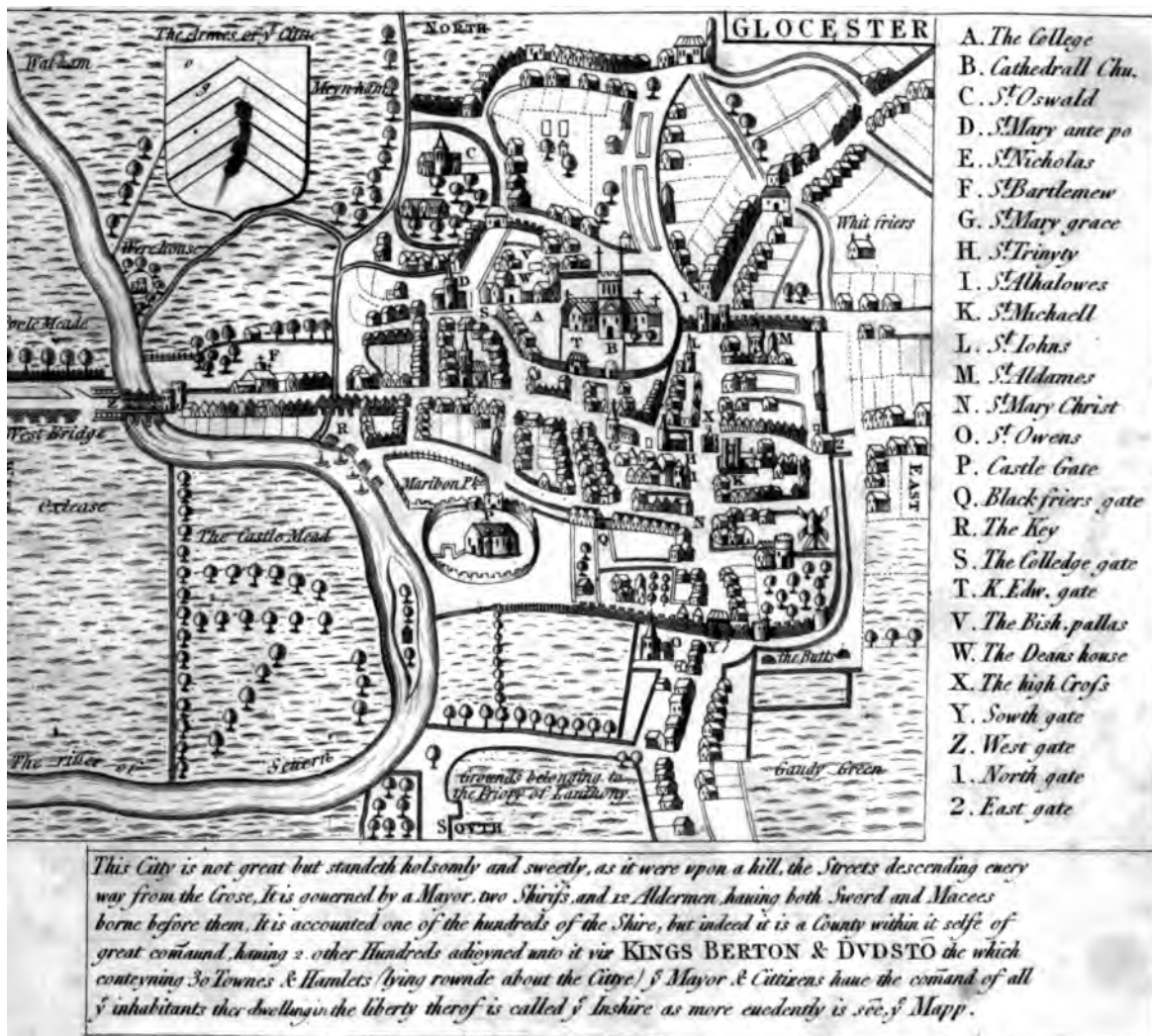
From such corresponding words and actions the king perceived that as he had to deal with so determined an enemy, "he was to expect nothing there but what could not be kept from him." And the advice of his council of war, backed by the positive opinion of soldiers of the best experience, who rode around and took a nearer view of the fortifications, induced him to commence the siege in form. They were confident that it might be taken by approach in less than ten days. Too many and valuable lives had been lost at the storming of Bristol to permit an attempt of carrying it by assault. The former plan was therefore adopted, and on that very night the engineers began to open their trenches. The pipes were cut that conveyed water from Robinhood's hill to the city conduits; and the stream that proceeds from the quarter of Upton St. Leonard's, then turning, as it now does, several corn mills, was diverted from its course, and most of the mills were burnt. A messenger was immediately despatched to Oxford with orders to bring down a reinforcement of foot with the battering train; and Sir Williamavasour, commander of all the forces in South Wales, was directed to draw his men to the right bank of the Severn, and there to complete the blockade by breaking down the bridges. Within two days the several divisions had taken up their posts. Forces from Worcester, afterwards joined by Vavasour, quartered in the north upon the Tewkesbury road, in houses at Longford; and a leaguer, or regular encampment, was formed in two fields at Kingsholm, less than half a mile distant. [139] Others were lodged in and about the hospital of Saint Margaret, on the London road. On the south, the Earl of Forth was encamped within a quarter of a mile, and pitched his general's tent in some grounds behind the priory of Lanthony, sheltered by a rise of land; this was the main leaguer. [140] Sir Jacob Astley, who commanded a strong party on the eastern side, was lodged in a private house in Barton-street, that had escaped the fire. [141] Vavasour, before he crossed, left a guard at the Vineyard to close the passage over the Severn. These were their arrangements when the business began.

1643.

The professed historians of the siege have left us such ample accounts, that to enter in this place into a minute detail of operations which they have described, would be mere repetition of what will be found in the following collection. The reader is therefore referred to the tracts of John Corbet, chaplain to the governor, and of John Dorney, town clerk of the city. The style of these writers marks their respective professions; that of Corbet will be found flowing and rhetorical, scholar-like for the time; but somewhat vitiated by the faults and obscurities of the age. He is too deficient in dates; but he offers comprehensive and judicious expositions of the actual state of opinions and affairs. Dorney is an unpretending accurate reporter, [142] not so valuable in the general view of the subject, but embracing a variety of interesting particulars, and furnishing a regular series of dates. Both of them possessed considerable talent for observation, and enjoyed every opportunity of ascertaining what passed, being themselves eye-witnesses and actors (as who within the place down to the very handmaids and children were not actors?) in the eventful drama. All who have since attempted to give a narrative of this siege have been chiefly indebted for their materials to these authentic sources.

We are less acquainted with the particulars of what occurred in the camp of the besiegers, a camp distinguished by the presence of the King, and graced with the flower of the nobility of England sumptuously appointed with horses and arms. Still, however, some scattered notices remain to be collected, which have not hitherto been brought together, and may help to illustrate the situation of both parties within and without the gates.

The city, thus beleaguered, was considered one of the fairest of its class in his majesty's dominions. [143] The main streets still, it is presumed, for the most part unaltered in their dimensions, [144] exhibit a width unusual in former days; and the fronts of some of the few houses, that have as yet resisted the hand of improvement, bear marks of antique decoration. It may be supposed to have partaken of the wealth and prosperity of those manufactories long established upon the streams that wander down the slopes and among the vallies of the neighbouring hills, and minister to the support and clothing of multi-



PLAN OF THE CITY OF GLOUCESTER,
Copied from Speed.

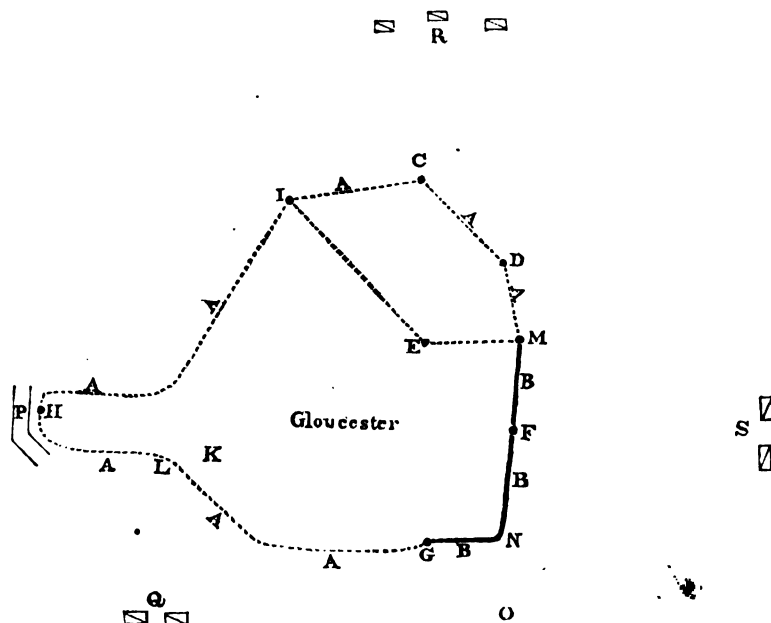
tudes. Gloucester had formerly been much enriched by pilgrimage. Its beautiful cathedral commanded the respect of all parties; and, while others suffered from the ravages of the parliamentarians, was preserved from serious mutilation even in the hands of spoilers, and in a desolating age. [145] History is at a loss as to the precise origin of its bulwarks; it had been fortified from a very early period, and the extent of the works at different eras must have been much enlarged; but the walls that now partially interposed between the garrison and the royal army did not entirely surround it. Inspection of the plan of Speed, which does not profess to give an exact representation in this respect, will, however, prove that the walls were very incomplete. The truth is that the defences consisted partly of works and partly of walls; and as these terms frequently occur in the description of operations, and their meaning may be confounded, a brief statement may correct any inaccurate idea that may be formed. Let us begin then at the river, and take the bearing to the four principal gates.

1648.

[146] West and North.	From the Westgate-bridge at the Severn to the lower or outer North gate.	No walls. A small work. In front marshy ground.
North-East and East.	From the lower North gate to the East gate.	A slender work upon a low ground as far as a postern gate, where was a turn south- ward; and from that point to the East gate the ancient walls.
East and South.	From the East gate to the South gate.	The ancient walls, but nothing to flank the ap- proach of an enemy.
South and West.	From the South gate to the West gate.	As far as the castle, chiefly a strong and lofty work: a breast-work by the river side under the castle: on the quay a half-moon— the river.

1643.

Such is the general view of their outer means of defence; by which it appears that the wall extended from the northern postern to the South gate; Speed represents it as continuing somewhat farther. Within the works on the northern side was a line passing from the inner North gate, under the college wall, to the priory of St. Oswald, and vestiges of walling seem to shew that there was a continuation of some kind of defence as far as the postern above-mentioned, between the lower North gate and the East gate. The whole is brought under the eye in the annexed diagram.



AA.—Works.
BB.—Wall.
C.—Alvin Gate.
D.—Lower North gate.
E.—Upper North gate.
F.—East gate.
G.—South gate.
H.—West gate.
I.—St. Oswald.

K.—Castle.
L.—Quay.
M.—Postern.
N.—Chief point of attack.
O.—Gaudy Green.
P.—River Severn.
Q.—Earl of Forth.
R.—Sir William Vavasour.
S.—Sir Jacob Astley—The King.

The height of these walls, as rudely described, to Furney by one who remembered them, was about two stories. They had battlements; and on the top were walks, probably like those at Chester, and when backed with earth, resembling the Dungeon at Canterbury, or the boulevards in the towns of France and Flanders. The fosses were narrow, but filled with water. There were in all eight great drawbridges for carts and waggons, and two horse bridges, at as many entrances, larger or smaller through the inner or outer works and walls. These entrances, not like the neglected portals of Worcester, mentioned by Clarendon were well secured by proper fastenings. To each of the four principal gates was appended a lantern, the care of the porter, which might direct carriages and passengers over the bridge by night. [147]

1643.

The besiegers began on the eastern and south-eastern quarter; drew trenches in front of the walls; drained a part of the fosse; sunk a mine at the eastern gate, and established a powerful battery upon Gaudy Green. Here the most vigorous attempt was made at the turn by the Butts, or Rignal stile, where they once effected a breach, and where a portion of the fortification is still to be seen. Various reasons have been assigned for this plan. The springs all over the valley lie very near the surface; [148] but this being the highest ground in the whole circuit, was more convenient for the engineers; to which may be added, that the walls might have been more assailable than the works. The besieged had entertained apprehensions for the lower and south-western part of the town, but the chief effort was never directed to that quarter, though the moat was also there drained, and engines were constructed to facilitate an assault. As soon as the design of the besiegers was ascertained, the whole of the wall from the north-eastern corner to the South gate was lined with earth up to the battlements, cannon-proof: and the East and South gates were dammed up in the same manner. Works were also formed within, between the South and East gate and across the Eastgate-street. In the Friars' orchard, occupying a portion of this space, they made a sconce for four pieces of ordnance; and from this and the Friars' barn, at a corner near the north-eastern port, they were enabled to flank the eastern approaches and to scour the trenches.

1643.

On the evening before the king appeared in Tredworth it was rumoured in Gloucester that he would take up his quarters at Prinknash, the residence of the dowager lady Bridgeman; but the *Iter Carolinum* shews that from the first he fixed himself at Matson. His two eldest sons, Prince Charles and the Duke of York, were with him; and that venerable mansion now retains a memorial of these youths, who with their knives or swords are said to have made several incisions in a stone window-sill in one of the upper chambers, which in the various alterations that the fabric has experienced have never been effaced to the present hour. [149] The old church close to the house was used as a magazine, and the ammunition was kept there under a strong guard. [150] No spot could be more convenient for the king, because it was entirely out of the range of shot, and a few minutes ride would bring him to inspect the operations. Sometimes he was seen at the head of the horse, who had little to do but to parade and forage. [151] The parliamentary journals accused him of not venturing within two miles of Gloucester, but the *Mercurius Aulicus* [152] rebuts the charge: want of personal courage was never among his failings. He remained at Matson till the business was over, with the exception of only four days, when he rode to Oxford [153] to advise with his council respecting the Earls of Bedford, Clare and Holland, who had deserted the parliament, and wished to be admitted to a reconciliation. These noblemen followed him to Gloucester, and fought for him at Newbury; but not conceiving themselves treated with sufficient attention, returned afterwards to their former associates. [154] Sir William Davenant, the poet laureat, received the honour of knighthood during the siege. [155]

Many of the nobility were quartered in little cottages with which the country abounded; and here in some low-roofed hut, when the toil and hazards of the day were done, sat Sunderland, [156] listening with delight to Falkland, while he disputed with the acute Chillingworth upon religious topics,—for such was the fashion of conversational intercourse at the time,—as tranquilly and abstractedly in the neighbourhood of guns and drums, as though he had been in his mansion at Tew near Oxford,

whither the eminent scholars of that university were wont to resort, as to "a college situated in a purer air." [157] Both Sunderland and Falkland, who was secretary to his majesty, exposed themselves much in the trenches, and the latter was even blamed for his unnecessary contempt of danger. Chillingworth, who had exchanged his pen for a sword, and his academical habit for a military cloke, came down from Oxford to superintend the construction of the machines already alluded to which were framing with all possible dispatch in the quarters of the Earl of Forth by Lanthony. They seem to have been but just completed when the siege was raised, and they fell into the enemies' hands. The men of Gloucester derided them as "imperfect and troublesome," and abused the contriver of them; but had they been brought into action and employed with skill and resolution, there is still room for doubt, whether they might not have been found more formidable than they appeared. [158] The three excellent persons above-mentioned cordially detested this unnatural war; but felt it an engagement of duty to attend upon their king; and all within a few months breathed their last in his cause. [159]

The common soldiers were hutted in the different encampments, and the army was, upon the whole, healthy during their stay. The weather had been particularly favourable; for, excepting on one night, (August 24) when they were annoyed by wet in the trenches, no rain had fallen till the evening on which they retired. The foot, by their undaunted behaviour at Bristol, had spread the terror of their name before them, [160] and the horse were ever reputed victorious: they were in most superb condition; great numbers of gentlemen served in the ranks. [161] Clarendon reckons them at eight thousand: [162] but their presence, for the service they performed, was worse than unnecessary here, where unless in one sally they found no available employment. Their chief use must have been in foraging. Plundering went on in all directions. The noble historian confesses "that a very great licence broke into the army both among officers and soldiers; the malignity of those parts being thought excuse for the exercise of any rapine or severity among the inhabitants. Insomuch as it is hardly

1643. "to be credited, how many thousand sheep were in a few days destroyed, besides what were brought in by the commissaries by a regular provision; and many countrymen imprisoned by officers without warrant or the least knowledge of the king's, till they had paid good sums of money for their delinquency; all which brought great clamour upon the discipline of the army, and justice of the officers, and made them likewise less prepared for the service they were to expect." [163] In the midst of this disorder the forces had greatly increased from different quarters; and this gradual augmentation of strength may account for disagreements that are found in the statements of their numbers; the highest estimate places them at thirty thousand, and they were unquestionably one of the finest bodies that Charles ever brought into the field.

To all this power Massey had no more to oppose than about fifteen hundred men of all ranks and arms, clubmen included; certainly not enough to man the works and walls; and when they endeavoured to do it, there they stood, a thin rank without seconds in case of storm. They were compelled to be on duty day and night, and had no reserves. The distribution of this slender force in the different guards on the whole line of fortifications was at the East, West, South, and two North gates and the turnpike between the latter; at the Alvin and Blind gates, and the quay; interiorly at the Barbican hill, the Castle, St. Mary's, the Marshalsea, St. Katherine's, the College, the Boothall, the Tolsey, and Lower Tolsey, and the main guard. [164] This was established at the wheat market, near the cross, in the Southgate-street, and had a lantern burning: here were always a hundred and twenty men. Near each of the posts was a guard house, where the soldiers were regularly supplied with wood, coals and candles. The principal magazine had been shifted from St. Bartholomew's hospital, and a place was fitted up in the Crypt church for the ammunition; probably in the vaults of the Crypt itself, as a place of greater security, they deposited the powder. Of this they consumed forty-six single barrels, out of their stock of fifty, when the besiegers withdrew; but they must have used more; for they worked two mills, which, one historian says, produced three barrels per week. A quantity of lead had been brought from the ruined palace at the Vine-

yard; [165] and the plumbers made the bullets. Powder, bullets and match were distributed upon some occasions by proclamation from the mayor by the common crier. In the reports that were at first prevalent in the king's army touching the scantiness of provisions in the city there was not the least truth : of all the necessaries and some of the superfluities of life, of corn and cattle, water, wine, spirits and strong waters, no doubt there was enough and to spare while the exigency continued upon them.

1642.

"Thus was Gloucester," says May, "on all sides blocked up, and "nothing expected but a most furious and bloody business. The king's "commanders, being many of them gentlemen of great skill and experience of conduct, had made their approaches (by the confession of "all) with as much advantage as could be, and placed their batteries "accordingly; the soldiers on that side had shewed themselves very "swift and indefatigable in their intrenchments, and as bold in all "attempts which they made upon the town. Nor were the besieged "behind hand in courage, patience and activity; as appeared, not only "in their defences, but in their frequent sallies; the Governour Massey "being admired by his enemies, for the great skill and dexterity which "he shewed upon all occasions." His quarters in a house, part of the Grey Friars, [166] were in the very focus of the contest, close to that part which was most fiercely assaulted. He was bravely seconded by his officers and garrison, whose spirits rose in proportion as they perceived their efforts attended with success. Among these officers, particularly in Lord Stamford's regiment, were several men of military talent and sterling valour; Constant Ferrer, town major, Captains White and Mallery, and Captain Marcus, who was slain; among the armed townsmen, Wise, the mayor, Pury, the father and son, and Backhouse, acted conspicuous parts. [167] Their vigorous sallies greatly interrupted the besiegers: they drove them out of the trenches and carried off their tools; pushed on to their batteries, took one of them in reverse, and spiked their cannon: but it must be admitted that in all of these they were not equally successful: especially in that of the night of the

1648.

twenty-first of August, conducted by Captains Stevenson and Moore, in which the earl of Sunderland [168] says they were "well beaten;" and Dorney, and Corbet as partial in his way as Clarendon, admit the unfavourable issue of this sally. On the twenty-third of August they were also driven in; after which they seldom ventured out, and only in small parties. Mines and countermines failed owing to the springs. [169] It was excellent policy in Massey, when the guns of the enemy were silent, to keep up an alarm, lest the country should conclude, from an interval of silence, that the place was taken. The comparative losses were nearly equal, but that of the king appeared by far the greatest. Out of his thirty thousand, one thousand were estimated to have perished; [170] but of the fifteen hundred of the garrison, not more than fifty men. And that there is no exaggeration in this estimate is partly evident from the registers of the different parishes; in which the deaths, had they been more numerous, would have been recorded: but in these no overwhelming addition to the entries of burials is to be found. [171]

In this state matters continued till the fifth of September. A point of pride or obstinacy in Charles rendered him averse to repeating his summons, lest it should seem to detract from the honour of the enterprize, while his troops cherished an expectation that the city would soon be taken. At the beginning of the last week in August many were confident that it could not hold out four days. [172] The Earl of Forth at that time began to fire red-hot balls from a battery at Lanthony, [173] which produced no effect; for though the greater part of the houses were built of timber, not one of them took fire. [174] Attempts by letter and conference to induce the besieged to yield were unavailing. Taunts and sarcastic jests, [175] usually thrown out upon such occasions, were given and retorted. The accidental killing of a pig by a ball furnished the garrison with a subject of merriment which they cast in the teeth of their adversaries, whom they threatened to beat soundly for eating their cabbages; the royalists on the other hand tried to mortify the besieged by informing them of the inability of Essex and Waller to come to their relief, threatened to grant them no quarter, [176] and that they would hang the twelve aldermen upon the twelve sign posts of the inns in the city. [177]

It will now be necessary to advert to what was passing in London, the only quarter from which relief could be expected. Massey might have hope of it, but for a long time he had no positive assurance: the express assertion of Corbet, [178] the rare entries of messengers, expences in the accounts of the stewards of the city, the meagre information in the News-books, and the silence of the journals of both houses, may fairly be opposed to the assertion of Clarendon, that he found means to send many messengers out of the town, "to advertise the streights " he was in, and the time he should be able to hold out." [179] So strict was the investment that little or no official intelligence could be sent by the governor to the parliament; though they might from time to time obtain some straggling passages of news from scouts and from the country, and they knew that Gloucester sorely needed aid. Where would the king stop if he should gain possession of the city; [180] and how many might be ready to desert them if it was seen that in such a strait they were unwilling or unable to assist their friends! Whatever may have been said of the hesitation of mens' minds among them, a candid enquirer into the state of their affairs will perceive that this was a most perilous juncture with the parliament. First they thought of sending Sir William Waller: but he was a beaten general, and had no troops; nor could sufficient numbers be mustered for him in time. Essex had only the wreck of an army sickly and dispirited, "a very shattered " and broken body;" [181] and their leader, if not half inclined to turn from the service, was out of humour with the conductors of affairs. In the houses of lords and commons they talked of accommodation and propositions of peace. The women in a body petitioned for it: But these counsels were soon abandoned. The pulpits of London resounded with alarms of ruin and destruction if pacific measures should prevail. The commons courted Essex; frequent interviews took place between them and the lord general; they visited his camp at Hounslow, [182] ascertained what was needful and furnished it with supplies. By the exertions of the committees and ministers, all that adhered to them were awakened, and united under a common sense of danger; in three weeks they pressed and raised three regiments of auxiliary forces, which they

1643.

1643.

clothed and armed; and to these were added three red and blue regiments of the London trained bands, in all about five thousand men. Towards the end of these proceedings, the shops were shut up, and trade suspended by the following rigorous and alarming proclamation, originating with the committee for militia for the relief of Gloucester. It is dated August 21, 1643.

“ Whereas the committee for the militia in the city of London, by
“ vertue of an ordinance of both houses of parliament, dated the
“ seventeenth of this instant moneth of August, have power to command
“ the shutting up of all shops within the lines of communication, to the
“ end the inhabitants thereof, may the better fit themselves for the
“ defence of the said city and parts adjacent, [183] and forasmuch as the
“ committee have been moved, as well by a committee of lords and commons
“ in parliament, as from his excellency the Earle of Essex to send forth
“ of this city some speedy aide for the relieving of the city of Gloucester,
“ now in great distresse; by reason of the enemies army, wherewith they
“ are besieged: and the said committee conceiving that the city of
“ London and parts adjacent cannot be long in safety if that city be lost,
“ they have forthwith resolved to send out a force both of horse and
“ foote, for the reliefe of the said city of Gloucester, and for the better
“ furtherance of that service, the said committee of the militia doe
“ hereby require all persons inhabiting within the lines of commu-
“ nication immediately to shut up their shops, and to continue them so
“ shut up untill Glocester be relieved, or untill further order be given
“ by both houses of parliament, or this committee, and to apply them-
“ selves to the furthering of this so necessary a service. And the
“ officers of the regiments of trayned bands and auxiliary forces, which
“ by lot are appointed to goe in this expedition, are required to returne
“ to the said committee, as well the names of such persons of the said
“ regiments, as shall neither march with the rest, [184] nor appoint other
“ sufficient men to goe in their roome, and of such as shall in any sort
“ hinder this expedition, to the end such course may be taken with them,
“ as this discovery of their ill-affection to the safety of this kingdom,
“ city, and parts adjacent deserveth; as also the names of such volun-

“teers not listed in the said regiments, as shall go in this expedition:
 “To the end they may receive the like pay which the rest doe, and also
 “be taken notice of as persons well affected to the city, parliament, and
 “kingdom.” [185]

1643.

Essex broke up from Colnbrook on Saturday, the twenty-sixth of August, and moved towards Beaconsfield and Aylesbury. At Brackley heath the auxiliaries and trained bands joined him. The general with his hat off rode through the ranks, and the city brigade received him with loud acclamations. He mustered at the rendezvous at least fifteen thousand men. Though the attempt seemed incredible to the royalists they had received such intelligence, [186] that the king despatched Wilmot with a body of horse to advance to Banbury, watch their movements, and harass them on their march; [187] while prince Rupert, with the greater part of the cavalry, was to wait on the Gloucestershire hills, and proceed to his assistance if necessity should so require. Wilmot skirmished with them near Aynhoe, Bicester, and Banbury; without making any impression he continued to harass and retire. They passed through Chippingnorton, and at Adlestrop entered the county of Gloucester; between which place and Stow on the Wold they faced Prince Rupert. As he had neither foot nor artillery he could not bring them to action; but he attempted to surround and cut off a regiment, in which he failed. Onward they pressed in close order; six deep, and eight hundred or a thousand a breast; the king's horse still retreating over the Cotswolds before them. On the fifth of September they reached the hill above Presbury, where they commanded a view of the valley of the Severn, and saw the quarters of the royalists at Gloucester on fire. From the brow of this eminence Essex discharged a warning piece to give notice to Massey of his approach; but probably the South wind, that brought up rain on that evening, prevented the report from being heard in the city. Part of the army descended to Presbury, Southam, and the adjoining villages; but the rear-guard with some ordnance and ammunition were obliged to halt on the hill top. Night drew on. The soldiers, already half famished for three days, remained there without bread or water, hedge or tree for shelter, straw, or fire. Many of the Londoners had never before had

1643.

such a sample of the military life; hard marching, hard fare, the wet earth for their bed, and "the high canopy," as the soldiers of that day termed it, "for their curtain." As the gloom increased, their situation became less enviable. It was a dreadful night, the wind blew a hurricane, the storm descended in torrents, some of the waggons were overthrown in the deep and craggy roads. During the darkness and tempest, at midnight the cavaliers gave them two alarms: in their confusion the soldiers were ready to turn upon each other; one man was accidentally shot, and several horses perished with the wet and cold.

From two spies that had been sent out to Warwick, (apparently when the king's horse had drawn off to watch Essex,) the governor had news that the general was coming. They stole out again on the third of September, and on the next night the garrison perceived two fires on Wainlode hill, concerted signals that relief was at hand; they answered them by lights from the College Tower. The fifth, appointed for a fast, was a joyful day to the town; in the interval between the sermons, they noticed an unusual bustle among the besiegers; the horses had all been taken up; cannons and waggons were drawing off in haste; but they hardly believed the evidence of their senses till the rear guard fired their huts, and the men withdrew from the trenches. Though they had reason to calculate upon this, they considered it a return to their prayers. The siege had lasted a month and three days. [188] Thousands of the royalist army marched in the rain up Painswick hill, on the summit of which they encamped in the ancient entrenchment of the part called Sponebed hill. As Charles was sitting on a stone near the camp, one of the young princes, weary of their present life, asked him "when they should go home?"—"I have no home to go to," replied the disconsolate king. [189] He went on to Painswick and passed the night there. The carriages of the army were left in the vale till the morning.

Essex did not at once lead his men into Gloucester. On Wednesday and Thursday they were distributed in Cheltenham and Winchcomb, and so far as Norton between Tewkesbury and Gloucester, where the cavaliers continued to beat up their quarters and occasioned them some loss. On Thursday he made his triumphant entry. The city was crowded to

1643.

excess with horse and foot. The earl's own regiment, and the Londoners, especially, were quartered within the walls. Great were the congratulations on all sides; the governor and citizens thanking and applauding the general; and he on his part commending the conduct and perseverance of the governor and city. [190] The mayor and corporation entertained him as hospitably as their circumstances would allow; and they presented him with a hogshead of claret and half a hogshead of sack during his stay. [191] But that stay must of necessity be short; he refreshed his weary men, gathered in some provisions from the Herefordshire side of Severn, and pillaged the estates of the royalists; then leaving in Gloucester three culverins and forty barrels of powder with a corresponding quantity of match and ball, on Sunday morning he marched to Tewkesbury, summoned, and entered it, and demanded the twentieth part of the property of the royalists for the relief of Gloucester. [192] Sept. 10.

The king had in the mean time brought a great part of his forces to Winchcomb and Sudley. His majesty lodged in the castle. One account informs us that conceiving Essex stayed at Gloucester "rather out of despair than election," he opened a way for his retreat by removing to Evesham. Another states, that Essex made the first movement; and that the king in consequence of it pushed forward to the north: [193] subsequent events shew that Charles acted under an impression that Essex would not fail to return by the way that he came; and that he intended to keep near enough either to starve or force him to fight: and this design, not injudiciously conceived, was for a while successful. The consumption in Gloucester had been great during three days that the relieving army had remained there; and the general, having two points to attend to, was in a strait between completing the provision of the city, and supplying his own troops; besides the contemplated necessity of having afterwards to retreat in the face of an enemy, through a country that had long been wasted and ransacked, and could furnish no more. Accordingly he found his quarters at Tewkesbury hardly tenable; and in his distress, and still in no good humour with the parliament, [194] he immediately addressed a letter, or rather re-

1648.

monstrance, to the speaker of the commons, in which he modestly touches upon his own success, and gives a faithful picture of the true posture of affairs.

“ Sir,

“ I will not trouble you with the particulars of our march; you shall, God willing, hear that more at large hereafter. You may be certified only hereby, that the first time the enemy appeared before us was at Aynho on the hill, with a very great body of horse; which Colonel Middleton faced more than a whole day, with but two regiments, and in Campania, and skirmished very often with them. The enemy faced us afterwards at Stoe the ould, with about four thousand horse, and retreated before us two days together, without engaging himself more than by small skirmishes. Upon Tuesday in the evening, the king's forces, seeing us approach, raised their siege before Gloucester, whither it pleased God we came very seasonably; for the governor had not above two or three barrels of powder left; yet had he managed his business with so much judgement and courage, that the enemy, not knowing of such want, had but small hopes of attaining their desires. We now stay here only for the relieving of Gloucester with victual and other provisions, of which there is an extraordinary scarcity. That which I must press you with earnestly at this time, is, First, that there be a sudden provision of eight or ten thousand pounds, to be sent to that garrison, without which there will be an impossibility of maintaining it this winter; the discontent of the inferior officers and common soldiers being very great, for want of their pay and arrears, they at this time justly expecting rather reward for their good service, than want of what is their due. The second, that the thousand foot, which the parliament is already engaged by promise to send, may speedily march thither, without which they will not be able to fetch any provisions from the country, but the enemy will be master to the very gates. The third, that Sir William Waller may be speedily sent down into these parts, which is the only means to pre-serve those friends you have here; for mine own army is in such extreme necessity for want of pay, (being now in an enemy's country,

“ and at this time within four or five miles of the king’s army, where no
 “ provisions can be had but for ready money,) and so little hopes I have
 “ of a supply from you, that unless we can presently fight, I must be
 “ immediately necessitated to draw into some other place, which may be
 “ nearer supplies, and have a more free intercourse to London.

1643.

“ Your assured friend,

“ Teuxbury, Sept. the 10th, 1643.

Essex.

“ For the Speaker of the honourable
 the House of Commons.” [195]

Nothing can be a stronger comment upon the ability of the governor of Gloucester than this account of the temper of his garrison; especially when it is known, that not a single officer and not more than three privates deserted [196] him the whole time that the king was before the city. Massey had also addressed a despatch to the parliament in which he touched upon the same subject, and requested a farther supply of men and arms. Messengers might now pass with at least a chance of escaping observation. These letters were entrusted to a boy who delivered them safely, and the report of the proceedings of the house of commons upon the reading of them is thus given in the journals.

“ Die Veneris, 15 Septembris, 1643.

“ A letter from his excellency the Earl of Essex, from Teuxbury, of
 “ the tenth of September, and from Colonel Massie, of the eleventh of
 “ September, relating to the condition of the army, and of the city of
 “ Gloucester, was this day read.

“ **RESOLVED.**—That Colonel Massie shall have a thousand pounds
 “ bestowed upon him, as a reward, and an acknowledgement of his ser-
 “ vice; whereof five hundred pounds to be paid in present: and that it
 “ be recommended to my Lord General to advance him to some place
 “ of honour and profit. And it is especially recommended to the com-
 “ mittee for advance of monies to take care that this thousand pounds
 “ be paid with all convenient speed.

“ **RESOLVED.**—That the arrears to the garrison of Gloucester shall
 “ be forthwith paid upon account made; and that the monies in Mr.
 “ Stevens’ hand, shall be made four thousand pounds; and that the

1643. " officers and soldiers of that garrison shall have a month's pay bestowed
" upon them as a reward of their service. And it is referred to the
" committee for the advance of monies, to provide these monies with all
" speed: who are to meet upon it this afternoon, at three o'clock."

" ORDERED.—That it be referred to the committee for safety, to take
" order for the sending of the thousand men, the troops of horse, the
" pistols, and other provisions, desired by Colonel Massie's letter."

" RESOLVED.—That twenty pounds shall be bestowed upon the mes-
" senger that brought these letters from Gloucester, and left with the
" master of the boy, for the benefit of the said messenger."

" ORDERED.—That Mr. Stephens and Mr. Hodges do prepare a
" letter to be written to Colonel Massie, and signed by Mr. Speaker, in
" acknowledgement of his good service, and to express the good accept-
" ance of it. They are likewise to prepare a letter of thanks to the
" Mayor of Gloucester and the townsmen."

" ORDERED.—That public thanksgiving be given on the next Lord's
" day, in all the churches of London and Westminster, and the parishes
" within the bills of mortality, in acknowledgement of God's great mercy
" and goodness, shewn in the relief of Gloucester."

" ORDERED.—That a conference be desired upon these votes; and
" that a letter be sent by both houses, to my Lord General, to acknow-
" ledge the great service he has done, in the conducting of his army in
" the difficult march to the relief of Gloucester."

" Mr. Pym is appointed to prepare this letter." [197]

Essex was pent up in Tewkesbury, calculating expedients of escape, and the king watching for an opportunity of bringing him fairly to action. [198] The parliamentary writers certainly have not formed a proper estimate of his majesty's situation, when they insinuate that after drawing off from the siege his design was to retreat from them. [199] That he suffered them to march to Tewkesbury unmolested, Clarendon attributes to want of information, and Charles seems to have suffered much from the negligence of those about him, dispirited as all may be supposed to have been from their recent failure. But that he afterwards sought every opportunity of an engagement is clear; and he was

1643.

thoroughly aware that the enemy could not remain in his present position. To comprehend the difficulty of a retreat it will be necessary to remark that every road to London, near or circuitous, was now occupied by the royalists, save the intermediate route over the Cotswolds, by which Essex had already marched, and where the whole country was wasted before him. That tedious track, which the people of Gloucester always used, when they had possession of Sudley, by Winchcomb and Evesham to Warwick, was blocked up by the king. The road through Oxford was equally so, and Cirencester was occupied by two regiments of cavalry. But the king on his side had not force enough effectually to close up every avenue; he had a long line of country to observe, and the southern extremity of it, as will be seen in the sequel, was not sufficiently secured. Perhaps he might have found opportunity of effecting his purpose by watching the hills, had that been possible, till the movements of his adversary had been ascertained; but he appears to have calculated upon his passing through the vale. Here Essex shewed his skill as a general, and by a masterly manœuvre extricated himself from the difficulty.

He began by throwing a bridge over the Severn, [200] and making a demonstration towards Worcester. A part of his force was led out to Upton, and his majesty received information that they were in Ripple field. The king hastened towards the spot; it was the fairest that could have been chosen; he would have been up with them in two hours: [201] but the general having amused the royalists had drawn back into Tewkesbury. They saw that at the eminence of the Mythe, and at the bridge over the Avon, five hundred men might have made good their position against twenty thousand, and that it was impossible to force them: therefore the king's foot were marched back to Evesham and the horse were ordered to distress them. These attacked the quarters of Sir James Ramsey, at Oxendon, on Thursday night, slew many of his men and took several prisoners. On Friday Essex stole out of Tewkesbury many hours before the king had notice of his departure, or what direction he had taken. (202) The vexation of the royalists may be imagined when they found he had eluded them; but they had

1643. another mortification in store. He marched all night and reached Cirencester at three o'clock in the morning. The two regiments of horse that were in the place, amounting to between three and four hundred men, were commanded by Sir Nicholas Crispe [203] and Colonel Spencer. The colonels were absent, and all but the centinels in their beds; they overpowered the guard and burst into the town; when the cavaliers called for quarter, and it was granted them. Every man and officer, many gentlemen of rank, more than four hundred horses, and all the colours were taken; but what heightened this success was the capture of forty cart loads of provisions, great part of which had been collecting by the commissaries for the siege. [204] This was, indeed, an advantage equivalent to a victory; for by their own admission they were so worn out with hunger, that without it they could neither have advanced nor fought: it was their chief sustenance till the next battle. All things were against the king, and his reverses seemed to move in a circle. Provisions that with great toil had been gathered for the support of those that were to have taken Gloucester relieved from starvation those that had rescued the city from his hands. The prisoners at Cirencester were tied together with match for ropes, and the retreat was continued. Between Cirencester and Cricklade they passed over the borders; where through a deep country, bemired by the rain, they advanced no more than five miles a day. [205]

Nothing was omitted by the king. The indefatigable Rupert was up the hills and followed hard after them day and night, while Charles with his foot and artillery pursued them by another road. [206] The prince overtook them at Auldborn Chace, and their progress was retarded by a fierce and murderous encounter. The king had thus gained time to throw himself upon their line of retreat; and then ensued the first battle of Newbury [207] another drawn battle, in which,—O madness and misery of civil war!—some of the best blood in the land was shed, and thousands of valiant Englishmen perished by each others' hands.

It is difficult to ascertain who really had the advantage in this battle. Both, as upon a former occasion, laid claim to it. Essex issued public orders for the burial of the dead, and the king for the care of all the

wounded, friend or foe. [208] The latter seemed so far to be the master that he kept possession of the field, [209] while Essex continued his retreat and attained his object in bringing back his shattered army to London. The whole of this expedition was on all hands allowed to be highly creditable to his military talents; and when every circumstance was taken into the account, his admirers were divided in their astonishment respecting it. 1649.
Sept. 25.

"As to the relief," says May, [210] "it was a question which was the most wonderful, that he undertook it, or that he did it." He was caressed and complimented by the parliament upon his arrival; and was the next day visited at Essex house by the speaker and the whole house of commons, who declared to him, "that they came to congratulate his notable success, and to render the thanks of the kingdom to him, for his incomparable conduct and courage; and that they had caused their acknowledgement to be entered in their journal book, as a monument and record of his virtue and their gratitude." A day or two after solemn thanks were rendered to those members of both houses, who had command in the army; and some extraordinary signification of respect derived to the superior officers, throughout the army. [211] With regard to Massey, every tongue and pen of his party was exercised in his praise, and his defence of Gloucester elicited the approbation of his enemies. Clarendon admits that he left nothing unperformed that became a vigilant commander. The official letter of thanks transmitted to him by parliament has probably perished; the noble historian styles it "a gaudy letter of kindness and value;" but that which was sent to the mayor and townsmen is preserved in the records of the city, and since the period of these transactions has never met the public eye. Far from being "gaudy," it is distinguished by that tone of reserved approbation which the commons thought fit, it seems, to employ on such occasions, a style of commendation in which the condescension of authority represses vanity by a distant and qualified measure of praise.

"Sir,

"The house of commons having received advice from the governor

1643. " of Gloucester, that by the goodness of God the siege is rayzed from
 " before the cittie, and considering the constant resolution of yourself
 " and the rest of your fellow citzens and souldiers in the defence and
 " keeping thereof for the king and parliament. They have given me in
 " charge to represent unto you thei thankes with the acknowledgment of
 " your great care and fidelity therein, ffor which not onely they,
 " but the whole kingdome alsoe will have cause to say, that in this
 " action you have done much towards the peace and safety thereof.
 " And for your better encouragement that you may persist and goe
 " on in keepinge and defendinge that place, they would have you know,
 " that as they have not failed (through God's blessinge) to send you
 " tymely relief at this time, so they shall not be wantinge in the future
 " to provide such supplyes and provisions for the towne and garrisone
 " as may be most conducinge to the safetie and preservation of it amidst
 " those dangers and enemies wherewith you stand now environed.
 " And as occasion shall serve they will be allwaies ready to promote
 " the good of that cittie which hath soe well deserved of the whole
 " kingdome.

" Your assured lovinge friend,

" WM. LENTHALL, Speaker.

" 20 September, 1643.

" ffor Dennis Wise, esq. Maior of Gloucester." [212]

The fifth of September was kept in Gloucester for many years with every outward demonstration of joy. It was called Gloucester holiday. Each citizen put on his best apparel; the civil and military authorities attended at the cathedral; the bells rang; the corporation feasted; and neighbours saluted and reminded each other of the great things that had been done for them that day. On the south gate when it was rebuilt, having fallen down from injury during the siege, was placed in large characters this commemorative inscription: round the arch on the outer side, A CITY ASSAULTED BY MAN BUT SAVED BY GOD; on the side next the city, EVER REMEMBER THE FIFTH OF SEPTEMBER, 1643. GIVE GOD THE GLORY. [213] These festivities and this record disappeared at the restoration.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

PART II.

THOUGH the siege was raised from before Gloucester, the difficulties of that city and garrison were not at an end. The military, who, while the excitement of immediate danger was upon them, had sustained privations and hazarded their lives with cheerful unanimity, began to feel that they had for some time continued to act without their pay. Their arrears amounted already to eight thousand pounds; [214] and after so signal a proof of courage and devotion to their employers they considered that these claims ought in justice to be discharged. 1643.
September.

This was the first difficulty with which the governor had to contend: another anxiety was equally urgent: it was obvious that those whom he had so lately foiled would be preparing to renew hostilities upon the earliest opportunity of directing a force against him. He would be naturally solicitous to maintain the reputation he had acquired; and to that end it was expedient that he should be furnished with means of satisfying the reasonable requirements of those under his command, and of putting himself in a posture to act with effect against any future attempt of his enemies. He had neither money nor men to meet the demands that would be made upon him; and the earl of Essex, who was fully convinced of the nature of his situation, had in these respects been unable to relieve him.

Accordingly, on September the sixteenth, Massey addressed a letter to the commons, which was carried up by a deputation from the garrison, consisting of Serjeant Major Ferrer, Captains White and Pury the younger. On the nineteenth they presented it with certain propositions in writing, from the governor and council of war, for the subsistence

1643.

and maintenance of the city; and Ferrer addressing the house, requested "to have four hundred of the earl of Stamford's men that "came out of Exeter, and that they might have liberty to beat up drums "for volunteers to make that four hundred a thousand." They were then ordered to withdraw. The interest of Gloucester was strong in that assembly. Their recorder was the speaker; their representative [215] was one of the most useful members: their connexion with the city of London, and still more, their recent services, and the importance of their continued exertions entitled them to be heard. A committee was appointed to consider of the propositions. The request of Ferrer was granted, and money voted for carrying it into effect: thanks were returned to Pury the elder, and through him to the mayor and corporation; and the officers, being again called in, received an acknowledgment for themselves and the rest of their comrades for their great service to the commonwealth. The first labours of the committee were directed to the confiscation of the effects of Sir Richard Ducie, a prisoner in Gloucester, for the use of the garrison; and to the same purpose was appropriated the composition for the property of Sir Edward Hales, and of his grandchild involved with his estate; a sum of six thousand pounds. [216]

Shortly after the battle of Newbury, Sir William Vavasour, commissioned as commander in chief of the counties of Hereford and Gloucester, was sent to Hereford to recruit for the King, and to act against Gloucester; but several weeks elapsed before he appeared in the neighbourhood of the city. [217] The narrative of Corbet is circumstantial as to the remainder of military operations during Massey's government; we shall therefore, as in the former part, abstain from too close an interference with it; collecting such notices as may establish the dates of principal occurrences, and introducing particulars which he has omitted to record.

The committee appointed by the house of commons were busily employed in arranging the necessary supplies; and on October the
Oct. 16. sixteenth, they presented a set of resolutions which were carried by

general assent : they shew the appointments of the foot and horse, and are thus reported.

1643.

“ 1. That one hundred barrels of powder, with match proportionably, be sent from hence to Gloucester with the forces raised for that gar-
“ rison.

“ 2. That six hundred musquets, swords, belts, and bandaleers, with sweds feathers, be also provided with the said forces to the said gar-
“ rison.

“ 3. That one hundred case of pistols, and one hundred carbines be also sent out of the magazine here to the said city of Gloucester.

“ 4. That waggons be provided for the carriages, and to obtain a warrant from his excellency.

“ 5. That a commission of martial law be desired for the governor of Gloucester, to be directed to field officers, and to such other gentlemen as shall be appointed by this house by way of recommendation from his excellency.” [218]

But the entries upon the journals of the house of commons are no proof that every thing thus voted was as punctually carried into effect. Besides, here is no mention made of the money, without which other preparations would be to little purpose. Massey had asked for ten thousand pounds ; and the delay to which he was forced to submit had driven him upon the expedient of taxing the country, so far as his authority would extend. Perplexed by the difficulty of collecting this impost, by the complaints of those upon whom it was levied, the discontent of his own men, and the expected approach of hostilities, he had an arduous office to discharge. Committees set on foot in the city for the purpose of assisting him, involved him in altercations ; [219] and in an early stage of the business he appears to have sought a removal to another command. Such a wish had been encouraged by the grateful expressions of the parliament ; but they found that he could not be spared from his present appointment, and they quickly checked his hopes. For, whereas they had recommended his advancement to the earl of Essex, in whom was vested the power of granting commissions, [220] they now sent Sir Nevile Poole to that general, desiring him

1643. " to continue Colonel Massie as Governor of Gloucester, and that the
 Oct. 19. " gentlemen of the county would take care that the post should be
 " worth his service and employment." [221] He applied repeatedly to
 them, representing the destitute condition of his affairs, and his letters
 were as often referred to their committee, who were to devise a method
 of giving him satisfaction, but as yet afforded him no relief.

A private anecdote attached to this period shews the distraction of
 the times. Sir Robert Cooke of Highnam, who had been member of the
 house, and a colonel in the service of the parliament, was deceased ;
 and Massey, with whom he had so lately acted, seems to have interested
 himself for the benefit of his widow and the younger branches of the
 family. But as William Cooke, esquire, the eldest son, who was also a
 member of the commons, was in the king's service, he was of course
 proclaimed delinquent, and his estate subjected to sequestration. He had
 sent his servant, William Rowle, probably to make some effort for him at
 Gloucester ; but an order is despatched after Rowle by which he is told
 that " he is not thought fit to inhabit in the city, the same being a gar-
 " rison for the parliament;" and the lady Cooke is as summarily
 informed that " she may more conveniently dwell in some other place,
 " than in Gloucester now in garrison, and therefore that she be required
 " to dwell somewhere else." Allowances and portions were granted to
 the younger children out of the estate ; and the widow petitioned to be
 exonerated from rates and taxes, and asked for the payment of her hus-
 band's arrears ; the first of these requests was refused ; and the second
 referred to the committee. Since the house at Highnam had been besieged
 and pillaged, Sir Robert Cooke had resided in the city in a house
 belonging to Sir Henry Anderson ; but his widow and her children
 were compelled to make way for Colonel Devereux : whither they retired
 does not appear. [222]

While matters continued in this state the royalists were gradually
 contracting the circle and closing up on every side. Sir William Vava-
 sour marched into Tewkesbury about the latter end of October. Two
 regiments under colonels Mynne and Saint Leger, a brigade of the army
 that had served in Ireland, landed at Bristol, and advanced north-

1643.

ward. [223] Berkeley castle was held for the king by a Scotch captain; Sudley castle by a governor for Lord Chandos; and Sir John Wintour had the entire command in the forest of Dean. Detachments under different officers swarmed between Bristol and Tewkesbury during the winter season, and wasted the resources of the markets. Six thousand royalists kept this parliamentary county in perpetual alarm. There were times during which, in some directions, the garrison could not march three miles, and in the most open quarter not more than seven, without meeting an enemy. [224] Both parties established themselves in every eligible spot where a castle or defensible house could be found. Wherever the king's troops had placed a garrison, there, as near to it as possible, the governor planted another; and the state of the country may be more easily imagined than described, when each of these pillaged the houses and estates around it: [225] small as his means were, Massey still kept his adversaries upon the alert; he was continually skirmishing with them, and in general with good success and trifling loss. In every thing that he undertook he exhibited a rare combination of prudence and resolution, and proved himself a most able partisan. Had his resources been equal to his talents, he seemed as if he could have coped with them all. First, he made a dash at Vavasour, and drove him out of Tewkesbury. [226] In the space of five months there was fighting at Berkeley, Beverstone, Brockthorp, Cheltenham, Cheltenham, [227] Hartpury, Highleden, Huntley, Marshfield, Newent, Painswick, Tainton, Tetbury, and Wotton-underedge. The governor, seconded by a handful of discontented soldiers, often exposed his person in these encounters. At Tainton he was in extreme peril, where his horse by the critical breaking of the curb became ungovernable, and carried him headlong into a party of the enemy. The cavaliers, recognising him, shouted, "the governor, the governor;" and for a moment he was in their hands. But one of his troopers, who had not hitherto been distinguished for courage, rushed in after him, pistoled the cavalier who had seized him, and brought him off in safety. [228] By the treachery of an officer he lost two posts at Westbury and Huntley, delivered up to Sir John Wintour, his most acute, and long most formidable enemy; who, in his absence upon one of these expeditions, had nearly surprised the city.

Nov.

1643.

Sir John Wintour, a nephew of the marquess of Worcester, and a catholic, was a zealous assertor of the royal cause. He had been secretary to the queen, [229] and had so irritated the parliament, that there was hardly any man whom they looked upon with more settled aversion. In 1639, he had been engaged in collecting money for his majesty among the recusants upon a letter addressed to them by the queen. In 1641 he was specified by the houses as one of those dangerous counsellors who ought to be removed from the royal presence, and verge of the court; and, afterwards in 1646, when propositions of peace were framed, he was inserted in that list of the king's unwearied friends, against whom they excepted in one of their qualifications, as persons to be proceeded against for treason. [230] He had received from the crown an extensive grant of coppices, waste land, quarries and mines in the forest of Dean, and was engaged in iron works there. [231] His exertions for the king kept pace with his obligations. Before the siege of Gloucester he began to make preparations, and had fortified his mansion at Lidney, [232] and stored it with arms, ammunition and soldiers. At first he concealed his intentions; but after the raising of the siege, from the time that he openly declared himself, almost up to the period of the governor's removal, he proved himself a thorn in his side. Yet the rest of the royalists were rather content to hem in the garrison and waste the country; and Massey, from necessity, was more commonly the assailant. Vavasour acted with a caution that was blamed by his friends and sneered at by his opponents. It was said that his supineness and ill-executed projects hindered his future promotion; but he might have sufficient reason for declining to waste his men in fruitless conflicts with a few desperadoes, whom he might think it easier to distress than to subdue; and he might be still further encouraged in this system of forbearance, while he had hopes of obtaining by stratagem what he could not acquire by arms.

It could not be difficult, and, perhaps, he had found means to ascertain the internal condition of Gloucester, [233] where distress for want of money and ammunition was daily encreasing. They borrowed of one another, till they were mutually exhausted. The corporation and private individuals lent sums for the payment of the troops, and the governor

for some time billeted sixty soldiers and a troop of horse at his own cost. Then, as it has not unfrequently happened in cases of this kind, and most disastrously among the royalists at the close of the war, the managers of affairs fell into disputes. Massey had only heard of his present of a thousand pounds, till the middle of November, when a payment of half the sum was directed to be made. [234] During these difficulties the cavaliers opened a communication with Captain Backhouse, and attempted to induce him by a bribe to let them into the place. The negotiation began on the nineteenth of November, and was continued for ten weeks, in the whole of which time Backhouse behaved with such consummate dissimulation that he entirely blinded the promoters of the plot, and even induced suspicions as to his own fidelity among those of his party who were imperfectly acquainted with his real intention. [235] Were the truth of Butler's observation admissible, that

1643.

Nov. 19.

“ The pleasure is as great

“ In being cheated as to cheat,”

the royalists could have had no ground to complain of their disappointment; but they had a better cause for satisfaction in the issue of the event; for though, while it lasted, never was delusion more complete, yet never was danger more happily averted. A providential circumstance saved Vavasour's entire detachment from ruin; and the attitude that the garrison had assumed on his approach, of which that commander seems to have been afterwards aware, blasted the farther prosecution of the design. The details may be seen in a tract which Backhouse published in his own vindication to meet unfavourable reports that might have been circulated. The question, upon which it turns, forms no part of our subject, and belongs rather to the province of the casuist than the historian; but the parliament were so well satisfied with his narrative that it was sent into the world under the sanction of their authority. Had Backhouse at once rejected the overtures of Stanford, he had earned unqualified approbation, and needed no defence. But it is among the moral evils of a state of warfare, that it suspends the principles which form the basis of social intercourse, and overturns for a season the barriers of right and wrong.

1643-4.

The fortifications of Gloucester which had suffered from the artillery of the besiegers were now under repair, [236] and the works constructed by the king's army had been levelled by the military, the citizens, and people who came in from the country to their aid. [237] That nothing might be wanting to promote the future security of the city, the governor constructed new sconces in the Frier's orchard, and at two of the gates. [238] As to operations upon any decisive scale, his inclinations were cramped by want of money and warlike stores. Disheartened by the prospect before him, and in a moment of depression referring the house of commons to the many fruitless appeals that he had made, he told them, that "if he had not present help sent him, his distress was such that he should be forced to deliver up the city to the enemy." [239] The parliament were no less perplexed. Demands for their armies poured in upon them from all quarters; men of industry and ability abounded among them; but the task was not an easy one. They applied to the service of Gloucester sequestrations of Captain Ashfield [240] and Sir Francis Willoughby; and the excise upon currants was directed to be appropriated to their use; yet all that could be devised or executed in this way fell far short of what was required. And when the military preparations were in a state to proceed, the powder and ball lingered for a long time at Warwick for want of sufficient escorts to protect it through the king's quarters. The defeat of Lord Hopton at Alresford by Sir William Waller had, indeed, drawn off Vavasour's brigade; but while Colonel Washington lay at Evesham; while Sudley castle was held by a royal garrison, and Prince Rupert was said to be advancing from Shrewsbury with a view to intercept it, the only road by which it could arrive was so beset, that they calculated it would require a convoy of five thousand men, [241] which at this season could not be spared. Attempts to proceed with it were frustrated, and their fears obliged them to return. When on a sudden, contrary to all expectation, a part of it slipped through the royalists in small quantities, upon pack-horses, about the middle or latter end of March, [242] and it was followed by three troops of horse under Commissary General Beher with another portion; Lieutenant Colonel Ferrer next appeared,

March,
1644.

bringing a little money with him ; but of the thousand foot with which he had quitted London, no more than fifty straggled into Gloucester, having been left to shift for themselves upon the march. The return of Ferrer, was, however, hailed as a favourable omen; the magistrates received him at the Tolsey with their accustomed hospitality, as though he had been a stranger, and presented him with refreshments when he entered the city. [243]

Colonel Purefoy, [244] who was ordered with his regiment of cavalry to Gloucester, escorted the remainder of these arms and stores ; but every increase of strength, in itself desirable, brought an additional pressure, where the means of provision were exhausted. Their privations at last drew from them a formal and public complaint; [245] and a remonstrance was framed on April the sixteenth, entitled " The present state and condition of the garrison of Gloucester," which, accompanied by a petition from the citizens, officers and soldiers, and a letter from the governor, was presented to the house of commons on the twenty-second, by Major Backhouse and Captain Hunt. The speaker dismissed them with a soothing answer. " The house," he said, " is sensible of the great services done by the governor, officers and soldiers of the garrison of Gloucester, and how they have respected the commonwealth rather than their own particulars. They are likewise sensible how many have quitted that place, and have gained advancement and estates by employment in other places, while these gentlemen have stuck to their charge. They do intend to take it into a special consideration, when it shall please God to bless them so far, as to carry on this great work. For the condition of the city and garrison, and the remedies they desire, they will take them into a serious and speedy consideration for the relief of that city and garrison; and desire the officers of that garrison that are now in town to make their speedy repair thither, now that they have presented the condition of the city, which the house has engaged to take into a speedy care for their relief." [246]

Another circumstance shews how cautious the commons were of offending them. In the ensuing month, while overtures of peace and reductions

1644.

May.

of expenditure were under discussion, the lords were inclined, probably by way of conciliation, to rescind the standing order by which sequestrations were permitted in Gloucestershire. Yet it was expected that five thousand pounds might immediately be raised by continuing to enforce it; and they were therefore opposed by the commons. These pleaded that it would discourage the county already unable to maintain an establishment consisting of three regiments of foot, and one of horse; whose monthly pay, when they should be completed, would amount to seven thousand pounds. They informed the lords that the enemy had ten garrisons at least in the county, which could not be effectually expelled, if the sequestrations were to cease. Among other arguments they urged that "the proposed measure would exceedingly discontent that garrison which hath deserved so well, and it may be, in all likelihood produce very evil and mutinous effects, if they shall once understand that the state's delinquents are taken from them, which they have pursued with their blood." [247] The commons carried their point; and an ordinance was passed, which takes for its ground-work the many garrisons of the royalists, and influx of the Irish into the county. It directs the raising of horse, and of money by subscription or loan at eight per cent.; and provides for the repayment by sale or sequestration of estates, giving authority to the committee to remove such ministers and schoolmasters as may oppose them;—expedients and powers too liable to that abuse, which the rapacity and misguided zeal of party were exercising in every corner of the land.

As soon as Massey was strong enough to produce an impression by acting upon the offensive, he made a diversion as far as Hereford; and immediately after applied himself in earnest to dislodge some of these royalist garrisons. [248] The forest of Dean harboured a foe that had given him most annoyance; in one day he attacked and carried the house of Mr. Colchester and the church at Westbury, as well as a post at Little Dean, where Lieutenant Colonel Congreve, governor of Newnham, and Captain Wigmore with some others were put to the sword, under circumstances which command the attention and regret of every reflecting mind. In a room in Dean Hall,

May 7.

the residence of Joseph Pyrke, Esquire, a spot is still pointed out where one or both of these officers fell. [249] On the day following Massey was equally successful at Newnham; and there another church became the scene of bloody and savage confusion; a case too frequently to be deplored in these undistinguishing struggles of civil fury. All these advantages were gained over a part of the force under Sir John Wintour, who at that time was with Colonel Mynne at Coleford. Encouraged by his absence, Massey marched on to Lidney house, his strong hold, which he faced and summoned to surrender. But here his hopes were disappointed by the resolution of a female; for Lady Wintour had a courage answerable to the undertakings of her husband. Massey pledged his honour that, if she would deliver up the house, herself and those with her should receive good usage and protection; but he informed her that if she refused, she must expect fire and sword.

1644.
May 8.

May 9.

This was her reply:

SIR,

Mr. Winter's unalterable allegiance to his king and sovereign, and his particular interest to this place, hath by his majesty's commission put it into this condition, which cannot be pernicious to any, but to such as oppose the one, and invade the other; wherefore rest assured, that in these relations, we are by God's assistance, resolved to maintain it, all extremities notwithstanding. Thus much in Mr. Winter's absence you shall receive from

MARY WINTER. [250]

Massey burned the iron mills and marched away to Gloucester; but soon followed Mynne into Herefordshire, and fixed his head-quarters at Ross. In that neighbourhood he obtained some trifling advantages, raised contributions, and enforced the taking of the covenant. This brief repose of less than a fortnight was succeeded by extreme activity in a series of transactions which proved with what vigour he could carry on the war. Upon advice that the governor of Beverstone castle had been made prisoner, he returned hastily to Gloucester. It was on a Tuesday, the twenty-first of May: and at ten o'clock that night despatches arrived from London, the answers to which he had not finished

May 21.

1644. till two in the morning. At that hour he set out again, mustered his
 May 22. men at Ross, sent the horse through Gloucester to rendezvous on the
 morrow within three miles of Beverstone, and passed his foot over the
 May 23. Severn at Frampton. His forces re-assembled on Thursday, at the time
 and place appointed, and Beverstone castle was in his possession by
 midnight. Without waiting for refreshment he pushed on to Malmes-
 bury; where he kept the garrison on the alarm during the whole of a
 May 24. rainy night, and carried the town by assault at sun-rise. In eighteen
 days he wrested eight garrisons from the royalists, and occasioned them
 a loss that cannot be estimated at less than six hundred men, killed,
 wounded and prisoners. For this service he received the thanks of the
 house of commons, with promises of future support; and, as an earnest
 of encouragement, they voted him out of some undefined, confiscated
 property, an estate of inheritance to the yearly value of a thousand
 pounds. [251]
- June 4. The capture of Tewkesbury at the beginning of June, enlarged his
 quarters to the north; and in the letter of official commendation, pre-
 pared by Pury and Hodges, he was exhorted to a diligent continuance
 in his exertions, "the house being very loth to give way to his coming
 up, there being so much use for him now at this time, when the king's
 army moves that way" [252] This is the first intimation of his wish
 to lay his complaints in person before them. But the time had not yet
 arrived that would admit of his absence. Charles, apprehensive of
 being blockaded in Oxford by Essex and Waller, had marched out by
 stealth on Monday June the third, and at the close of the following day
 reached Bourton on the Water. [253] It was his intention to have met
 Mynne at Tewkesbury; [254] but, upon the news of the loss of that town,
 he passed through Evesham and continued his course to Worcester.
 The manœuvres by which he eluded both Essex and Waller have been
 justly celebrated among the most skilful that were executed during the
 whole of these campaigns. Essex, who had the heavier ordnance,
 was soon weary of following him; and calling a council of war at Bur-
 ford, commanded Waller with the lighter artillery to continue the pur-
 suit; while he himself proceeded into the west. [255] Waller submitted

with an ill grace ; and from this time a jealousy, long secretly cherished, openly broke out between these parliamentary commanders. [256] He marched on, however, to meet Massey ; and their junction was followed by the capture of Sudley Castle. Clarendon's account of this event may be compared with that of Corbet ; since it contains some additional particulars concerning both the owner and governor, and is a good instance of the manner in which the same story is managed by opposite writers.

1644.

June 9.

“ When Waller found there was no remedy, he obeyed his orders
 “ with much diligence and vigour ; and prosecuted his march towards
 “ Worcester, where his majesty then was ; and in his way, persuaded,
 “ rather than forced, the garrison of Sudely Castle, the strong house of
 “ the Lord Chandois, to deliver up that place to him. The lord of
 “ that castle was a young man of spirit and courage ; and had, for two
 “ years, serv'd the king very bravely in the head of a regiment of horse,
 “ which he himself had raised at his own charge ; but had lately, out of
 “ pure weariness of the fatigue, and having spent most of his money,
 “ and, without any diminution of his affection, left the king, under the
 “ pretence of travel ; [257] but making London in his way, he gave
 “ himself up to the pleasures of that place ; which he enjoyed, without
 “ considering the issue of the war, or shewing any inclination to the
 “ parliament, nor did he in any degree contribute to the delivery of his
 “ house ; which was at first imagined, because it was so ill, or not at all
 “ defended. It was under the government of Sir William Morton, a
 “ gentleman of the long robe ; who, in the beginning of the war, cast off
 “ his gown, as many other gallant men of that profession of the law
 “ did, and serv'd as lieutenant-colonel in the regiment of horse under
 “ Lord Chandois ; and had given so frequent testimony of signal cou-
 “ rage in several actions, in which he had received many wounds, both
 “ by the pistol and the sword, that his mettle was never suspected ; and
 “ his fidelity as little questioned, and after many years of imprisonment,
 “ sustained with great firmness and constancy, he lived to receive the
 “ reward of his merit, after the return of the king ; who made him first
 “ a serjeant at law, and afterwards a judge of the King's Bench ; where

1644. " he sat many years and discharged the office with much gravity and
 " learning; and was very terrible to those who chose to live by robbing
 " on the highway. He was unfortunate, though without fault, in giving
 " up the castle in so unseasonable a conjuncture; which was done by the
 " artifice of an officer within, who had found means to go out to Waller,
 " and to acquaint him with the great wants of the garrison; which in-
 " deed had not plenty of any thing; and so, by the mutiny of the
 " soldiers, it was given up; and the governor made prisoner, and sent
 " to the Tower, where he remained some years after the end of the
 " war." [258]

The castle was left to the care of the Gloucestershire forces, and Massey appointed one of his brothers, Captain George Massey, to be the governor. Waller continued his pursuit of the king; but, miscalculated his design, and got too far; upon which, Charles dexterously
 June 20. turned back and re-entered Oxford, having completely succeeded in distracting the rival generals, and dividing them no less in position than inclination towards each other. Waller now came again to Gloucester, where he desired Massey "to furnish him with some men, which he," says the noble historian just quoted, "being a creature of Essex's, "refused to do." The statement is not correct: Massey supplied him with three hundred and seventy musqueteers and a company of dragoons, [259] with which Waller crossed the country towards Warwick. An accident that happened to him upon this occasion is alluded to in his enumeration of "perils of waters."

"In my march from Gloucester unto Warwick, as I was fording
 "the Severn, at a place near Gloucester, where on either hand of the
 "passage, which was a narrow bank of sand, the water was of a great
 "depth, my horse fell into a disorder, and plunged into the deep water
 "with me, being then in my armes, where I was likely to have perished,
 "if with the blessing of God, he had not swome thorough with
 "me." [260]

June 29. This occurred a few days before that check which the king gave him at Cropredy bridge near Banbury. While Waller was at Gloucester his troops were quartered or encamped at or about the Vineyard, and the

refreshments furnished to them from the city cost upwards of thirty pounds; four hundred weight of musquet balls were delivered to them before their departure [261] 1644.

In the beginning of July Charles undertook that expedition into the west, which terminated in the surrender of the greater part of the army under Essex, in Cornwall. On his route he traversed the hill country of Gloucestershire from Evesham in a direct line by Coberley, Salperton and Badminton to Bath, halting at each of these places for the night. [262] Three troops of the Gloucester cavalry hung upon his flanks and rear, and took and slew a few stragglers. The king's strength was estimated at seven thousand, horse, foot and dragoons. Massey felt the want of his horse, and requested that those which he had lent to Waller might be allowed to return. [263] Mr. Dutton and Mr. Lowe prisoners in Gloucester, were ordered to be sent up to the house of commons. Dutton was a gentleman of the privy chamber to the king, and had been some time sheriff of the county. [264] Lowe was a member of the Oxford parliament whom Massey had apprehended in Wiltshire after the taking of Malmesbury: [265] all royalists of any eminence in immediate opposition to their measures, whose persons they could seize, they committed to close confinement.

July 16.

In the religious as well as civil divisions [266] of the times Gloucester had its full share; and they form a striking and instructive feature of this period. When the clergy of the established church had been expelled from their cathedral and cures, their posts were occupied by those who held to the prevailing system of presbyterianism. But it is well known that after all this had been effected, their successors found other adversaries to contend with; though the full measure of endless separation had not as yet arrived. This was memorably the case here. Baxter was at first disposed, according to his views of religion, to think favourably of the state of the place; but he soon changed his opinion. "Whilst I was at Gloucester," says he, "I saw the first contentions between the ministers and the anabaptists, that ever I was acquainted with; for there were the first anabaptists that ever I had seen in any country; and I heard but of

1644.

"few more in these parts of England. But this was the beginning of
 "the miseries of Gloucester; for the anabaptists somewhat increasing
 "on one side, before I came away, a good man, called Mr. Hart, came out
 "of Herefordshire with Mr. Vaughan, a gentleman, and they drew many
 "to separation on another side: and after them in the wars came one
 "Mr. Bacon, a preacher in the army, and drew them to Antinomianism,
 "on another side; which so distracted the good people, and eat out
 "the heart of religion and charity, the ministers of the place not being
 "so able and quick as they should have been in confuting them and
 "preserving the people, that the city, which had before as great ad-
 "vantages for the prosperity of religion among them, as any in the land
 "in the civility, tractableness and piety of the people, became as low and
 "poor as others, and the pity of more happy places; while these tares
 "did dwindle and wither away the solid piety of the place." [267]

July.

The case of Bacon to which he alludes, engrossed at this time no small share of thought and conversation in the city. His preaching had given such offence to Corbet and most of the ministers and laity, that he was called in question respecting his doctrines, and undertook the public defence of them. Then was exhibited for two days in the cathedral of Gloucester the singular spectacle of a theological dispute conducted in the presence of the military governor, the committee, and principal inhabitants, sitting as moderators at a table in the choir, and surrounded by an immense concourse of people. The antagonists stood on opposite sides; and a marshal with his halbert was placed at the elbow of the respondent during the whole ceremony. On the first day it lasted five hours. The behaviour of Massey, by Bacon's own admission, was throughout candid and impartial towards him. But it ended in his dismissal from Gloucester, furnished with an escort to Sudley, and a horse to bear him to London: there he found a ready patron in the lord Say and Sele. His opinions seem clearly to have had a strong bias towards those which are termed Antinomian; and the charges brought against him on this account by the then spiritual guides of Gloucester serve at least to vindicate them from any imputation of the kind. [268]

Now, because the parliament had for the present abolished the

ecclesiastical establishment of the land, and taken upon themselves the disposal of its revenues and the appointment of ministers, they endeavoured to remedy such disputes, as might be expected to arise from the irregularity of those who might officiate in their religious services, as well as from the introduction of strangers into the pulpits. They, therefore, directed that one hundred pounds per annum should be paid quarterly out of the rents belonging to the dean and chapter to an orthodox divine, to preach weekly in the cathedral, and fifty pounds per annum out of the said rents to another orthodox divine to preach weekly in the parish of St. Michael's in Gloucester: these ministers were to be chosen by the committee in London, and approved of by the assembly of divines then sitting at Westminster. [269] Their attention was, perhaps, afterwards more particularly invited to this object, by Luke Nourse, mayor, in 1644 and 1645; who is lauded in one of the annual orations of the town clerk, for having "had a chief hand in the inviting and calling a worthy minister, Mr. Jackson, to supply the room of bishop, dean and chapter in the college." [270]

1644.

August 3.

Though these altercations were disposed of, those between the governor and committee still continued. The needy soldiers were guilty of many disorders in collecting horses and cattle, levying money, and seizing goods without any other authority than that of force. [271] Their mutinous spirit was hardly controuled by Massey, yet he managed so as to employ them with effect against the enemy. Colonel Mynne, a valiant royalist officer, upon whom the government of Hereford and chief command had devolved after the departure of the cautious Vavasour, excited considerable apprehension by his boldness and activity. While serving under Vavasour he had affirmed with some confidence that he would take Gloucester with two hundred men; and since his new appointment he had given sufficient proofs of his determination to act with vigour. He advanced from Ross and stationed his regiment within a quarter of a mile of the city, where he drove off the cattle, and rendered himself a terror to the country. [272] It was now the time of harvest, and he threatened to burn the standing corn. Sir William Russell, with the governor of Worcester, and colonel Veal, go-

August.

1644.

No garrison had made more frequent applications to them than that of Gloucester; and its officers had been the bearers of many a remonstrance by letter and petition. Hence may be conjectured the meaning of that part of the order, which softens the inhibition of the governor, by dwelling most upon those under his command. But the document, upon the whole, bears strong marks of allusion to Massey, and might be the most convenient and gentle method of notifying their displeasure, and of putting a stop to such repeated solicitation. What they could not prevent they could guard against, lest it should be construed into precedent for the time to come. At this juncture the governor might be thought too useful an officer to dismiss, and it may be added, without overstraining the estimate of his character and popularity, somewhat formidable to offend. During his stay they paid him two hundred and fifty pounds in part of his long promised but tardy reward, [278] and he was received with flattering marks of distinction. The Newsbooks never mentioned him without praise. "We met with Colonel Massey," says a journalist, in the adulatory language then adopted towards him, "on Aug. 24. "the last Saturday night, so late, and the night so darke, that we knew "him only by the lustre of his valour, which honoured and overcame "the darknesse. He was then returning to his government of Gloucester; and made haste by the privilege of night to get a day upon his "enemies." [279]

From the fatal field of Marston Moor Prince Rupert had fled with three hundred horsemen to Bristol; and after the dispersion of his army consequent upon that defeat, some of his roving troops hovered about Worcestershire and Herefordshire. He was endeavouring to collect and unite them with the forces in South Wales, and they were expected to make an incursion into Gloucestershire. Massey's views became more ambitious, now that he was freed from the immediate presence of a regular enemy. He was as much a stranger to indolence as to fear; and an extensive scene of action had opened before him. He made a diversion towards Bath with a hope of relieving Essex shut up at Lestwithiel in Cornwall; [280] and he sent out horse to scour after the scattered horse that fled from the battle of Montgomery; [281] he hoped also to

September.

have met with Prince Rupert, and to have hindered the union of the wrecks of the northern army; but these projects failed. As for Rupert, such was the fortune of war, that he, who, to use the forcible expression of Heath, "had bid battle but the other day to thirty thousand men, "now trifled with a brigade or two, to seek the advantage of a private and "commodious march." [282] His chief object was the establishment of a "communication between Bristol, Herefordshire and Wales."

1644.

At Beachley, in the parish of Tidenham, where the waters of the Severn are mingled with those of the Wye, a point of land is formed, which from the traces of an ancient encampment appears to have been once considered of military importance. The celebrated dike of King Offa that has its northern extremity at Chester, has been supposed to have terminated here. The prince selected this spot, as a position commanding both rivers, and entirely favourable for maintaining and protecting the desired intercourse with the country on the western side of the Severn. He detached five hundred horse and foot to occupy and fortify it. But the quick eye and hand of the governor of Gloucester soon discerned and removed the inconvenience that might have resulted to him from such a measure. Four days after they had begun to form their works, he assaulted them when the tide was out, and the guns of their vessels were no longer level with the shore. The royalists were completely dislodged, many were slain, and drowned, and one hundred and eleven made prisoners. This action was fought in sight of the population of Chepstow, assembled upon the opposite lofty bank of the Wye, where Beachley would lie like a map before them. The governor continued his career of success, and by the twenty-fourth of September the town of Monmouth was in his hands. [283] Sept 24.

It is evident that he was now stretching too far from his proper centre; and that he would not be able to maintain what he might acquire. Yet his designs extended into Wales; and he wrote to ask for a thousand marching foot and five hundred horse for the subjugation of that country and for the blocking up of Bristol. [284] The commons by letter from the speaker acknowledged his great and faithful services, and promised him all the encouragement they could afford him; and they passed an ordinance, Sept. 20,

1644. October 4. October the fourth, for raising by weekly assessment a hundred pounds upon the city and a thousand pounds upon the county towards the maintenance of his men; [285] but while he was indulging in these schemes, and skirmishing with the royalists from Ragland, Sir John Wintour was again occupying and fortifying Beachley. Massey returned thither, and Oct. 14. a desperate conflict took place on the fourteenth of October, in which he brought up the forlorn hope, was first engaged, and had his helmet beaten off his head; but his troops animated by the resolute example of their leader were once more victorious. The loss of the royalists was thirty slain and two hundred and thirty prisoners, not including many that were drowned: most of the rest escaped in the vessels lying there. Wintour was so hard pressed, that he made his way, most unaccountably, down some of the rocks that form the barrier of the Wye. The fact of his escape is certain; though the manner of it is not so clearly ascertained. The common report was that he had forced his charger at one bound from the summit into the river. This is too great a marvel to be true. Rudder observes that it is impossible to have happened, as both horse and rider must have been dashed to pieces against the declivity. In the MS. of Doctor Parsons which he has quoted, the rock is extravagantly stated to be nearly two hundred yards high. A more credible account is, that being closely pursued over Tidenham Chace he rode down the steep of the timber shoot, a pass between the rocks below the white cliffs of Lancut, at a short distance from where their line of continuity is broken. The place is distinguished by the appellation of "Wintour's leap" to this day. [286]

In both instances, when the despatches announcing these victories at Tidenham were read in the house of commons, they pressed upon their committee to adopt some course "for composing the differences between the governor and committee in Gloucester;" and Massey and all the officers and soldiers of his regiment sent up a petition. [287] Tedious as Oct. 21. is the recital of them, it is still necessary to point out the prolongation of these disputes, because they prove the distresses of this local government and army. [288] The foot were paid by the assessment upon the city and county, [289] but the horse were unprovided for. Some envious

feeling was excited by the report of the numbers of the garrison; but wherever this might have existed; it seems to have had no good foundation; neither were they in reality too numerous for the service required of them. [290] Massey was commanded towards Oxfordshire; and in the mean time he lost Monmouth, and with it a hundred and fifty of his troops, many guns, and a considerable quantity of smaller arms and ammunition. Much of his strength was frittered away in petty garrisons destitute of regular means of subsistence. At Sudley Castle the soldiers mutinied for pay. Captain George Massey, the governor, wounded the ringleader, and he died; the rest of the party were reduced to obedience. [291]

1644.

December.

During the winter the royalists were strong in this part of the kingdom. Lord Astley, from Cirencester, sent warrants for contributions to the gates of the city. [292] Lord Hopton and Prince Rupert at Bristol overawed the south; Colonel Poore at Berkeley Castle, Sir John Wintour at Lidney, a force on the Herefordshire borders, Prince Maurice at Worcester, and Sir Henry Bard at Campden house exhausted the resources of their several districts. All these officers were intent upon the chastisement of this parliamentary county, and sought the ruin of Massey and his men; but not one of them came down in person, like Mynde, to challenge him in his head quarters. They preferred the plan of wasting his means, cutting off his troops in detail, and harassing him by movements in opposite directions. Corbet has described many conflicts which took place between them with various fortune, not in the least affecting the general state of affairs.

1644-5.

The most important success on the part of the royalists was the capture of Rouden house, between Malmesbury and the Devizes; but this was balanced towards the close of the year by another victory over Wintour at Lancaut upon the Wye, at no great distance from the scene of his recent discomfiture. It is the action alluded to in the ill written tract inserted at page 341; a publication sent out upon the spur of the occasion, from intelligence caught up in haste, to gratify the prevailing desire of news from Gloucestershire, of which the papers had lately given such deplorable accounts. It is a curiosity as to style, and while it

February.

1644-5. delusively professes in the title page to be published "according to order," obtrudes a glaring inaccuracy in the front of its communication. Lancast was not Sir John Wintour's house; neither was his mansion ever stormed.

Feb. 22-24. When the treaty of Uxbridge and the proffered mediation of the Dutch ambassadors had failed, [293] nothing seemed to remain but a last appeal to the sword. Charles was not insensible to the great probability of reverses; and, as a measure of security, he sent the Prince of Wales attended by Lord Clarendon, to keep his court at Bristol under the protection of the faithful and estimable Lord Hopton. They parted from the king at Oxford on the fourth of March, and neither of them ever saw him more. [294]

March 4. Though the sinews of war were on all hands greatly exhausted, the parliament seemed in some respects to have the advantage. The excise was renewed; the system of confiscation was encreasingly productive; they had negotiated a loan in London; collections were made in the churches there, and a committee for receiving money sat in almost every hall in the city. [295] They were straining every nerve in the formation of a new army. For still the king was master of an ample force, had circumstances permitted him to concentrate it; but his troops were dispersed over a wide surface, and left in a great measure to shift for themselves. The spring found that portion of them that had been quartered upon Gloucestershire, ravaging as the progress of the season occasioned a diminution of supplies, [296] and invited them to roam abroad. The country exhibited a miserable scene of rapine and alarm. From Campden a party came down to Winchcomb, and plundered the whole town, the garrison of Sudley Castle having no horse to send out to oppose them. Between Gloucester and Cirencester they scarcely left either goods or cattle. But the forest of Dean sustained most injury; for they had immediate access to it from Herefordshire, which was entirely in their possession. Prince Rupert had there collected a strong body from the different garrisons, and with these he took his course into Shropshire watched and followed at a distance by Massey as far as Ledbury. While the latter was at this town, an insurrection of what the historians

of the war call "clubmen" took place in the county of Hereford. A provocation they had received from the governor of Hereford was the cause of it; and they mustered as many as fifteen thousand. Some of their leaders made overtures to Massey; but looking with suspicion upon their professions of neutrality, he avoided entering into any engagement with them, and returned to Gloucester. The clubmen made peace with the governor of Hereford, disbanded and withdrew to their homes. [297] Scarcely was this ended when the prince came back into Herefordshire. He was at the head of a very formidable body. His brother Maurice, Colonel Gerrard, commander of the forces in South Wales, Lord Loughborough, Lord Astley and Sir Marmaduke Langdale acted under him. One of their designs was to encrease their army by new levies; and they imprisoned such as offered resistance. On Friday April the second, April 2. they re-entered the forest of Dean, exasperated by the disaffection of those half civilized parts, and leaving dreadful marks of their severity behind them. The Newsbooks present various reports of calamities. In two or three parishes they burned every building that could afford a soldier shelter, [298] houses, cottages, and barns full of corn. The affrighted population fled from before them; many hid themselves in the mines. Too feeble to afford them protection, the governor of Gloucester was constrained to become a spectator of these ravages; though he was not afraid to march towards them and engage in such trifling bickerings with the skirts of their host as his slender ability would allow. A despatch upon this subject preserved in the "*Mercurius Veridicus*" is one of the few specimens we have to offer of his epistolary style.

"Colonel Massey's letter is our *Imprimis* from Gloucester."

"Sir,—In continuation of my duty, you may be pleased to receive
 "this account of the prince's army. On Friday last their army marched
 "into the forest of Deane out of Herefordshire, where they relieved Sir
 "John Winter's house, which I had blockt up, but I drew my men off
 "without losse, I praise God. They destroyed the country where they
 "came, and plundered all parts, and fired some. The lower parts to-
 "wards Severne side, I endeavoured to preserve, and did it; but by
 "reason of the great number of horse the enemy had there, I am not able

1645.

"to shew myself in the forrest above hill. Their strength was Sir Marmaduke Langdale's brigade of horse, consisting of 1500, and some of Prince Rupert's horse, about 500 more, Major General Askley's foot, three troopes, and the rest of the Lord Harbert's forces. I had not, neither could I make, above two hundred horse and foot; I marched eighty shot, enough to have grappled with their infantry, besides the assistance of the countrymen, now resolved (since all is gone) to make the warre their living. I writ to Sir William Brereton and Sir William Waller for assistance of a 1000 horse, but no relief. The Lord grant that for the future things may be redressed.

"I humbly take my leave, and rest,

"Your humble and reall servant,

"ED. MASSEY."

"Postscript.—Sir Marmaduke Langdale was shot at Nash garrison, a petty garrison of ours in the forest, and lyeth very ill of the same, now at Monmouth, and the enemy is retreated into Herefordshire." [299]

Another account represents him upon Huntley Hill, facing them with two hundred horse on their way to Ross. They halted and looked at him from an opposite eminence; but apprehending that his boldness could only arise from some ambuscade into which he wished to draw them they declined a nearer approach. [300] According to Corbet they entered and scourged the forest a second time. [301] Massey afterwards ascertaining that they were advancing northward, continued to observe their movements; and having received a reinforcement from Warwick and Northampton, though the whole number destined for him by the parliament had not arrived, hastened with four hundred horse and five hundred foot to take up his quarters at Ledbury. The importance of the ensuing event induces a particular mention of it, though it is not strictly attached to the county. Here by some negligence of scouts or outposts six thousand men were upon him before he was aware, and he was nearly cut off. On the twenty second of April, Prince Rupert having marched all night came unperceived within half a mile of the town. There was neither work nor barricado to stop him,

April 22.

and he thought to have surrounded the parliamentarians. Massey drew up his foot in haste and sent them forward on the Gloucester road : his horse, waiting to cover their retreat, were not so soon ready, and were in some disorder when the cavaliers arrived. Prince Rupert, with his habitual impetuosity, instantly charged. The officers that Massey had with him were Majors Harlow, Baytie, and Backhouse, Gifford, More and Kyrle who betrayed Monmouth to the parliament. These for the most part received the first brunt of the onset. Neither at Andover's ford, nor at Tainton, nor at Beachley had Massey been in greater peril. The prince sought a personal encounter with him and shot his horse. For once the governor of Gloucester fled from his enemies. How any of the party got off is quite inexplicable. Detachments pushed forward on the right and left tried to surround the foot. The road was probably more open than it now is ; and there must have been a running fight along it for four miles out of Ledbury ; but at last the royalists fell in upon the rearguard and took about two hundred prisoners, abandoned by the horse, who could not be brought up again to check the pursuers. In this affair Harlow was hurt, and Backhouse, Massey's long-tried and valuable comrade, mortally wounded. It is too curious a circumstance not to admit of a digression, that Lord Loughborough, brother to Ferdinando Earl of Huntingdon, who was engaged on the prince's side, never saw Massey from that hour till nearly three years after, when in February, 1648, they accidentally met in exile. As this nobleman, escaped from England, and on his way to the Hague, where the king then resided, was passing over the new bridge at Rotterdam, he was observed and accosted by Massey from recollection of his person at Ledbury fight. Massey acquainted him with his loyal intentions, for he had then forsaken the parliament ; was courteously admitted to accompany him on his journey ; and they were ushered together into the presence of the king. [302]

The governor of Gloucester sent a full account of this affair at Ledbury to the commons. Two letters from him dated the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth of April were read in the house on the first of May. May 1. Disregarding the manner of his surprise, they looked upon his retreat

1645.

from so superior a force in such a favourable light, that they gave him additional tokens of their approbation. They settled upon him the iron works and mills that had belonged to Sir John Wintour; voting him two hundred pounds; and,—as it should seem in pointed compensation for the loss of his own horse, which he might not easily be able to replace,—“six good horses of service, well appointed with saddles, pistols and “other furniture.” [303] They had in the foregoing month voted two thousand pounds for the payment of his regiment to be sent down by Sir William Waller. Whether that general brought it to him is uncertain. Waller had of late been in Somersetshire, throwing relief into Taunton, and meditating the surprisal of Bristol: [304] but the famous self-denying ordinance, which turned out of the army all the officers, Cromwell excepted, who were members of the parliament, was about to deprive him of his command. Fairfax had been appointed lord general, and Cromwell had new-modelled the army according to his own interest and pleasure.

The campaign of this summer was most disastrous to the royal cause. In a letter of Charles to the queen he augured that it would prove the hottest of the war; [305] but he little imagined that it would reduce him so very low. Fairfax with the new-modelled army had marched into the west, and his majesty thought that a way was opened for him to go to the relief of Chester. He sent for Rupert to attend him. By levy and impressment, by draining garrisons, and by the aid of a detachment from Goring, that prince had concentrated at Worcester what Heath calls “a competent army.” He obeyed the summons, and with his brother Maurice, the horse and a select body of foot repaired to Oxford. The committee of both kingdoms who now directed the military affairs of the parliament, had notice of this movement, and despatched orders to Cromwell to hinder it; but he did not leave Windsor in time.

May 7. Charles took the field on the seventh of May with about eight thousand men, and thirty field-pieces in his train of artillery. On the eighth he quartered and passed the night at Stow. [306] There Goring left him, and was watched by Massey in his track over the hills to join Hopton and Greenvil in Somersetshire. Other detachments fell into the gross

of the king's army, as he continued his march; but within six weeks they were dispersed and flying in every direction. They went on fearlessly to success at the storming of Leicester, and to death and utter discomfiture at the battle of Naseby. [307] 1645.

The vestiges of Campden House, once the glory of that town and neighbourhood, have for three generations attested the devastation of the civil war. It was built by Baptist Hicks, the first Vicount Campden, a commoner of a liberal spirit, worthily ennobled by his sovereign, a patron of the arts, and, in particular, a lover of architecture. [308] It had been planned upon a magnificent scale, and no cost had been spared in the materials and execution. The generous disposition of the founder had been displayed in a large lantern or beacon by which it was surmounted. Its glare in the depth of winter, visible for miles around, had doubtless often proved, as it was intended, the solace and landmark of many a traveller benighted upon the dreary wolds. [309] Some writers have asserted that Noel, Viscount Campden, who was among the nobles that adhered to the king, had himself directed that the building should be destroyed, lest it should be occupied by his enemies. Such a proof of devotedness might not have been unworthy of the consistent firmness with which he seems to have sustained other privations for his master's sake. But it happened otherwise; and it would be well if a better reason for the demolition of so princely an edifice could be given than the unauthorised wantonness of any officer of either party who had found a shelter there. Clarendon, however, distinctly attributes it to Sir Henry Bard, [310] though, from the odiousness of the deed, he waves the mention of his name. "His majesty marched towards Evesham, "and in his way drew out his garrison from Campden house; which "had brought no other benefit to the public than the enriching the licentious governour thereof, who exercised an unlimited tyranny over the "whole country; and took his leave of it, in wantonly burning the noble "structure, where he had too long inhabited, and which not many years "before, had cost above thirty thousand pounds sterling." Every thing combustible within it perished in the flames. [311] But the sacrifice of house and home which has been erroneously ascribed to Lord Campden,

1645.

was actually made by Wintour. When the royalists had marched away and he saw himself incapable of farther resistance he resolved that Lidney house should never harbour his enemies. The lead and furniture were removed; and the last act of that officer's military despair was the destruction of his fortified dwelling. He burnt it to the ground, and left the field and forest to his more able and successful rival. [312]

Fresh supplies of horse and foot that came in from London and Warwick enabled Massey to proceed upon an enterprise considered by his admirers as not the least brilliant of all the services in which he had been engaged. Evesham, that his majesty had left but a few days, was stormed in the rear of his march, and all the garrison killed or taken. [313] Thus the county was cleared from Berkeley Castle upwards to the borders of Worcestershire. But here Massey's military government of the city was to close. The Newsbooks had informed the public that he was about to be removed into the west with the rank of major general under Sir Thomas Fairfax. That part of England was to become the scene of vigorous exertion; Goring was to be held in check, and the siege of Taunton was to be raised. Before the governor of Gloucester had taken Evesham, the parliamentary directors of military affairs had made out his commission, which he received as soon as he had entered that town. They had also appointed Colonel Walter Lloyd, then serving in the west, to succeed him: and sent for him to come down, and enter immediately upon his charge. Luke Nourse, mayor of Gloucester, Alderman Singleton, Colonel Blount, and Messrs. Stephens and Hodges, members of the commons, were to take the command with full powers till the new governor should arrive. [314] Gloucester was agitated at the thought of Massey's removal: they identified their security with his person, and anxiously endeavoured to obtain his continuance among them. Some of his opponents, indeed, tried to cross this attempt; but they were loudly contradicted by the general voice of the people. Several agents were employed in London to forward their petitions; [315] and the mayor, aldermen and common council were requested to use their influence in this behalf. The house of commons were in general disposed to listen to that body, from whom they had received such essential support; but

upon this occasion they were evidently offended. When, in pursuance of an order of the common council of the seventh of June, they presented a letter directed to them by the mayor and aldermen of Gloucester, together with the information of divers persons concerning the removal of the governor, and desired that the house would take these and the safety of that city and county into serious and speedy consideration, they received a reproof for their interference. "The house," said the speaker, "have considered of the informations imparted to them concerning Gloucester, and have read the letter which you have brought in, and do think that they have done nothing but what befitteth them in this business. They have taken care for the safety of the city and county of Gloucester when Colonel Massey comes away from them. Many things have been done by this house to that end since this letter; and two of their members are gone down thither." They had already sent to hasten Massey's journey: but before the arrival of the messenger he had quitted the place. His own regiment and the auxiliary horse attended him. This happened about the third of June. He wrote from Burford on the next day, soliciting pecuniary aid to enable him to march into the west, and requesting their attention to the preservation and defence of the city; and it is honourable to his private feelings in his final despatches respecting Gloucester, that he commended the widow and children of Major Backhouse to their especial care. [316]

It will be readily believed that the departure of Massey was attended by the lively and lasting regret of the garrison and inhabitants. Whatever might be the character of him whom they were to receive, they were too strongly prejudiced in favour of the man whom they had lost to expect that equal merit on the one part or attachment on the other should ever be united and rest upon a successor. Their affection followed him in his future services; and when the news of the defeat of Goring at Langport was brought to the city, an entry upon the records shews that the messenger received a reward. [317] And although the sum was but trifling, it proves in some measure the interest they took in an event rendered peculiarly acceptable to them by the share which their late governor had in

1645. the victory. "One faire table of Colonel Massie's picture" is found for several years in the annual inventory of articles belonging to the city. [318] It was given to the chamber by Captain Seager, and he received for it a remuneration of five pounds. [319] After the battle of Worcester, when Massey had returned to his allegiance, and had appeared in arms for Charles the second, it was laid aside, during the protectorate, and has probably perished. From the part that he then took, and his instrumentality in the restoration, he has had the singular fortune to be eulogised by royalists as well as parliamentarians. His portrait is no longer suspended in the City Hall: more than a century and a half have elapsed; and men and feelings have suffered many a change. But still the impression of his ability and valour is kept alive in Gloucester, and there may be no hazard in predicting that when the tradition of the siege shall die away, then, and then only, will the memory of Massey be lost. [320]

Beyond this point of time the collection of tracts contains nothing in the form of narrative; and want of room rather than of materials will oblige us to compress our account of occurrences till the conclusion of the war.

It was asserted by South, in one of his discourses, on the thirtieth of January, at Whitehall, [321] that "the king came in effect to be "unkinged, and all his royalties torn from him, before the year forty-five." And though this may be true, it is still more manifest that the crown was wrested from him in the battle of Naseby. Hardly knowing which way to turn, he took shelter in Hereford, and attempted to form a new army.

June 14.

Though Colonel Lloyd had been appointed governor of Gloucester, the mention of his name occurs no more. [322] Colonel Thomas Morgan, who had served under Lord Fairfax as colonel of a regiment of dragoons was next nominated to the command. [323] He was a soldier of great reputation, distinguished himself during the remainder of these commotions, served in the Netherlands under Marshal Turenne, and assisted Monk in the restoration.

Nine days after the battle of Naseby, Sir Thomas Fairfax was with his whole army at Clifford in Gloucestershire; and on the three ensuing days he quartered at Campden, Northleach and Lechlade. He detached Colonel Butler's regiment of horse to block up Sir Charles Lucas in Berkeley Castle. Butler was ill of wounds received at Naseby; and the regiment was under the orders of Quarter Master General Fincher, who was well acquainted with the country. [324] While Fairfax was moving onward he received information of the situation and designs of his majesty from Stephens and Hodges at Gloucester, and they suggested to him, whether the pursuit of Charles might not be the greatest service he could undertake. That general was of a different opinion; he continued his march through Wiltshire to the assistance of Massey, who with a force too slender to cope with the royalists had already pushed forward between Blandford and Salisbury. The greatest strength of the king was in the west, and Fairfax had determined to reduce all his garrisons there. He considered that the parliament were powerful enough to despatch another force in the direction that Charles had taken; and they concurred in his views, by desiring the Earl of Leven and the Scotch army to advance with all speed from Nottinghamshire to Worcester, and thence to Hereford. [325]

1645.
June
23, 24, 25.

June 28.

Fincher had not been long at Berkeley before he was re-called. Sir Charles Lucas followed him to Dursley, and attempted to beat up his quarters, but was repulsed with some loss. [326] While the parliamentarians were triumphing in Somersetshire, the Scots marched through the East of Herefordshire, where they stormed the strong house of Canon Frome, and put Colonel Barnold and the greater part of his garrison to the sword. On the twenty-ninth of July they sat down before Hereford, nearly eleven thousand strong. The king had withdrawn into the midland counties.

July.

July 22.

July 29.

The operations of Fairfax went on unimpeded by a single reverse; in the defeat of Goring he cleared a wide area of the open field; every town and castle fell before him; and at length he brought a victorious army of twelve thousand men before Bristol. That city had been greatly strengthened in its works since the royalists had held it in their possession. August 22.

1645.

sion. The young Prince Charles and Lord Hopton had left it to the care of Prince Rupert. His garrison, horse, foot, and auxiliaries are estimated in Cromwell's account, at between four and five thousand fighting men: he had a hundred and forty mounted cannon, a hundred barrels of powder, and a great quantity of provisions and military stores. Fort Royal was victualled for three hundred and twenty days, and the castle for half as long. But the statement of Prince Rupert in his vindication is very different; he shews in particular, that he could never draw more than fifteen hundred men upon the line, [327] and that many of them were newly levied in Wales, and could not be prevented from deserting to the enemy. Besides, a pestilential fever was raging; [328] a great part of the inhabitants were ill affected towards him; and his troops were not sufficient to man the extensive fortifications in a compass of four miles. Yet he had written a cheerful letter to the king in which he undertook to defend it for four months; and no one interested in its fate was for the moment over-anxious about Bristol. [329] Nothing, however, was to withstand the fortune of Fairfax. On the fourth of September a summons was sent in. Six times at least the royalists sallied out, and were driven in again. On the tenth the besiegers stormed, and made themselves masters of some of the works and line. Before day-break they had taken Prior's hill fort, and put nearly all who opposed them to the sword. The horrors of the scene were rapidly increasing; and flames were ascending from many quarters of the city; nor did any thing but its entire destruction seem likely to ensue. Darkness had not as yet subsided, and the prince was disposed to have burst forth and fought his way into the country. But being disappointed of his purpose he sounded a parley, which was granted upon condition that the fire should be immediately quenched. A capitulation was then concluded; and on the following day he evacuated the place.

Sept. 11.

During the parley, and when the morning dawned, Fairfax and Cromwell mounted Prior's hill fort and calmly sat down upon it, defiled as it must have been with blood and bodies of the dead and dying. The principal officers of the army were around them; and as they surveyed from that height the whole extent of the defences of Bristol, they entered

into discourse of times past, and called to mind the day in which it had been yielded to their adversary. Comparing its present strength with its former weakness, and taking every circumstance into consideration, they vindicated Nathaniel Fiennes in the attempt that he had made to defend it; and they deemed him hardly dealt with, in that, having done so much, he had found sentence of death and loss of reputation for having accomplished no more. While they were intent upon this discussion, the group was distinguished by some of the king's cannoniers; and these adroit marksmen made a shot at them from the castle, that, had it precisely hit the mark at which it was directed, might have been the means of diverting the current of many succeeding years:—the ball grazed the fort within two hand-breadths of Fairfax and Cromwell without doing the slightest harm. [330]

1645.

Charles heard of the fall of this city with hopeless anguish; and was reluctantly compelled to anticipate that resistance was almost at an end. In some of his letters of this date he styles it "the strange and most inexcusable deliverye upp of the castle and fort of Bristol." [331] He wrote to Prince Rupert, ordering him to quit the kingdom. But at a council of war held by him at Newark about five weeks after, the prince was heard in his own justification; and his majesty, not acquitting him of indiscretion, was, however, pleased to declare, that his nephew was not guilty of the least want of courage or fidelity towards him.

Meantime the Scots had broken up from Hereford apprehending that the king was coming to it's relief. Clarendon relates of Colonel Morgan that he objected to their intention of passing through Gloucester, till they sent him word plainly, that they knew they should be very welcome to pass through Worcester. He yielded to their insinuation, and permitted them to take their route accordingly. [332] This reluctance on the part of the governor, and the unpopularity of that army did not, however, hinder the civil authorities from receiving general Lesley and his officers with their accustomed courtesy; and the records prove that they halted for refreshment at the Tolséy. [333] They brought with them the body of Major General Crawford, who had been slain by a musquet shot before the walls of Hereford, and interred it in the Cathedral. [334]

Sept. 3.

1645. Great bodies of troops crossed this devoted district in various directions. Charles had retraced his steps to Hereford when the Scots were gone; and Major General Poyntz and Colonel Rossiter had been quartered about Gloucester and Tewkesbury, observing his movements with several thousand horse, lest he should have made any attempt to succour Bristol. [335]

Sept. 23. Berkeley Castle was now the only considerable fortress between Gloucester and Bristol that contained a royal garrison, and Colonel Rainsborough was sent by Fairfax to reduce it. He arrived before it on the twenty-third of September, and sent in a summons. Sir Charles Lucas returned for answer that he would eat horse flesh before he would yield, and man's flesh when that was done; and to a second summons gave as peremptory a reply. [336] Then the assailants applied their scaling ladders against the church and out-works, and stormed them. Forty men were slain and ninety taken prisoners. And when the governor saw that the main strength of the place was lost, and that the besiegers were planting their ordnance against him from his own works which commanded the castle, he sounded a parley, and commissioners were sent out to treat of a surrender. The castle of Berkeley was yielded upon these articles; that the governor should march out with three horses and his arms, and not above £50 in money: every field officer, with two horses and but £7 in money; foot captains, with swords, but no horse; common soldiers, without arms, and not above 5s. a piece. Five hundred horse and foot marched out of the gate; and eleven pieces of ordnance, and six months provisions fell into the hands of the captors. [337]

Dec. 16. In the month of December Hereford was surprised by the forces of Colonels Birch and Morgan. [338]

The remaining personal efforts of the king, as a military commander, brought him no more within the county of Gloucester; and the only event of any consequence connected with it is now to be recorded.

About the middle of March, Lord Astley had received orders from his majesty to gather a body of troops out of the remaining garrisons and forts in Wales, and to concentrate them at Worcester. He was to bring them, two thousand horse and foot, to Oxford; and was to have

been met by fifteen hundred horse and foot upon the road. Letters and orders miscarried and were intercepted, so that the committee of both kingdoms obtained information of the design. [339] Colonel Birch drew out six hundred horse and foot from Hereford, and joined Colonel Morgan from Gloucester, and a force from Evesham; in the neighbourhood of which latter place they lay in wait for the royalists six days. Lord Astley at length began his march, crossed the Avon, and took his course for Stow on the Wold, concluding that he had escaped the enemy's quarters. The parliamentarians saw him ascend Broadway hill; followed him all night, and were joined about three in the morning ^{1645.} March 21. by Sir William Brereton with a thousand horse from Lichfield. Both armies were drawn up in battalia before they could well distinguish each other, and waited an hour for break of day. The word of the royalists was "Patrick and George," that of the parliamentarians "God be our guide." The field was hotly and doubtfully disputed; and the king's troops outnumbered fought with the desperation of veterans, who had not another battle to be won or lost. In the left wing the Gloucestershire men were overpowered, and beaten back in disorder; but Sir William Brereton on the right having defeated those that were opposed to him, Colonel Morgan rallied and came again to the charge. The despatches of Birch and Brereton admit the valour with which they were encountered: [340] but the cavaliers were in the end totally routed, two hundred killed upon the spot, and all the foot taken prisoners with their arms. [341] Flying and pursuing, both parties entered into Stow, and many officers and gentlemen were wounded in the town. Among those who were taken were Major General Lord Astley, and Sir Charles Lucas, lieutenant of the horse, than whom two braver or more faithful spirits never embarked in any cause.

The situation of Lord Astley among the parliamentarians, when the affair was ended, as it has been described by one who seems to have been present at the action, might furnish a subject for the canvass of an historical painter. Being taken prisoner, and, "wearied in this fight, and "being ancient; (for old age's silver hairs had quite covered over his "head and beard,) the soldiers brought him a drum to sit and rest

1645. "himself upon; who being seated, he said (as I was most credibly informed) unto our soldiers, 'Gentlemen, you may now sit down and play, for you have done all your work, if you fall not out among yourselves.'" [342]

Thus upon the Wolds of Gloucestershire was terminated all open struggle in the field; neither could Charles from this time muster a sufficient force to confront his opponents. [343] Some castles and fortified towns still held out; but within a few months these dropped piecemeal before the victorious power; and the ill-fated king hunted from place to place could find no spot for refuge, hardly any for necessary repose. He trusted his person to his own countrymen; and they delivered him up to his enemies. What thousands of hands uplifted against him in bloody battles were not permitted to do, was effected by that single stroke of the headsman upon the scaffold, which at once put an end to his misfortunes and his life, and was accompanied by an instantaneous and audible sigh from a multitude of his people. [344.]

With the year 1646, the war, as to its regular continuance, may be said to have closed; though it was afterwards seen that the work of the sword had not entirely ceased. Since the confined view that has been taken of the subject has excluded remoter causes, it will not be expected to embrace remoter consequences. But two points of immediate cause and consequence shall be left to the consideration of the reader.

We are assured by persons who were living in these disastrous days, that those who entered with most eagerness into the deadly dispute, acted under an impression that it could not last: this was a general persuasion among all ranks, as erroneous as it was fatal; and no one opinion, after the breaking out of hostilities, contributed more to the prolongation of them. They found, however, to their cost, the truth of the sacred adage, that "the beginning of strife is as when one letteth out water;" and that all the efforts of the wisest heads and most peaceable hearts were inefficient to stem the force of the torrent, till it had spent itself, and overspread the land.

And when this was done;—when the fury of the dispute was somewhat abated, and men began to look around upon the condition of the

country, it was impossible for any soberly disposed mind to observe it without lively emotions of regret and amazement. The reflections of Baxter deserves to be had in remembrance. Whatever may be thought of his errors, his piety and candour will hardly be called into question in this age. From the beginning of the troubles, as we have shewn, he was a parliamentarian; he even thought it a sin in any one to remain neuter: he had mixed much in their councils, garrisons and armies; and had been a spectator of the fields at Powick, Edgehill and Langport: he tells us that his eyes had beheld his friends fall down by him in fight, and the earth covered with the carcases of the slain: and thus, in homely but pathetic language, he delivers his sentiments concerning the course that himself and others had pursued, and laments the existing miseries of his native land.

“Upon the most serious review of mine own and other men’s proceed-
 ings, I unfeignedly repent that we were not more zealous and studious
 for peace, and for the lenifying of exasperated and exulcerated
 minds, and had not a deeper detestation of war. But who then knew
 what it was?”

“Look at England’s four years blood, a flourishing land almost
 made ruined. Hear but the common voice in most cities, towns and
 countries throughout the land, and judge whether here be not cause
 of sorrow. Especially look but to the sad effects, and men’s spirits
 more out of order; when most wonderful reformation by such wonder-
 ful means might have been well expected, and is this not cause of
 astonishing sorrow?”

“Nothing appears to our sight but ruin. Families ruined; congre-
 gations ruined; sumptuous structures ruined; cities ruined; court
 ruined; kingdoms ruined. Who weeps not when all these bleed?” [345]

THE allusion that has been made to the death of Charles I. is an anticipation that appeared necessary, since no other than an incidental notice of it will be seen in the course of this work. But as the Appendix, to which this conclusion chiefly refers, contains documents elucidating many occurrences that relate to the county and city of Gloucester to the period of the Restoration, we shall return to the year 1646, introducing them by a brief chronological series, and interspersing many particulars from the journals of parliament, the archives of the city, and publications of the times.

1646. July 18.—The first Assize held since the breaking out of the civil war. Serjeant Wylde sitting upon the commission of Oyer and Terminer in his charge styled the citizens, “the conservators of the parliament of England.”*

Presentation made of an estimate of the losses sustained from the siege. †

1646-7. Jan.—“Two silver canns presented to the Honourable Colonel “Thomas Morgan, governor.” ‡

March 1.—It was determined by the parliament that the city should be kept as a garrison with 600 foot in it, beside officers, and that it should have so many pieces of ordnance as might be sufficient for the defence of the place. No other garrison to be kept in the county. The governor to have 12s. a day as governor, and 8s. a day as captain. §

March 17.—The city having solicited for satisfaction of money due to them from the state, £4000 owing to Sir Humphrey Tracy

* Dorney. Speeches. IV. 23. † APPENDIX. No. V.

‡ C. R. S. A. in a. The entries in the stewards and treasurer's accounts occur under the respective mayoralties, commencing with the Monday next ensuing after the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel, and are continued to the corresponding Monday, in the following year. They have usually no dates of months or days, and are accordingly assigned throughout as exactly as the circumstances to which they refer, seem to allow. Beyond this I cannot be answerable for the precision of them.

§ C. J. Perfect Diurnall, March 1—8. April 12—19.

from Henry Poole Esq. both of them adjudged to be delinquents, was granted to Gloucester towards the payment of sums that had been advanced by them to the parliamentary forces employed there: and by virtue of an ordinance the chamber of Gloucester made entry upon the lands of Sir William Poole at Saperton. His son Sir Henry sold the estate afterwards to Sir Robert Atkyns, father of the historian of Gloucestershire.

In the mayoralty of Jasper Clutterbuck, 1646-7, the Alvingate, that had been blocked up, was cleared of earth, and the college cross destroyed. This has been mentioned by no writer; and its site is unknown; but it stood probably in the area or burial ground on the south side of the cathedral. Its dimensions may be inferred from these circumstances,—that six men were employed regularly for a week, besides two others for two days, in taking it down; and that a hundred and twenty-four loads of stone were hawled away to the quay.*

1647-8. Jan.—“Two panns and a beer-bowl presented to Colonel “Thomas Morgan at New-year’s tyde.”†

A plot reported to be in agitation by 80 officers at Broadway in Worcestershire, for the seizure of Gloucester, and co-operation with the royalists under Langhorne and Poyer in arms in South Wales.‡

13.—Ordinance passed for rebuilding the church of Taynton demolished in the war.§

20.—Colonel Morgan quitted Gloucester, and was succeeded by Sir William Constable, Bart. as governor.|| He was one of those who before the troubles was preparing with Cromwell, Hampden and Haslerig to embark for New England, when they were stopped by proclamation and an order of council.

29.—George Lord Berkeley, impeached of high treason by the commons.¶

* C. R. S. A. in a. † Id. ‡ Perfect Occurrences 21—23.
§ C. J. || Perfect Diurnall, Jan. 24—31. ¶ C. J.

1648. April 3.—Ordinance for uniting certain churches, and maintaining a preaching ministry in the city of Gloucester.*

12.—Abuses prohibited, and wood forbidden to be cut in the Forest of Dean.†

May.—Cromwell marched into Wales to reduce the royalists : entertained “ with sweetmeats at the Tolsey, with many of his “ officers and other gentlemen.” The same on his return.

“ Paid Mr. Warwicke for wine sent to the Tolsey to “ make Lieut. Generall Cromwell drinke by Mr. Mayor and “ Aldns. order, when he marched through this citye into Wales.”‡ £0 11 0

Some of the ordnance of Gloucester was taken to Chepstow to assist in battering the castle. They must have been siege pieces, and had been previously been sent to Oxford when that city was reduced the summer before.§

Oct. 23.—Supernumerary horse, under the command of captains Roberts, Wells and Castle, lately taken on, but being no part of the army, ordered to be disbanded upon payment of arrears, deducting free quarters.||

Nov. 7.—Sir John Wintour excepted from pardon.

18.—Enquiry instituted why his sequestration was taken off. The lords apparently wished to favour him.¶

1648-9. Jan.—“Two silver stoopes presented to Sir William Constable, “ collonel and governor of this garrison, as a new years gift.”

He had been long absent from his command in attendance upon parliament : in this month he sat as one of the judges upon the king’s trial, and signed the warrant for his execution.

Lieutenant Colonel Grymes, deputy governor in Gloucester. **

Feb. 14.—Sir William Constable appointed one of the council of state.

March 4.—Sir John Wintour selected, with eleven others, for

* See the last Tract in this collection. † C. J. ‡ C. R. S. A. in a.
§ C. J. Moderate Intelligencer, May 25.—June 1. || C. J. ¶ Id.
** C. R. A. S. in a.

banishment and confiscation of estate : but as he did not withdraw from the country,

Aug. 31.—Colonel Purefoy in the house of commons reported from the council of state that he was still in England, and in the opinion of the council, a dangerous person. Wintour presented a petition ; but the parliament directed that the council of state should take order for his apprehension and imprisonment.

1650. May 30.—Upon the petition of Lord Chandos for allowance of damages for the demolition of Sudley Castle, the commons proposed to remit one thousand pounds residue of his fine, till the damages could be ascertained.*

In the Mayoralty of James Stephens, 1649-50, a fresh survey was ordered to be taken of all the lands where houses had stood that were burnt and pulled down during the siege.

The foundation (statutes ?) of the late Dean and chapter engrossed by William Cole, and translated into English by Mr. Russel, schoolmaster at the college school. †

Dec. 16.—Letter sent to the committee of parliament for the sufferings of Gloucester, to expedite relief. ‡

The turn that affairs had taken may be seen by the blank declarations circulated for signature throughout the country this year. §

1651. Instructions sent from the council of state for preventing tumults insurrections and invasions, when Charles II. was in Scotland. ||

April 15.—Horse ordered to be draughted from the militia horse for the service of the regular army by the first of May ensuing. ¶

Gloucestershire required in this month to furnish a contingent of soldiers for the army in Ireland. Such persons to be selected and sent away, “ as may best be spared ;” by which is to be understood, those who were suspected of attachment to the king or disaffection to the existing government ; and thus they

* C. J. † C. R. S. A. in a.
‡ APPENDIX. No. VI. A. § Do. B. || Do. No. VII. ¶ Do. No. VIII.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

endeavoured to drain out the royalists for that unhealthy and fatal service. Ten men and one woman prest out of the city to go to Ireland. *

July 4.—Anticipating that some attempt might be made by the king and the Scotch army upon the south of the Island, the council of state despatched instructions to Gloucester, in which the alarm and vigilance of the ruling party are strongly shewn.

July 10. } —The governor and committee of Gloucester met ac-
Aug. 5. 18. } cordingly and issued orders for arresting suspected persons and placing the city in a state of defence; intelligence being received that the king was coming southward, “whose design,” says Dorney, “reached unto us, as we are credibly informed.” † Active measures ensued.

Aug. 20.—The Alvin Gate stopped up by order of the governor. Spades, shovels and pick-axes bought to repair the works. Other orders issued on this day :—Captain Wise to complete his company of foot (the trained band) with officers and soldiers for present service.—Six companies of foot, 100 in a company, to be raised in the city, and commanded by captains Wise, Evans, Clerke, Rysell, Hill, and Ellis under the orders of the governor.—Five pounds to be paid to scouts sent out to bring intelligence “in this time of dainger.”

Arms delivered up by the captains to the governor to be re-delivered to them for their companies.

All the draught-horses in and about the city prest to hawl timber for the breast-work upon the quay.

21.—Two drums delivered to Thomas Shaw, “to be employed in “the present service of the commonwealth for the defence of “the city being in dainger to be besieged by the enemy.”

Eight persons presented to the committee by Mr. Symons master of the ordnance, appointed to the train of artillery with present pay. ‡

* C. R. S. A. in a. APPENDIX, No. IX.

† Speeches, 69. 70, APPENDIX, No. X. ‡ C. R. S. A. and Y. 4.

22.—King Charles II. with an army of 12,000 men, in which Massey had a high command, entered the city of Worcester.*

23.—Major Wade directed by the committee to distribute £7 among the fourteen companies of foot in Gloucester, “for their extraordinary labour in the fortifications of this garrison for two daies and two nights past.”

Halliers and workmen paid for work done at the fortifications.

Letter sent by the mayor and others to the house of commons announcing the preparations that had been made.† This letter, with one from Colonel Jervase Buck, Thomas Milward and others, was read in the house of commons on the 25th.

25.—“Ordered that a letter of thanks be written to the mayor and town of Gloucester for their fidelity and good affection to the parliament, and that Mr. Oldsworth do prepare said letter, and that Mr. Speaker do sign the same.”

The king's letter to the city of London ordered at the same sitting to be burnt on the morrow in London by the common hangman.‡

The following summons proclaimed this day by the crier in Gloucester. “All burgesses and inhabitants of Gloucester, who are not listed, are to muster by themselves, servants or workmen to-morrow morning by six o'clock, with spades, shovels and mattocks and little baskets at the south gate, to work at the fortifications all that day upon pain of 5s. a piece.” The constables of every ward were required to report to the committee for the militia the names of such as were not enlisted, by nine o'clock the next morning.§

29.—The commons sent a letter of thanks to the city of Bristol for putting themselves in a posture of defence.||

Cromwell appeared before Worcester; his army estimated at 20,000 men.

* Boscobel, p. 4.

† APPENDIX, No. XI. (A.)

‡ C. J. APPENDIX, No. XI. (B.)

§ C. R. Y. 4.

|| C. J.

30.—The city of Gloucester applied to the council of state, for payment of disbursements for repairs of the fortifications. Supplies sent to Cromwell's army at Worcester.

Entries relating to the above in the Records :—

“ Forty barrels of strong beere pr. act of comon councill, presented to the Lord General Cromwell, when he lay with his army before the Scotts army in Worcester . . . £20 0 0
 “ Paid for hawling the said beere to the key . . . 0 6 8
 “ For bringing up the beere presented to General Cromwell to Worcester . . . 2 0 10

A cask of better quality was sent for the General's private use. This no doubt was what they called “ double beer.”

“ Paid to Mr. John Singleton for a hogshead of beere that was sent to Worcester to the Generall - 1 0 0

The casks fared as might be expected in the confusion.

“ Casks lost when we presented 40 barrells of beer to the Generall . . . 4 16 0
 “ For carrying up Ammunition to Worcester . . . 2 10 0
 “ Hay and hides hawled to Worcester * . . . 0 9 0

The hides were used to cover powder.

Sept. 3.—Cromwell defeated the king's army at Worcester.

The following entries apparently refer to this period.

“ A quart of sack drank by the mayor and a captain that came from Worcester.
 “ For horses kept for the state's service when the Scotts army was at Worcester . . . 0 10 4
 “ Paid to Mr. Baldwin, for taking down the king's statue after that the souldyers had hacked' and hewed his head and face . . . 1 0 0
 Paid for taking downe the king's armes in St. Michael's church" †. . . 0 0 8

*C.R. S. A. APPENDIX No. XII. † C.R. S. A. in a.

Sept. 11.—In a report made by Sir Henry Vane to the house of commons, the appointment and strength of the garrison of Gloucester is thus specified. “The governor, one master gunner, two gunners, two mates, ten matrosses, a store-keeper, five companies of foot out of one of the regiments of the army, six hundred and forty private soldiers, besides officers.” This report was with the view to a reduction which shortly after began to take place. *

Here it may be mentioned that the city grew weary of retaining a garrison; and designed at least to petition the parliament to be relieved from what they considered to be an evil, since the war was at an end. The draught of this petition is found in the records; it is without a date; but circumstances seem to shew that it was framed after the battle of Worcester. †

Some time in this mayoralty of Anthony Edwards, 1650-1, Lady Ireton, (i. e. Bridget, eldest daughter of Oliver Cromwell, and wife of Lieutenant General Sir Henry Ireton,) paid a visit to Gloucester. The bells rang; and she was complimented with a present of a gallon and a pint of Canary, and a sugar loaf. ‡

Oct. 11.—The city of Gloucester elected Oliver Cromwell to be their high steward, and sent him his patent accompanied by a piece of plate. A year after he accepted his first annual fee of five pounds, and gave a receipt for it accordingly. It was sent to him with a present of lampreys. §

Dec.—Another petition prepared upon the subject of losses in the siege. And now they laid their claims higher, stating that “much damage was sustained over and aboe the £26,000 certified to Lord Chief Baron Wylde.” A committee was sitting in parliament to ascertain the sufferings of Gloucester and Worcester; and the mayor and common council had received proposals from four persons in London, viz: Major John

* C. J. Sept. 11. Oct. 2.

† APPENDIX, No. XIII.
§ Id. APPENDIX, No. XIV.

‡ C. R. S. A. in a.

Wildman, Thomas Milward, Godfrey Ellis and Griffantius Phillips, to use their endeavours towards obtaining reparation for their losses and disbursements on condition of receiving a third part of what they should obtain for their trouble. This modest proposal they rejected, professing at the same time that the Corporation "are willing to requite their pains not only "liberally but very liberally."*

1651-2. March 9.—Sufferings of Worcester city and county, in the late hostilities stated, as estimated by commissioners, to amount to £50,539 11s. 10d.† Gloucester contributed to the relief of the city of Worcester.

"Paid to Mr. Theophilus Abye of Worcester per acte of
"comon counsell for the releife of the poor inhabitants of Worces-
"ter that were plundered when the Scotts army was beaten out
"of Worcester, to make up the voluntary contributions gathered
"in our city £91. . . . £30 0 0

"Paid to William Witcombe for going about to gett

"hands to a peticoñ for uniting of the Colledge

"and St. Maries." 0 2 6‡

1652. April 1.—An act passed prohibiting the planting of tobacco in England, which materially affected the interests of many persons in Gloucestershire.

May 6.—This day was read in the house of commons "The
"humble petition and cries of many land owners and labourers
"of Cheltenham, Winchcomb, and the adjacent parishes in the
"county of Gloucester.

"Resolved, that a declaration be brought in to-morrow
"morning, for dispensing with the forfeiture of the Act, intituled
" 'An Act prohibiting the planting of tobacco in England,
"for all tobacco that was planted within this commonwealth
"before the 6th of May 1652, for this year only."§

Sept 7.—Sir John Wintour liberated from the tower upon bail for three months, on account of sickness.

*C. R. Y. 4.

† C. J.

‡ C. R. S. A. in a.

§ C. J.

Dec 7.—His term of liberty enlarged upon the same security for three months longer, with permission to go any where, within twenty miles of London.

17.—Remanded back to the tower.

1652-3. Jan. 1.—Many of the land forces disbanded. The governor and all officers appertaining to the garrison of Gloucester reduced. The garrison to be dismantled, and the three companies of foot of which it consisted, put into some of the marching regiments of the army to be employed for the service in the field. *

By this order of parliament, the garrison was made untenable, and the sconces at the east, south, and north gates, at Saint Oswald's and in the Frier's orchard, were levelled. The approach at the East gate was pitched with pebbles, and gravelled from a pit at Rignor stile. Among other minute circumstances occurring during this mayoralty, (viz. of William Caple,) the state's arms were taken down, and Mr. Campion drew "faire in collours" the new state's arms to hang in the Boothall, upon six ells of canvas. A stamp was also made for the city farthings bearing the city arms. †

1653. Aug. 15.—Three pence upon every pound of tobacco planted in the county of Gloucester to be paid by the planters to the use of the commonwealth.

Sept. 3.—A bill passed allowing the English planters in Gloucestershire to enjoy the English tobacco by them planted this year only without interruption. ‡

— Lord Clarendon observes that Ireland was "the great capital out of which all debts were paid, all services rewarded, and all acts of bounty performed." Under this arrangement Gloucester was not forgotten.

Sept. 26.—In an act passed this day "for speedy and effectual satisfaction of the adventurers for lands in Ireland, &c." is a clause granting to Anthony Edwards, one of the aldermen of

* C. J. † C. R. S. A. Temp. Will. Caple, Arm. 1652-3. ‡ C. J.

the city of Gloucester, and Thomas Whitcomb of the said city, and many others named in a list delivered in to the committee of the late parliament for Irish affairs, in consideration of the losses sustained by them suffering their houses to be voluntarily burned, and their goods and lands destroyed for the service of the parliament, before the late siege of the said city of Gloucester, by the late king's forces, such part and share of the forfeited lands as shall be valued at ten thousand pounds, to be set forth and sufficiently conveyed unto them and their heirs in trust, to be divided amongst them according to several and respective losses and sufferings mentioned in the said list.*

THE PROTECTORATE.

1654. Dec. 12.—John Biddle of Gloucester ordered to be sent for in custody as a delinquent for publishing two books against the Trinity.

13.—Examined before a committee of the house of commons.

1654-5. Jan. 15.—His books, pronounced blasphemous and heretical, to be seized and burnt by the common hangman, and a bill to be brought in for his punishment. †

This was just before the dissolution of Cromwell's first parliament.

During the insurrections in Yorkshire and Wiltshire the city gave proofs of its attachment to the existing government.

March 17.—“ This day a letter came from Gloucester city, “ which did signifie the readinesse and freenesse of that city “ to engage against the common enemy, that had met in the “ nights in the fields: themselves raised four companies for “ their defence, and wish that it may be in the hands of “ confiding men there, if any militia bee. At the delivery of the “ letter, his highnesse returned this answer to these gentlemen “ of the city, who were then present, that hee thanked them for “ their good affections to him, and could not but take notice of

* Act printed by John Field, 1653. † C. J.

"it, and that it was a great encouragement to him in the
‡ "government."* In consequence of this—

March 24.—The protector wrote them a flattering and insinuating letter; † in which this is observable, that it is addressed first to the military residents, and secondarily to the townsmen: whereas upon those occasions in which the civil and military authorities were classed together, during the war, and under the commonwealth, the mayor retained precedence even of the existing governor.

1655. March 27.—Farther planting of tobacco finally prohibited by order of the council. ‡

At the time that Cromwell had determined to decimate the cavaliers, he projected a division of the kingdom into several districts, over which he placed officers of trust and confidence, who were to inspect the conduct of the inhabitants, and treat them according to orders received from the protector.

May 28.—General John Disbrowe appointed major-general for the counties of Gloucester, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall. §

August 10.—Captain Griffantius Phillips of the city of Gloucester received a letter of attorney from the mayor and burgesses, empowering him to take possession for them and receive the rents of certain lands allotted to them in Ireland. ||

1656. Oct. 16.—The committee for Forests referred to by the house of commons to consider of satisfaction to be given to the inhabitants of the Forest of Dean touching their rights and grievances.

Oct. 23.—Enquiry instituted as to the particular persons who have made spoil of wood and timber in the forest. ¶

(Much of the timber had been appropriated to the use of the

* Perfect Proceedings, &c. March 15—22, 1654-5. † APPENDIX, No. XV.

‡ APPENDIX, No. XVI.

§ Harris. Life of Cromwell. Thurloe. State Papers. IV. 117.

|| C. R. Y. 4.

¶ C. J.

government. Sir John Wintour, in his narrative published in the reign of Charles II. asserts that, from the time that his patent in the forest was interrupted by the civil troubles to the restoration, above forty thousand trees were cut down by Captain Gifford, Mr. Pury, Mr. Kirle, Captain John Brayne, Major Wade and others, by order of the house of commons.)*

1657. June 9.—Three acts relating to the county and city received the consent of the protector, viz.

For mitigation of the rigour of the Forest of Dean laws, and for the preservation of wood and timber there.

For settling the late cathedral church upon the mayor and burgesses of Gloucester, and their successors, for publick, religious and charitable uses.

For ascertaining and effectually setting out lands, &c. in Ireland in compensation of the losses of Gloucester.†

July 24.—In prosecution of their claims in Ireland, which had been settled by allotment, the city addressed a letter to Henry Cromwell, then governor of that country, in which through Doctor Clarges, a physician, they solicit his favour and assistance, because, they say, he had “often given a testimony of his kindness to the place.‡

Aug. 4.—A contract entered into with Vincent Gookin to demand and take possession of the lands which had been allotted. It appears that the value of their portion did not amount to a remuneration, and that they sent a petition to the protector upon this head. It was addressed through the Honourable Colonel Philip Jones one of his highness's council.§

Cromwell was rendered wretched by the suspicion and actual detection of certain plots against his person and government. Besides this, he expected to be obliged again to confront his enemies in arms. Knowing the influence that Massey had

* A true Narrative concerning the woods and iron-works of the Forrest of Deane, and how they have been disposed since the year 1635, p. 4.

† C. J.

‡ C. R. Y. 4.

§ APPENDIX, No. XVII.

in Gloucester, and feigning to receive or really having obtained intelligence from some of his numerous informers that an attempt upon the place was in agitation, he wrote to the authorities to put them upon their guard, and directed them to call out their militia. In their answer they assured him of their attachment, and informed him of the measures they had taken in obedience to his command.*

1657-8. March 11.—Again he wrote to tell them that an armament was ready in Flanders to invade the country, and directed them to prepare, but to be cautious as to whom they trusted with arms. In reply they give an^c account of the measures they had adopted for security.† Recruiting was carried on at this time, by order of the protector, in Gloucester, and the towns of Tewkesbury, Stow and Chipping Norton, to fill up a regiment commanded by Colonel Mills. ‡

The forces to which Cromwell alludes in his letter consisted chiefly of Spaniards. Charles II. had formed an alliance with Spain; and five British regiments served for the king in the Spanish army. In June they were defeated at Dunkirk by the French under Marshal Turenne: Colonel Morgan, some time governor of Gloucester, with Cromwell's six thousand auxiliaries, chiefly contributed to gain the victory.

1658. Sept. 4.—The day after the death of Oliver Cromwell instructions were forwarded to Gloucester from the privy council, the mayor, aldermen and citizens of London, the officers of the army and others, for proclaiming Richard Cromwell, protector, which was done according to the prescribed form.§

During the brief government of Richard, the royalists were very industrious, because it became apparent that matters were likely to run into confusion, and a favourable opportunity might be at hand. Massey and John How, Esq. of Stowell, a

* APPENDIX, No. XVIII. † APPENDIX, No. XIX. ‡ C. R. Y. 4.
§ APPENDIX, No. XX.

barrister, were exerting themselves for the king. In a letter
1659. from Lord Clarendon to Mr. Mordaunt, dated May 9, 1659,
is the following passage. "Do you not think it fit that he
"(How) and Massey should confer together about the business
"of Gloucester? When the time is ripe for action there be
"very few things will be more hopeful, and fill the hearts of
"the people better, (considering the superstition our nation
"is naturally possessed with,) than to hear that Gloucester
"is defended for the king by Massey; which would look like
"one of those revolutions which providence brings about, when
"it will wonderfully restore a prince and people to hap-
"piness."*

Richard Cromwell abdicated, and the long parliament sat
again.

The designs of the king's friends upon Bristol and Gloucester
taking air had been for awhile suspended; but in July, Captain
Titus, among other information, makes this report to the king.
July 1. "Mr. How gave us assurance, and (not to mention his own
"account of an army) others gave us better grounds to believe
"that upon his interest 1000 foot would be raised besides.—
"Major General Massey hath been long in those parts and myself
"twice.—At my last meeting with the major general at Hunger-
"ford (but few days before I came over) he told me he had
"been in the Forest of Dean, where he found the gentlemen
"very forward; that several of them had engaged for consi-
"derable numbers; that Bristol was as forward as ever; that
"the seamen of that place had undertaken to dispatch or
"secure the two troops that are quartered there without the
"assistance of any others of the town; that Gloucester was no
"less ready than Bristol; that they valued not the troop that
"was quartered there; that the mayor of the town himself
"had expressed much inclination to act in such a business;

* Clarendon. State Papers, III. 464.

“but the particulars had not then been communicated to him;
 “that Dr. Fielding, a person of whose willingness or ability
 “to perform it there was no cause to doubt, had engaged at
 “any time, upon the least warning, to secure a gate in Glou-
 “cester, and to give the major general entrance for any force
 “he should think fit to bring; and besides, to dispose a
 “considerable part of the town immediately to join with
 “him.—Major General Massey was at my coming away very
 “industriously agitating the business with all particular persons
 “in those parts, with whom it was any way necessary and
 “safe for him to have any communication of that kind.”*

This might be the time when, perhaps, to favour the design of the royalists, the keys of the city were ordered to be delivered out of the possession of Captain Hill to the mayor, on account of some matters imparted to the corporation.

Massey, however, who had been in Gloucester, wandering about in disguise was traced to Symond's Hall, the house of
 July 31. his relation Mr. Veal, where he was seized by some troopers, from whom, as they were carrying him down Nympsfield hill in the night, he effected his escape.†

In the mean while Thomas Pury and his son had raised and armed three hundred foot in Gloucester, for which they received the thanks of the parliament by letter from the speaker. ‡

August.—The report of a plot to murder all the Independents and Anabaptists in the city publicly contradicted by Robert Tyther, the mayor, in a letter to the house of commons. §

September.—The militia set on foot in this month.

7.—Amendments to the bill for settling lands upon the adventurers and soldiers in Ireland were before the house this day; and an amended clause in favour of Gloucester was read the third time and agreed to.

*Id. 509. 510. †MS. Furney. ‡C. J. July 30.
 § Public Intelligencer, Aug. 15—22.

October 4.—It was resolved that all the forests and chaces should be sold, except the New Forest, and the Forest of Dean.*

November.—Gloucester was oppressed by the quartering of soldiers who had no pay; and a correspondence took place between the mayor and the committee of safety at Whitehall, which sufficiently proves the existing disorders. Sir Brice Cochrane, who had commanded three regiments in France, was in the city, and had demanded a part of their arms for the use of the commonwealth.†

1659-60.

February 23.—Was issued a proclamation and protest of the lords, knights, and gentlemen, in the counties of Gloucester, &c. against all assemblies which impose taxes without consent of parliament.‡ In this year a guard house was erected. No more than one assize had been holden. The anarchy that now prevailed was only remedied by the restoration of King Charles II. who

1660. May 15. was proclaimed in Gloucester with great rejoicings.

In this year the walls of Gloucester were ordered to be razed.||

* C. J. † APPENDIX. No. XXI. ‡ Mercurius Publicus, May 10—17.
|| MS. Furney.

NOTES

TO

THE HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

NOTES.

ABBREVIATIONS.

L. J. Lords' Journals. C. J. Commons' Journals. C. R. Corporation Records. S. A. Stewards' and Treasurers' Accounts.

NOTE [1.] Life of Baxter, Part I. pp. 30. 31. Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, p. 81. 4to. Sanderson. Reign of King Charles, p. 543.

[2.] Fosbrooke. History of Gloucester, pp. 63. 64. There had also been dispute between the city and county about the same levy, as appears by this entry in the accounts of the city:

"Item payd Mr. John Price for three gallons of wine that was
 " sente to the lord bysshoppe when the businesse was in the hearing }
 " about the levy of the ship money betwixt the city and the county. } £0 9 4
 " Mr. Maior and divers of the comon counsell being at the pallace }
 " at dynner same time."

Corporation Records, MS. a. 1635-1636. Temp. Will. Hill et Joh. Brown.

The bishop was Dr. Goodman: he seems to have been always upon good terms with them; and kept up some communication with Gloucester many years after his ejection; for in a letter to the corporation, so late as in 1649, he compliments them upon their defence of the city against the king. MS. Furney.

[3] C. R. MS. vol. Y. 4. f. 5. to 30 inclusive. "A booke for entering of letters sent from the lords of the councell and lord lieutenant." The first letters upon this subject are dated in March 1640, from the Earl of Northampton, addressed to the mayor and the rest of the deputy lieutenants, ordering fifteen hundred men to be levied out of the trained bands for the defence of the kingdom, which, with fifty strong and able horses for the train of artillery and seventeen carters, are to be ready at Newcastle upon Tyne, on the fifteenth of June ensuing. The men are to be exercised weekly in companies of a hundred, "with false fier or noe fier," by inferior officers. After some delay, an order in council of the last day of May states, "whereas it is advertised that there are divers persons in the county, who refuse to asseesse or pay coate and conduct money for the sayd soldiers' we pray your lordship to send up to this board the names of some few of the chiefe persons as refuse to asseesse or pay the sayd money; whereupon war-

"rants shal be speedily given for messengers of the chambers to fetch them up
"to answer these contempts at the board."

There is no evidence of this threat having been put into execution against the people of Gloucestershire. The mayor and others wrote to the lord lieutenant on the sixteenth of June to inform him, that they had "raised and trained the men for the city, and hope they will be ready; but they cannot levy the moneys assessed, for want whereof they will not be able to set them forth, and send horses as required." And so they certify the names of those that neglect, though often demanded to pay. In reply, June 19, the lord lieutenant says, he shall deliver the list on that day to the council board, and doubts not but that the lords will forthwith send a messenger for those that refuse to pay or submit.—Gloucestershire was rated at more men than any other county, except Dorset and Somerset, whose numbers amounted to two thousand each. But the list in Rushworth is very imperfect, according to his own admission.

[4.] Walker. Sufferings of the Clergy, Part II. 32-33.

[5.] Laud's Trials and Troubles, pp. 534. 566. a. 1634. Goodman was imprisoned by Laud for refusing to subscribe to the New Canons. He died in 1655. His predecessor Miles Smith, is said by Godwin to have been a favourer of the puritans. When Laud was dean of Gloucester he placed the communion table altar-wise, which gave such offence to Smith that he never again entered the cathedral. Cobbett State Trials, IV. 477.

[6.] Id. p. 538. a. 1635.—One of the charges brought against Archbishop Laud at his trial related to his persecution of Workman, a lecturer in the liberty of Gloucester, who for preaching, as it said, against images was suspended, excommunicated, ordered to recant his erroneous and scandalous doctrine, condemned in costs of suit and imprisoned. The corporation thinking him oppressed and deserving patronised him; and on account of his great family granted him under their common seal an annuity of twenty pounds. Laud then summoned the mayor and aldermen before the council table as delinquents, cancelled their deed, and fined two of the defendants ten pounds each. After some months' imprisonment, Workman obtained his liberty and taught children in private. He was, however, forbidden to follow this occupation: then he attempted to practice physic for the support of his family; but this resource was also prohibited. Shortly after, it is added, he sunk under his poverty and affliction, and died. Such is Prynne's statement in his report of Laud's Trial, p. 103. et seq. But the merits of this case are better understood by examining Laud's defence, which sets the matter in a different light. State Trials. ut supra. There is reason to believe that Workman was some years after appointed minister of Saint Nicholas, in Gloucester; for the register of that parish in 1645, contains this entry, *Αγίου Ουγκίας Λειτουργούτος*, and is kept in his hand for two years.

[7.] Walker. Part I. 52. Part II. 182.

[8.] Id. Part II. 424.

[9.] Most of the contemporary documents from which this narrative is derived compute the beginning of the year from March 25. The same mode of

reckoning is therefore retained, though it is not so familiar to a modern eye.

[10.] Fosbrooke. 54.

[11.] June 15. 1641.—Parliamentary History, IX. 366.

[12.] This is precisely the state of things alluded to by Butler in the well known opening of his satirical poem :

When civil dudgeon first grew high,
And men fell out they knew not why ;
When hard words, jealousies and fears
Set folks together by the ears.

HUDIBRAS, Part I. c. 1.

[13.] Baxter, Part. I. 41.—Colonel Hutchinson made the same complaint of the royalist soldiers quartered at Nottingham. *Memoirs*, 83.84. The populace of Northampton were as violent for the parliament. Sir Philip Warwick. *Memoirs*, p. 225. edit. 1703; and Clarendon gives many instances of their disorderly conduct in various places. *Hist. of the Rebellion*. II. pp. 21. 22, 8vo. edit. 1726.

[14.] Baxter. Part I. 40. 42.

[15.] The reader will, perhaps, smile when he is informed that Gloucestershire had not been without its prodigy. The commonalty, alive to omens, fancied that they observed them in many places; which, as the aspect of affairs grew more gloomy, might have acted with increased force upon their credulity and expectations. Some time previous to the breaking out of the troubles the Tewkesbury carrier asserted, that, as he was passing over the Cotswold hills with his men and pack-horses a little before the dawn of day, they "saw most sensibly and very perspicuously in "the air, muskettiers, harnessed men, and horsemen, moving in battel array, "and assaulting one another in divers furious postures." Howell. *Familiar Letters*, Sect. VI. Letter XLIII. This writer declares that he read the relation and deposition of the carrier. Similar appearances were said to have been noticed with respect to the fight at Edge Hill; an account of which is contained in a pamphlet entitled, "A great wonder in heaven, shewing the late "apparitions and prodigious noises of war and battles, seen on Edge Hill, "near Keinton in Northamptonshire, (*sic*) certified under the hands of William Wood, Esq. and justice of the peace in the saide county, Samuel Marshall, preacher of God's word in Keinton, and other persons of qualitie. "1642." Sprigge. *Anglia Rediviva*, p. 252, assures us that he witnessed strange sights of this kind in the air over the town of Banbury about the year 1640. They were probably Northern lights. Such prognostics have been attempted in part to be solved by that spirit of enquiry among the moderns, which traces appearances to their causes; and the attempt is ingenious and worthy of attention. See the story of the phantoms of Souter-fell in Britton and Brayley's *Beauties of England and Wales*, Article Cumberland. But whatever reception statements of this kind may now be thought to deserve, though they seem rather to belong to the picturesque machinery of poetry than to the matter of fact of history, it is certain that the notice of them has not been thought inconsistent with the dignity of grave and judicious historians.

See Davila, B. XI. before the battle of Ivry. At any rate they are helps to form an estimate of the public mind, and are found in darker ages to be the genuine precursors and accompaniments of stormy times.

Though Milton's extensive reading might have supplied him with a set of images of this nature, it is far from improbable that circumstances above recited, occurring before he wrote his poem, might have suggested to him that noble simile in *Paradise Lost*—

As when, to warn proud cities, war appears
Wag'd in the troubled sky, and armies rush
To battle in the clouds, before each van
Prick forth the aery knights, and couch their spears
Till thickest legions close: with feats of arms
From either end of Heaven the welkin burns.

PARADISE LOST, B. II. l. 533 et seq.

Had Cowper been acquainted with the above particulars they would have helped to enrich his apologetical note upon this passage.

[16.] The commission of array was issued in the month of June. That for Leicestershire is inserted in the Lords' Journals of June 18. And it was immediately voted by both houses that those who were actors in putting it in execution should be esteemed as disturbers of the peace of the king, and betrayers of the liberty of the subjects. They sent forth a declaration against it.

Commons' Journals, July 4. "Ordered that nine thousand of the declaration concerning the commission of array shall be printed and published, "and Mr. Purie shall take care for the dispersing of them into all counties of "the kingdom." A copy of the declaration may be seen in Rushworth. IV. 661. et seq. and in Husband's Ordinances, p. 386. et seq.

[17.] Commons' Journals, July 12.

[18.] George Brydges, Chandos, Lord Sudley. He had three horses killed under him at the head of his regiment in the first battle of Newbury. Dugdale. Baronage, III. 395. He was nominated and recommended by the house of commons to his majesty as lord lieutenant of Gloucestershire, and the city and county of Gloucester, Feb. 10, 1641. C. J.

[19.] Names of the deputy lieutenants for the county. Sir Humphry Tracy, Baronet, Sir Robert Pointz, Sir Robert Tracy, Sir John Seamour, Sir Robert Cooke, Sir William Masters, Sir Maurice Berkley, knights. Richard Berkley, Henry Poole, John Dutton, Thomas Chester, William Guyse, Nathaniel Stephens, William Leigh, Edward Steevens, John Cotherington, Thomas Veale, Walter Burcher, William Frye, John Fettiplace, Thomas Hogges (Hodges), John Stephens, William Stratford, Thomas Morgan, John George, Esquires, and for the city and county of the city of Gloucester. The mayor for the time being, the recorder, George Bridgman, Esquire, Silvanus Wood, Mr. Thomas Pury, alderman, Mr. William Capell, alderman, Mr. William Knighton, alderman. L. J. August 12.

[20.] Magazines were established in every county. By an order in council of August 17, 1637, directions were given for "a fitt proportion of gunpowder "in store" in each of them, to be ready upon all occasions as well for exercising the trained bands as otherwise, "and that the magazine of Gloucester be

"replenished." Corporation Records, MS. C. 5. f. 227. These were objects of contention every where at the breaking out of the commotions. There had been a great stir at Monmouth concerning the magazine in April preceding Commons' Journal. Gloucester magazine in the Bartholomew's Hospital contained at the beginning of this year no more than eighteen barrels and a half of gunpowder. Stewards Account, MS. But they soon added to their stock; they had only seven barrels in it during the years 1639-1640. Id.

[21.] An experienced soldier of consummate bravery, known during his service abroad by the title of "the honest English captain in the Netherlands," whom the king had in vain endeavoured to attach to his service: he acted a conspicuous part in the war. His speech, as it is given by Whitelock, when he was appointed soon after to the command of horse and dragoons under the Earl of Essex, is a curious specimen of an unvarnished military oration, and produced an electrical effect upon his men: "Come, my boys, my brave boys, let us pray heartily and fight heartily. I will run the same fortunes and hazards with you. Remember the cause is for God, and for the defence of yourselves, your wives and children. Come, my honest brave boys, pray heartily, and fight heartily, and God will bless us."

[22.] In the Commons' Journals of Thursday, July 14. is a draught of an order for the indemnity of the volunteers of the city of Gloucester, which order was to be made general for all the cities and towns that desired it. From this it appears that the city had turned out into the field volunteers by companies to the number of one hundred or more, that they might be exercised in the use of arms and order of marching; and that some persons not well affected to the ordinance of parliament for the militia had discouraged them with threatening words. By this order they have the authority of both houses of parliament for their security and indemnity in the training already passed, and are empowered to have a warrant from the lord lieutenant of that city and county to permit them to train when and where-soever they please.

[23.] The defences of Worcester were in an equal, if not worse state of dilapidation. Clarendon II. 24. 232. See also Lords' Journals, Sept. 17. According to the art of war, as then taught and practised, it was computed in a common way that two months were sufficient for the inhabitants of any place to secure themselves by works. Rushworth. Hist. Coll. II. p. 1295. a. 1640.

But the repairs of ancient bulwarks, as in the case of Gloucester, would necessarily be attended with great trouble and cost. Many gardens were dug up and houses pulled down, besides those that were destroyed by fire. The walls were in such a condition that a part adjoining to the upper north gate had fallen down in 1641 and was dangerous to passengers: trees of some size appear to have been suffered to grow in the works. A man was killed by a fall from one of them in 1639. Corporation Records, in anno.

It appears from a variety of circumstances that the parliament undertook to provide for the expences of restoring the fortifications. In January following, it was "ordered, that the treasurers for the subscription monies in the city and county of Gloucester do detain five hundred pounds of the said subscription monies, to be employed for satisfaction of monies expended and laid out upon the fortifications and other provisions for the defence

"of the said city and county." L. J. January 14, 1642-3. Many proofs occur that they considered themselves amenable for the repairs of the walls and bridges of the city as well as for the pay of the garrison, though it is not so evident they were always able or willing to fulfil what is called their "engagement" to the city. It was the same at Newcastle upon Tyne where they repaired the walls, bridges, keys, river and harbour. C. J. June 7, 1645.

[24.] See the Tract in the following collection, p. 177. 178, which is corroborated by a letter read in the house of commons, August 20, and printed, by their order, August 22: yet it is remarkable that the following entry referring to a transaction of the same kind occurs in the Lords' Journals, Aug. 19, 1642.

"A letter from Sir Robert Cooke, dated the 6th August, 1642, to the Lord Viscount Say and Seale, was read; which intimated, that many of the inhabitants of Gloucestershire assembled themselves at Cirencester, at the coming of the Lord Dacres thither; and conceiving that his lordship came into those parts to put the commission of array into execution, pressed it very much upon him, who denied it; but the people being not satisfied, caused him to set it under his hand; and being afterwards withdrawn, they fell upon his coach and tore it in pieces."—Loyalist opponents to the deputy lieutenants in that quarter complained of in Tract, p. 185, are enumerated in the Commons' Journals, November 28. "Sir Richard Dacre, Bart. Sir H. Fred. Glinne, Sir Robert Points, Thomas Veale, and Humphry Hooke, Esqrs." Pointz and Veale were originally nominated deputy lieutenants; but acting for the king, the commons resolved to send for them and the others as delinquents.

[25.] His majestie's proceedings in Northamptonshire, Gloucestershire, &c. August 23, 1642.

[26.] Fosbrooke, p. 54.

[27.] Stewards' Accounts, MS. a. 1642.

[28.] L. J. September 15, 1642. This order, originating in the commons, was drawn up by serjeant, afterwards Chief Baron Wilde. C. J. Sept. 13.

[29.] Till after the battle of Worcester. Stewards' Accounts, MS. 23. Car. I. "7 halters for the 7 great horses." The keep of each horse per week amounted to 2s. 6d. in hay and 2s. in oats: besides these, they raised what are called, in the Records, "Subscription Horses." Eighteen are enumerated entered by inhabitants of Tuffley, Matson, Upton, Sandhurst, and Elmore, Id.

[30.] Sir John Byron, of Newsted Abbey, county of Nottingham, made Lord Byron of Rochdale, Oct. 24. 19. Car. I. Dugdale. Baron. II. 469. He died an exile in France when the war was over. "A person of a very ancient family, and honourable extraction, and good fortune, and as unblemished a reputation as any gentleman of England." Clarendon I. 399.

[31.] Nathaniel Fiennes, second son of Lord Say. Dugdale. Baronage, III. 247. Clarendon says he was "a man of good parts of learning:" he had spent many years at Oxford and abroad at Geneva, and among the Cantons of Switzerland, "where he improved his disinclination to the church, with

"which milk he had been nursed." He became one of the chief leaders of the house of commons. Clarendon. I. 186. 233.

[32.] Continuation of special passages, Sept. 21—24, 1642. One hundred and fifty of these and others from Tewkesbury, under the command of Captain Scriven, son of the mayor of Gloucester, when they could not find Fiennes, turned aside on the 21st. to Castle Morton, between Upton and Ledbury; where they amused themselves with plundering the house of Mr. Rowland Bartlet, an eminent royalist. And when the Earl of Essex possessed himself of Worcester, another party from the parliamentary army plundered him again. *Mercurius Rusticus*, p. 184. et. seq.

[33.] Though Prince Rupert seemsto have gone out of Worcester to observe them, he was taken by surprise; his men and horses were wearied with a long march; and himself and his principal officers were reposing on the ground. The parliamentarians also were close upon him before they were aware of it. But Rupert always entertained too great a contempt for his enemy. A party of them came up with him, and shot at him near Oxford, as he was exercising his men in sight of them without boots, in shoes and stockings. *Sprigge, Anglia Rediviva*. 256 The skirmish at Powick is inaccurately reported by most of the contemporary historians. A pamphlet entitled "a letter sent from the Lord Falkland, principall secretary to his majesty unto the Right Honourable Henry Earle of Cumberland, printed at Yorke by Stephen Bulkeley," gives an interesting account of it. This publication so offended the parliament, that they ordered all the copies of a London edition of it to be publicly burnt, and committed the printer to Newgate. C. J. Oct. 8, 1642.

[34.] *Id.* September 27.

[35.] Sir Philip Warwick's *Memoirs*, 227. Clarendon, II. 26. 47.

[36.] Sanderson. 582. But the arrangement of this writer is so confused that it is frequently difficult to discover and determine his dates.

[37.] They also made purchases in Bristol. Entries occur of twenty muskets, of forty do. and forty bandaleers, a pack of match, and five hundred pounds of lead for bullets. The cost of the Demy Culverins amounted to 16*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.* *Stewards' Account*, MS. a. 1642-1643.

[38.] *Commons' Journals*, October 8.

[39.] Fosbrooke, 55. Mr. Fosbrooke has with great industry made a valuable selection from the *News-Books* on both sides relating to Gloucester at this period; but as many of the articles are clearly fabrications penned for the purpose of maintaining the confidence of the respective parties, though exceedingly curious as exhibiting the feelings of the time, they cannot in all cases be adopted as historical evidence.

[40.] Among resources drawn from the county may be mentioned, 3375*l.* received for wood out of the Forest of Dean. C. J. Sept. 8, 1642.

This was when the parliament interfered with the patent of Sir John Wintour, by virtue of which he felled and disposed of large quantities of

timber annually out of the forest ; more will be seen respecting this hereafter.

[41.] Heath. Chronicle. Part I. 40.

[42.] "Edward Greene and Edward Wheeler," went with messages to "my Lord Generall," Aldermen Pury and Singleton also went to Worcester ; and Mr. Steward Fowler was despatched to Lord Say, the Lord Lieutenant. S. A. MS. a. 1642.

[43.] Henry, Lord Grey of Groby, Earl of Stamford. Dugdale. Baronage, I. 722. He was made commander in chief of the forces raised in the counties of Hereford, Gloucester, Salop and Worcester. C. J. December 13.

[44.] Several gentlemen were surprised by him at Presteign ; and Lord Herbert himself had a narrow escape. I. J. November 1. He sent them prisoners to Gloucester, where they were ordered by the commons to be committed to the prison, there to remain during the pleasure of the house. Commons' Journals, November 6.

[45.] Whitelock. Baxter. With what heart-rending anxiety many anticipated the consequences of this sad dispute, is shewn by the will of a gentleman in the county of Lincoln, the preamble of which, in the language of the times, forcibly expresses those sentiments respecting war and peace that numbers, who were afterwards drawn into the quarrel, had entertained in vain. The instrument is dated April 3, 1643, and begins thus : "In the name of God, Amen. I John Wincupp of West Laughton in the parish of Folkingham, in the county of Lincolne, Gen. seeing with great greife and sorrowe of harte the great and miserable condition of this kingdome of England, and of these parts in speciall by reason of this civill and unnaturall varr, which I humbly and hartily pray upon the bended knees of my soule the God of all peace to prevent the further spreading thereof, and to establish a blessed peace throw all the king's majesty's dominions," &c. and in another place he makes a provision in case, "by reason of these miserable sadd distractions of warr," his estate of goods or lands should be wasted so that it will not hold out to pay debts and legacies. &c.

[46.] C. J. November 11. By order of the parliament he was instructed to bring two loyalists, Mr. John Houghton and Mr. George Streete from Worcester and lodge them in the gaol at Gloucester ; or send them up in safe custody to London. The gaol at Gloucester soon became crowded with royalists.

[47.] When any new governor or officer of distinction arrived in Gloucester, it was customary for the civil authorities to receive him and his suite at the Tolsey with refreshments—sweetmeats, sack and sugar, or cake and ale, according to the rank or taste of the visitor. Thus Waller, Cromwell and the Scottish generals, were welcomed as they passed through. Thomas Essex was the first military governor admitted into the city. He dined at the quarter sessions and examined some of the approaches. At his departure he was presented with a silver and gilt bowl, worth about sixteen pounds, and in return made them a present of three horses, which were placed among the "subscription horses." S. A. MS. Thomas was probably the brother of Charles Essex, a brave but perjured soldier, of a decayed family,

who took an oath to the queen of Bohemia, upon leaving the service of the Prince of Orange, and coming over to England, that he would never serve against the king. He distinguished himself most eminently at the battle of Edge Hill on the parliament side, and was slain in the field; where his father, Sir William Essex, a private captain in his son's regiment, was taken prisoner. Clarendon. II. 53. 55. Thomas Essex afterwards fell into disgrace with his party, as will be seen, at Bristol; and seems to have been in distressed circumstances; for paying a visit to Gloucester in 1649-1650, he accepted of a gratuity of six pounds. S. A. MS. On May 25, 1649, the house of commons voted him a sum of money. C. J.

[48.] Commons Journals, December 13. "A letter from Bristol, dated on "Saturday last, relating that Colonel Essex had entered Bristol with two "thousand men, and—It is ordered that Mr. Holles and Mr. Hill do prepare "a letter to the city of Bristol to encourage them to go on in the defence "of the said city." The Tracts relating to Bristol are almost extensive enough of themselves to form a volume. As this is the case, and as the occurrences there belong in part to another county, the editor regrets that the limits of his work have not permitted him to include them in this collection.

[49.] "Happy news from the city of Gloucester, December 22, 1642. A "true discovery of the practices of the Lord Shandoise to betray the city "of Gloucester to the cavaliers." The writer of the letter relates that this nobleman gathered together a great strength, and advanced near to the said city; "but that he was valiantly opposed by the inhabitants, who pursued "and took him, causing him to deliver up his commission and subscribe "with his own hand, that he would never more disturb the peace of the "county, but maintain the privileges of parliament with his life and fortune." Not a word of this occurs in Corbet, who doubtless would not have omitted an event, which would have furnished him with so much cause of triumph. He is equally silent respecting the more important contents of another pamphlet, entitled "True News out of Herefordshire," but giving an account of an action fought, as is pretended, on Wednesday (Nov. 14, 1642)—no date of month or year is given, but this appears to be the time in question;—in which Lord Stamford is said to have routed the Marquess of Hertford and Lord Herbert, on the field where the last decisive battle took place, near Tewkesbury, between the houses of York and Lancaster, with the loss of 2500 men; this is coupled with an account of a panic that had just occurred in London; and there can be no doubt that it is a fabrication, intended to divert the attention of the people from an alarm, and to whet the appetite of revenge. Another instance of the inventive talent of the parliamentarians occurs in a pamphlet entitled, "A True Relation of late proceedings of part of his "Majestie's Forces in Worcestershire, &c. London, printed for Robert Nicols, "1642," detailing a successful affair of the Earl of Stamford with Sir Lewis Dives and Colonel Lewis Kirke, at Kidderminster, on Wednesday Dec. 15. The earl was settling the affairs of Bristol in the middle of December, 1642, as appears by his letter addressed to the speaker of the house of peers, dated December 19, and inserted in the Lords' Journals, Dec. 22, 1642, and could not therefore apparently have been at Kidderminster on that day, considering that he returned to Hereford, and afterwards marched through Gloucester towards Bristol. But this was the way in which the London public were amused,

excited, and kept in the dark as to what was going on in remoter parts of the kingdom, while all information that savoured of any advantage on the king's side was diligently and vigorously suppressed.

[50.] The corporation presented him with a great gilt bowl and cover, with sixteen pounds. Steward's Accounts, MS. in anno.

[51.] Memoirs I. p. 48. and in another place, p. 74, he calls "an old soldier" a thing much valued by the parliament at that time." In the latter part of the war, when the army had been new-modelled, and Fairfax obtained so many advantages over the king's forces, Sprigge, his chaplain, asserts that "his officers knew little more of war than our own unhappy wars had taught them;" and that in the battle of Naseby the royalists had "not so few as fifteen hundred officers, that were old soldiers, of great experience through long experience in foreign parts; when on the other hand, we had not ten officers that could pretend to any such thing, as the experience of a souldier, save what this war had given them." England's Recovery. pp. 41. 323.

The Scotch abounded in able and experienced officers, great numbers of whom had returned home upon the death of the king of Sweden. Howell. Letters. Sect. V. Letter XXIII.

Such as had served under the Prince of Orange were distinguished by the appellation of "low-country-soldiers." Of this class was a veteran of the family of Kingscote, as appears by his epitaph on a tomb in the church yard of Kingscote in the county of Gloucester.

"Here lyeth the body of Troylus Kingscote, Gent, who did service as a commander for the Prince of Orange 40 yeares; and being 80 yeares old, ended this life upon the 10th day of September, Anno Domini. 1656." Rudder. p. 512.

[52.] See Tracts, p. 178.

[53.] A letter to the house of commons, dated December 8, makes Colonel Essex's force to consist of two thousand men. Commons' Journals, December 13. The statement in the text is that of Corbet.

[54.] See Tract, pp. 156. 179.

[55.] Id. p. 180.

[56.] Among others was that of Queen Catherine Parr.

[57.] Dugdale. Short View. p. 559.

[58.] The royalist account was written by Prince Rupert's chaplain. Rudder.

[59.] Paine, the clothier, who was killed with the colours in his hand, Tracts, p. 170, was buried in the south aisle of the church at Cirencester, with this punning epitaph upon a small brass plate.

HERE lyeth buried y^e body of HODGKINSON PAINE, clothier, who died y^e 3d of Feb. 1642.

The Poores Supplie his life & calling grac't
till warres made rent & PAINE from poore displac't.
But what made poore unfortunate PAINE blest,
by warre they lost their PAINE, yet found noe rest.

Hee looseing quiet by Warre yet gained ease,
by it PAINES life began, and paine did cease;
And from y^e troubles here him God did sever,
by death to life, by Warre to peace for ever.

RUDDER, p. 363.

[60.] Cook, the Solicitor General to the Regicides in the virulent invective which he intended to have delivered had the king pleaded upon his trial, but which he afterwards published, made this assertion, "He was no more affected with a list that was brought into Oxford of five or six thousand slain at Edge Hill than to read one of Ben Jonson's tragedies." State Trials. It will be but fair to contrast with this,—what is at least as good evidence of his private feelings,—the declaration imputed to him or expressed by him in the Eikon Basilike; "I never had any victory which was not without my sorrow, because it was on my own subjects, who, like Absalom, died many of them in their sins."

[61.] Clarendon's testimony of him is, that "among his faults want of civility and courtesy was none." II. p. 51. But he has been justly censured for his rudeness to the queen; and his permission to the troops to violate the articles of capitulation at Reading gave rise, it is said, to many disorders of this kind. On the other hand it may be mentioned that he abstained from storming that place, "for fear of destroying 30 many innocent people as remained in that town." May. B. III. c. 2.—Massey's conduct at the taking of Malmesbury, when he rescued it from plunder, merits the highest praise. Corbet. p. 100. Falkland, in the battle of Edge Hill, at the hazard of his life, interposed to save those who had thrown away their arms: "A man might think," says the noble historian beautifully, "that he came into the field chiefly out of curiosity to see the face of danger, and charity to prevent the shedding of blood." Clarendon. II. 357. And among the common soldiers on the king's part, the Cornish, at Bradock Down and elsewhere, refused, when urged to pursue the flying enemy who had thrown away their arms, answering that "they could not find it in their hearts to hurt men who had nothing in their hands." These are points upon which the eye reposes in the contemplation of such a gloomy series of fury and carnage.

[62.] Clarendon. State Papers. II. p. 155.

[63.] Laud's Diary, p. 65. "Dec. 2, 1642. Friday. Some of the king's forces taken at Farnham, about one hundred of them brought in carts to London. Ten carts full; their legs bound. They were sufficiently railed at in the streets." As many of them as would take the protestation were released, and had something given them to convey them home. Commons' Journals, December 3.

[64.] A large proportion of the commonalty in the country being attached to the king, it became the interest of the parliament not only to conciliate them, but to retain the affection of the lower classes in London, by early measures of marked attention towards those who suffered for them, whether wounded or prisoners. And it must be allowed that they followed this up with most commendable humanity and perseverance. On the day after the battle of Edge Hill, while the whole city rung with the report of their defeat, they declared their resolution of providing for those that should be maimed in the war, as

well as their wives and children. Commons' Journals, October 24. Essex sent 700 of the wounded to Warwick to be cured; advanced money for them, and at his departure left a month's pay in every soldier's purse. Id. July 31, 1643. In the beginning of November the hospitals of the Savoy, the Charter House, Saint Catherine, Saint Thomas, and others, were opened for their reception. Id. November 2, 13 1642, when the master and war ens of the Surgeons' Company were ordered to take care of them. Proclamation inviting them to the Savoy was made by beat of drum in all parts of London. On November 19, a committee was appointed to consider of some reward to be given them, and relief to the widows, and to those who were prisoners in the king's army; and November 20, two hundred pounds were voted for distribution. A physician and surgeons were in attendance every morning between eight and nine o'clock to view the wounds of those who brought certificates of their service from their officers; and out-patients received eightpence a day till they were cured. Id. December 3. In this month they began seriously to take into consideration the case of the prisoners at Oxford, examined witnesses, prepared a declaration concerning their usage, and consulted how they might relieve them. December 21. A general enquiry was instituted as to those in the custody of the parliament, and an account of it was to be sent to the Earl of Essex to be made use of in exchanging them; for about this time they began to exchange. It appeared in evidence and by petitions that the king allowed sixpence per diem to the common soldiers, but that his provost marshal, one Smith, whose behaviour was afterwards made the subject of a pamphlet, allowed them only a penny farthing. (The parliament, during the next summer, allowed those in London House no more than threepence. Commons' Journals, Aug. 2, 1643.) At length, in May, 1643, came out their declaration, in which is recited the barbarous and cruel usage of their prisoners, "by violence to their persons, grievous exactions, denial of meat, drink, bread, beds, lodging, and access of friends, surgeons and others to dress their wounds, and of all needful succours, lodging them in heaps not only upon the ground and hard boards, but in most loathsome and filthy dungeons, annoyed with the abominable stench of dead carrion; allowing to some of them only three-half-pence a day for their sustenance, and a little water, foul and noisome, and by other strange and insufferable cruelties, contrary to the laws of armes and all humanity: by means whereof many of them being captains and officers and other persons of worth and quality are dead, and the rest are like to perish with extreme misery. Whereas on the other side, the prisoners taken in war against the parliament, or committed for other great delinquency against the parliament, have been and are used with all favour and lenity; many of them bailed and discharged; and others removed to places of more ease and conveniency, which might justly have occasioned the like usage and favour to the prisoners taken in their service; and to that end have sent several humble messages to his majesty and used all fair ways and means to obtain ease and relieve for the said prisoners; but cannot yet have any redress: and finding the inconveniences that follow, by this favour and lenity showed to their prisoners taken in their service, to the great encouragement of their enemies, and the discouragement of those that adventure their lives and fortunes in the cause of God and the commonwealth, for remedy hereof the said lords and commons do ordain," &c. Then follows a string of resolutions, in which, according to their usual mode, they threaten retaliation, concluding with instructions to the Earl of Essex to commu-

nicate with the lord general of the king's forces, and request him that commissioners may be appointed on either side to make enquiry into this matter from time to time "If this is denied, the houses will take it for granted, that the said informations are true, and will use the same measure of severity to their prisoners" 1d May 30, 1643. The journals of parliament about this period teem with complaints of this kind, and in these there is a marked attempt, by insinuation, to inculcate the king; which if the minuter documents relating to his affairs had been handed down with equal care, it would probably be seen he did not deserve. The castle was his great receptacle at Oxford, where they must have been much crowded together. In London the parliament had the opportunity of distributing them widely. They had Newgate, the Fleet, the Gatehouse, the Marshalsea, Bridewell, Maiden-lane, the Bishops' Palaces, Lambeth House, Ely House, Winchester House, London House, Peter House, and some were lodged in Windsor Castle.

The above may serve as an elucidation of the assertions frequently made by Corbet, who says, p. 30, that Colonel Henry Stephens of Gloucester died at Oxford, in consequence of ill treatment, "in that poisonous ayre, wherein many gentlemen were observed in those days to expire." Ludlow is in the same strain, l. p. 51. et alibi. He had a brother who died a prisoner; and he seems to have had a horror of being shut up in Oxford, yet in the course of the war having surrendered Wardour Castle to the royalists, Feb. 18, 1643-4, upon condition of not being taken to Oxford, he was removed thither in violation of that article. From him we learn that the parliament called by Charles in Oxford remedied the disorders complained of in the castle, examined into the condition of those that were confined, and suspended Smith, the Marshal, from his office, till he should give satisfaction concerning those things of which he was accused. He acknowledges the christian exertions of many in the place, and especially of Doctor Hobbs, a preacher at Carfax: who acting upon the spirit of that beautiful petition in the Litany, in which prayer is made "for all prisoners and captives," at the conclusion of his sermon usually exhorted his audience to relieve the prisoners. Smith was sent to Ludlow to offer him the liberty of the town upon his parole, but he declined it when he found he would not be allowed to visit his friends in the castle. "I chos rather," says he, "to be confined with my friends than at liberty with my enemies." *Memoirs*. l. pp. 96, 108, 109. h

In May, 1644, the royalists complained of their usage by the governor of the Tower. *Parl. Hist.* XIII. p. 200.

[65.] Certaine informations, No. 5. from Feb. 13 to Feb. 20, 1642-3.

A pamphlet came out about this time entitled "A Warning-peace to all his Majestie's Subjects of England, being the lamentable complaint of them that were brought prisoners from Cyrencester, being eleven hundred and sixty and odde, told in the view of all for their misguided zeale, containing the motives by which they have been drawn into rebellion against their lawful king. Desired by them to be printed for a warning to their brethren. Printed in the year 1642." It may be questioned whether the parties to whom this is attributed were the sole authors of it, but it professes to be set forth "according to their hearty desires and petition to Prince Rupert, whose highnesse prevailed with his majesty to receive them into his pay and protection." This Tract exposes the arts and proceedings of the parliamentary instigators,

and is a badly written vindication of the king's behaviour towards his prisoners; it maintains, with regard to those that had been taken in the first battle, that he treated them well: "such as would serve him, might; the rest, only with "an oath to be loyall, and a short admonition for the time to come not to be "misled for their ruine, were dismissed; who, we dread to speake it, did "afterwards serve at Brainceford (Brentford,) against him, having, as it "seems, been absolv'd by some ministers from their oath by the most unheard "of jesuitticall wickednesse that any age can ever mention." p. 5. This alludes to the case of the prisoners taken at Edge Hill, and is a fact that has often been stated and never disproved. The apprehension of any recurrence of these practices might have been a reason why so many prisoners were retained at Oxford.

[66.] Perfect Diurnall. Feb. 13 to 20. No. 36. Fosbrooke. 56.

[67.] See Tracts, p. 187.

[68.] Mercurius Aulicus, Feb. 12. Fosbrooke. 58.

[69.] Sir William Russel, of Strensham in Worcestershire, was a zealous champion for the royal cause, and spent much in the king's service. Nash. Hist. of Worcestershire. II. p. 390.

[70.] Feb. 6 to 13. Commons' Journals. Feb. 11.

[71.] Feb. 13 to 20. No. 5.

[72.] Feb. 14 to 21. No. 8.

[73.] He was styled "serjeant major general for the county of Gloucester and other counties adjacent." Commons' Journals, Feb. 14. Waller, as he confesses in his "Experiences," was not a good disciplinarian.—"Ordered that "Mr. Drake do inform Sir William Waller of the wrongs done him by some "troopers under his command, and that Sir William Waller take care, that "the persons complained of may be forthcoming to answer of complaints "made against them, that the houses may be satisfied of his damages, and "that satisfaction may be had." Id. Feb. 16. But it might not be at this time so much Waller's fault that his men were refractory. The Earl of Essex had some difficulty in restraining his army. At Worcester he is said to have chastised, but at Reading to have winked at their irregularities. They were not easily kept together; great numbers got away after the first battle, and many sold their arms. Some of the rabble of the soldiery changed from side to side, when opportunity occurred of doing it with advantage and safety. An instance of fidelity and honourable feeling in a royalist private deserves, however, to be recorded. When the parliamentary commissioners, who had been treating of peace at Oxford, were leaving the place, as they passed over Magdalen bridge on their way out of the city, they offered the centinel a piece of gold. But the soldier refused to accept it, telling them that he would receive no money from such rebels, for he had the honour to serve a good master, who, if he deserved it, was well able to reward him. When the king heard of it, he sent him two pieces of gold. This anecdote is related by Dugdale who was then in Oxford. MS. Diary of Sir W. Dugdale in the possession of William Hamper, Esq.

[74.] Stephens and Hodges, members of the house of commons, took up, on their own credit, 720 pounds, to provide arms for this expedition, without which it never would have been undertaken. Sir Gilbert Gerrard was ordered to pay them out of the first subscription receipts with interest at 8 per cent. *Lords' Journals*, Feb. 18. Waller's complement of men was very imperfect. Out of 1500 dragoons assigned him, not above 400 came in ready to march; but he was hurried off, and reinforcements were to be sent after him. "Ordered that it be especially recommended to my Lord General (*Euxer*) forthwith to dispatch away Sir William Waller, with such forces as he shall think necessary and requisite for the importance of his employment. The house does take this to be a business of great importance; and therefore do in an especial manner represent and recommend it to his excellency. *Commons' Journals*," Feb. 24. Waller was already gone.

[75.] "A Famous victorie obtained against the cavaliers in the county of Gloucester on Munday last at a town called Padsworth, &c." Published Feb. 25. 1642. This place is variously called Padsworth and Potsworth; and is said in some accounts to be not far from Gloucester. The parliamentary pamphleteers were bad geographers. Perhaps it was Badgworth. Corbet makes no mention of this affair; but the intelligence is so often repeated under different forms in the London publications that there can be no doubt of it. He marched from Guildford; but it is not easy to determine on what point this irruption was made. The matter can only be stated as we find it. After all it might be Padsworth in the neighbourhood of Reading, which the reporters assigned to Gloucestershire.

[76.] *Tracts*, pp. 25. 26. The parliament up to this period seem rather to have drawn money out of the county than to have supplied it with any; and to have employed what they took to their own purposes. There is an entry in the *Commons' Journals*, Nov. 1, 1642, in which "proposition monies," raised in the county of Gloucester, are applied to the raising and paying a hundred dragoons. Upon their adversaries they laid their hands unsparingly in every direction by confiscation; and such was the iniquitous severity of the times, that they even interfered with testamentary bequests. Lady Campden died in June, 1643, and left considerable property in money and jewels to her children. These the house of commons seized, because the parties were zealous royalists; but they afterwards accepted of five thousand pounds as a composition from the executor. Id. June 9. 17. Her eldest son was in the king's army. The king drew his chief sinews of war from loans and contributions; but this in the end was equally ruinous to the nobility and gentry.

[77.] Clarendon. II. p. 155. Sanderson. p. 603. The old market house was burnt during the engagement.

[78.] Rushworth. V. p. 170. Clarendon. II. p. 168.

[79.] The negotiation expired April 15. Clarendon. II. p. 228. During the propositions for a cessation of arms, persons quitting London or Oxford travelled with passes. In the *Lords' Journals*, March 22, is the following curious entry: "Ordered, that Mr. Phillipps, surgeon at Gloc'ter, shall have "a pass to carry down to Gloc'ter two anatomies."

[80.] Rushworth. V. pp. 172. 173.

[81.] Perfect Diurnall, March 15—22.

[82.] Mercurius Aulicus, March 13. At the beginning of hostilities, in October, 1642, when the king was on his way from Shrewsbury to fight the Earl of Essex, his horse were obliged to march without pay, and lived upon the country, having strict orders that *as little spoil be made as possible*. Letter of the Earl of Sunderland. Sidney State Papers. II. And in the preceding August, the parliamentary soldiers were forbidden to break or pillage houses *without command of their captains*. Lords' Journals. August 27. Clarendon praises the conduct of the king's cavalry; but it may be easily calculated what evil must have arisen on all sides.

[83.] Baxter. Pt. I. p. 44.

[84.] On new year's day. The chief actor and leader of the party was Captain Buck, probably the same who made an excuse to steal out of Cirencester on the morning of the assault. See Tract, p. 164. Jasper Humphrey, vicar of South Cerney, was as great a sufferer. The same Buck and his men were about to hang him up on the sign post of the king's head at Cirencester; but he was rescued from them by Mr. Georges and Colonel Fettiplace. Walker Pt. II. pp. 242. 282.

[85.] Milton. P. L. B. XI. Yet quarter sessions continued to be held regularly in Gloucester, which might prove some check to disorders in the place. Dorney, the town clerk, in his speech at the election of civil officers in the ensuing October, reminds the coroner how little he had to do with outlawry or inquisitions; and the sheriffs that they "have had few causes to judge or writs to execute; that they have not had the power of their county, nor yet of their goal: such is the condition of these times." Speeches of Dorney, p. 4.

[86.] Ludlow. I. p. 57.

[87.] Trial of Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes. State Trials. I. The inhabitants suspected and complained of him from the irregularity of his life, which was not exactly adapted to his situation and circumstances, and par-took, it must be confessed, rather of the Cavalier than the Roundhead.

"About the 6th of March came information by letters from Bristoll, that Colonel Essex had so ill demeaned himself there, that the honest and well affected inhabitants of the citie were both weary and afraid of him, and of his government, because he spent his time in little else but drinking, feasting, dancing, riotous gaming, and such like vain and profane living. Wherefore to rid themselves of him, they caused him to be invited (whereunto he was easily intreated) to feast and dance in a house some distance from the citie, where being mighty joviall and merry, in the midst of his cups, he was suddenly apprehended by Colonel Fynes (son and heir to that noble and pious peer the Lord Sey) and his troop of horse, and presently by them carried prisoner from thence, first to Berkeley castle, and afterwards to the citie of Gloucester, where he was kept in safe custodie." Quoted in Corry and Evans's History of Bristol. I. p. 404.

[88.] "A Briefe Relation abstracted out of several Letters," &c. London. 1642. The following extract from one of these letters shews the civilities were not neglected between individuals in arms against each other.

"On Thursday Prince Robert's trumpeter came to towne, but as a spy; his errande was to demand two dead bodies that we killed upon the Downe, one whereof was Stroud, as he said. The trumpeter enquired for me, and said, my Lord of Cleveland desired me to send him a pound of tobacco, but I being out of the way, Colonel Fines sent him one pound, and Colonel Popham another."

[89.] Clarendon. II. 156. says that three troops were taken; and the "Continuation of Special Passages," No. 36, that great store of horses, and Lord Herbert's own troop were taken, "which consisted of 100 brave horse, many of them having been long providing by the Earl of Worcester, divers of them being valued at a hundred pound a horse." The *Mercurius Aulicus*, published at Oxford, March 28, endeavours to make the best of the disaster, and reduces the number of the prisoners to half of the reality; of the cavalry it reports that "the whole went fairly off and saved themselves for better times."

[90.] Furney. MS. Collections in the Bodleian library. See APPENDIX, No. II.

[91.] Despatch of Waller and Haslerig. Tracts, 196.

[92.] See Note 64.

[93.] The protestation to be taken by a prisoner, as settled by the houses, was conceived in these terms. "I, A, B, do in the presence of Almighty God, solemnly vow, promise and protest, that I will never hereafter, upon any command, power, or pretence of authority whatsoever, take up or bear arms against the parliament."

"Ordered, that no prisoner, committed for actual levying war against the parliament, be discharged before he take this protestation." Commons' Journals, Feb. 9, 1642.

[94.] Clarendon. ut supra.

[95.] May. Hist. of the Parliament of England, tells us, he returned upon a summons from the Earl of Essex to join the main army; but Waller and Haslerig themselves make no mention of this.

[96.] See Tracts, pp. 196. 197.

[97.] "Experiences and Observations of Sir William Waller," MS. under the head, "Perils by War." This little book has been published under the title of "Divine Meditations," and exhibits a favourable portrait of the candour and piety of the writer. While Waller was at Gloucester, the mayor, aldermen, and common council presented him with "two silver and gilt flag-gons." S. A. 1642-3.

[98.] Waller's letter to the parliament is dated from Hereford, April 27. Commons' Journals, May 8, 1643.

[99.] Tracts, 38.

[100.] These had been taken at Hereford. May. B. II. c. 4. See Tracts, 36.

[101.] May. B. III. c. 2. It is very doubtful whether the grave charge of

intending to murder the mayor, and the whole of the opposite party at Bristol, which some pamphlets bring against the royalists, is founded in truth. It would have been an aggravation that might advantageously have been employed by Fiennes in this letter. But he says in his defence, when he was tried for cowardice, that the mayor himself and the corporation interceded for the lives of these persons Trial of Fiennes. The proclamation found in the house of Yeomans may also be interpreted to shew that in the success of their plot they were desirous of avoiding the effusion of blood. "All inhabitants of the Bridge, High-street, and Corn-street, keep within your doors upon peril of your lives. All other inhabitants of this city who stand for the king, let them forthwith appear at the High Cross with such arms as they have, and follow their leaders." Corry and Evans Hist of Bristol I. 408. The parts of the city specified contained some of the most disaffected persons.

[102.] Clarendon. II. 247. Baker Chronicle. in anno p. 445. He sheltered himself under the authority of the Earl of Essex, and Essex under that of the parliament who openly approved of the proceeding. Commons' Journals. June 17. This advantage the parliament clearly had over Charles, that in any harsh measure the odium rested upon no individual. A corpse disinterred March 15th, 1814, from a vault in the north aisle of St. Maryport church was conjectured to have been that of Yeomans or Boucher: though there is good reason to suspect the validity of this opinion. A great part of it was found to have been converted in that fatty substance, technically called *udipocere*. Hist of Bristol. II. 431. et seq. The heart so changed, and in a state of preservation, is said to be in the possession of a medical gentleman of Bristol, and is still considered to have been that of Yeomans.

[103.] Duncumb. Hist. of Herefordshire. I. 264.

[104.] Dugdale. Short View, &c. 167.

[105.] Clarendon. II. 290. See Tracts, 201. et seq. This letter may seem at first sight to have little more to do with the following collection than the fact of its being written from Bristol, the place of Waller's retreat: but from Clarendon's account, II. 283. the greater part of the battle was fought on the Gloucestershire side of the border; and thus the maps place the monument of Sir Beville Granville, who was slain in it. Prince Maurice drew up his forces on Toghill, in the parishes of Abston and Wyke, and Marshfield in the county of Gloucester, before he advanced against Waller. Atkyns. 104. Sir John Denham, alluding to Waller's appellation of "the Conqueror," thus ridicules his flight from this field of battle—

And now without lying, you may paint him flying,
At Bristol they say you may find him;
Great William the Con, so fast did he run
That he left half his name behind him.

Poems A second Western Wonder.

[106.] May. B. III. c. 5. The historian, himself an excellent poet, and celebrated for his translation and continuation of Lucan, has declined to offer an English version of this enigmatical and obscure production. But on July 21, 1616, when a thanksgiving was held by the parliament for the surrender of Oxford, it was published in the Newsbooks, with a translation and tri-

umphant comment upon the efficacy of prayer. Perfect Diurnall. July 20-27, 1646. Baron Maseres, in his reprint of the "History of the Parliament of England," has in a note subjoined the following exposition. "In the first line of this Epigram—the two words *Fax pulchra* denote the Lord Fairfax and his son Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the troops under their command; and the words *Castro novo* denote the Earl of Newcastle and his army. In the fourth and fifth lines the words *Murus, cui addita est Canina Littera* denote Sir William Waller, or Wall-er, and his army, and in the sixth line, the words *Leporis vado* denote the Marquis of Hertford, or Hartford, or Harford or Hareford or Hares-ford, and his army which had lately defeated Sir William Waller's army. In the ninth and tenth lines the words *Claudii Urbs* denote the city of Gloucester, which is sometimes in Latin called *Claudii Castra*. In the tenth line the words *Herois Teutonici* seem to denote Prince Rupert, the German hero, who had lately taken the city of Bristol, and who was coming with the great army of the king, with the king himself at the head of it, *cum magno Duce*, to lay siege to Gloucester. In the eleventh line the words *pacata Thule est*, mean that Scotland is in a state of peace, and occasions no fright or alarm to the neighbouring southern kingdom of England, or to its people, or its king; *nec Noto timor, popello aut regi*. And the twelfth line seems to mean that the only remedy that threatens the king's cause with ruin is the prayers of the puritan faction at London, who have lately run mad with religious zeal and enthusiasm."

Thus far Baron Maseres. It may, however, be observed, that if the date of the article can be assumed as correct, he is mistaken in his interpretation of the tenth and eleventh lines. Prince Rupert had not as yet taken Bristol, neither did he appear before it till the 24th. Clarendon. II. 293. The ridiculous pun upon *er*, the termination of Waller's name, is probably borrowed from Ben Jonson's Alchymist. Without indulging in fanciful associations, it may be suspected that the peculiar phrase "Waller is extinct," which the king, as will be seen, employed in his reply to the messengers from the city of Gloucester, was founded upon his familiarity with these lines; as he had recently come from Oxford, where, it may be presumed, they had been handed about in the court circle. The whole, however amusing it might then have been as a *jeu d'esprit*, is beneath criticism, and is now interesting, rather as a specimen of opinion than of taste. The progress of the royal forces about this period gave rise to the following rhymes, which are assigned to July 31st, 1643.

Bristol taking,
Exeter shaking,
Gloucester quaking.

Corry and Evans. Hist. of Bristol. I. 414.

[107.] A Relation made in the house of commons by Col. Nathaniel Fiennes, Aug. 5, 1643. pp. 5. 27.

[108.] He was so inveterate in his opposition that he caused a proclamation of the king to be publicly burnt by the common hangman in the market place at Bristol. Dugdale. Short View, 578.

[109.] Nathaniel Fiennes seems to have wished that it should be thought he was as good a swordsman as he was a speaker. He took for his pennon, "Orange; the base part a mount vert; standing on which, in front, the

"Goddess Bellona, apparelled in crimson, azure and gold; helmet gold, adorned with a bloody or red plume; in her right hand extended a roll; in her left a spear, proper, shafted, gold; over head a label spread of silver, with this motto in Roman sable letters *UTRAQUE PALLADE*, the scroll on the back gold; the front silver; the corner tasselled of the last, fringed with silver and orange." Prestwich. *Respublica*. 25.

[110.] This is evident from his own letters, "A Relation," &c. ut supra.

[111.] It was deposed upon the trial of the governor that, as soon as the siege of Bristol was spoken of, many wagers were laid at Oxford, and offered to be laid in and near London, that the town would be surrendered on the twenty sixth of July. Fiennes was tried at St. Alban's in November, 1643, and sentenced to lose his head; but he found more mercy from the hands of Essex and the parliament than the unfortunate royalists at Bristol. Though he had provoked the investigation, he expected so confidently that it would terminate in his favour, that the result utterly astonished and confounded him. There were many who thought he was ill used in the business; and this opinion was confirmed, when afterwards, with a very superior force, Prince Rupert was seen to surrender the same place, after holding out only a few days, to the surprise of friends and enemies.

[112.] Trial of Fiennes.

[113.] Commons' Journals, August 1, 1643.

[114.] But a hundred dragoons from Berkeley Castle came into Gloucester under the command of Col. Forbes. This officer, Colonel Carre, who commanded at Cirencester at the storming of that place, Tracts, 163. and Captain Davison were Scotchmen who came into the service at Gloucester in 1642, when their military preparations were in their infancy; and the consequence attached to them may be inferred from Lieutenant Backhouse going out on their arrival to meet them with the great horses. Steward's Accounts, MS. 1642-3.

[115.] Lords' Journals, Aug. 3.

[116.] Clarendon. II. 312. et seq. It might, I think, be satisfactorily proved that Clarendon himself was not at the siege.

[117.] A relation made in the house of commons, &c. p. 13. See Corbet's opinion, Tracts, 56.

[118.] Trial of Fiennes.

[119.] Hist. of England. II. 477.

[120.] The letter, APPENDIX, No. I. (A.) is a striking proof of this Her countryman, Bossuet, in his funeral oration upon her, attributes as much, if not more than our own writers, to her interference in the whole of the war, and asserts that she was averse to the siege of Hull as well as Gloucester. His words on this point are, "Si la reine en eût été té crue; si, au lieu de diviser les armées royales, et de les amuser, contre son avis, aux

"sieges infortunés de Hull et de Gloucester, on eût marché droit à Londres, "l'affaire étoit décidée." Oraison Funebre de la Reine d'Angleterre.

[121.] Clarendon II. 314. The mayor and governor had replied to the former summons of Prince Rupert, see INTRODUCTION, p. xxxii. that they held the city for the king, and would not surrender it to any foreign prince: in this they rather left it to be implied that they would not refuse it to his majesty; and it is fair to suppose that this might have operated on his mind. Corbet shews the loop-hole by which they got out, of which hereafter.

[122.] Godwin. Hist. of the Commonwealth. I. 147. But we may see that Massey was not averse to insincerity in dealing with an enemy, for he heartily concurred in the plots of Backhouse. See Tracts, "A True Relation of a wicked Plot, &c."

[123.] Many unfortunate decisions of this kind were noticed by the royalists. South, in one of his discourses, has a pointed allusion to this. "In the late war between the king and some of his rebel subjects has it not sometimes been at an even cast whether his army should march this way or that way? Whereas had it took that way which actually it did not, things afterwards so fell out, that ir very high probability of reason it must have met with such success, as would have put an happy issue to that wretched war." Sermon on Proverbs, c. xvi. v. 33.

[124.] Sidney State Papers. II. 667. Dorothea, daughter of Robert Earl of Leicester, the celebrated Saccharissa of Waller. The letter is dated August 9th, at sunset; but the place from which it is written is not given. Lord Spencer had been made Earl of Sunderland, June 8. Dugdale. Baronage. III. 419. He served as a volunteer in the king's troop, and was slain in the twenty-third year of his age at the battle of Newbury, by a cannon shot, as he was in the act of charging. Those who were acquainted with this young nobleman bear testimony to his modesty, courage and judgment above his years.—Clarendon II 349. Warwick. 263.—and his letters breathe a gentle, affectionate spirit, delighting to dwell upon the tranquil scenes of domestic retirement, while his lot was cast amidst the uproar of arms.

[125.] This was written on Wednesday, and his calculation was verified; the king reached Gloucester on the Thursday.

[126.] See in proof of this the queen's letter to the marquess of Newcastle. APPENDIX. No. I. (A.) "The king is gone to Gloucester in person, which gives no little dissatisfaction to every one here; and with reason, to see him take up such hasty councils: and all those very persons who have advised him disown it. God grant that he may meet with good success in it." The parliamentarians were informed that she was angry at it; and they took care to make this known. Prefect Diurnall. Aug. 28. to Sept. 4.

[127.] It appears by comparison of dates and circumstances that the letter sent to Pury from a captain of a troop of horse in the king's army,—Tracts, 207.—was received about the same time that Massey received his letter from Legge.

[128.] The vow and covenant were ordered to be taken,—Commons' Jour-

nals, June 27,—by every man above fifteen in every parish church, in the presence of the minister, churchwardens and constables, within seven days after notice given in the church. All who refused were to be reported and disarmed, and no soldier was to have pay from the state till he had taken it, Parliamentary History. XII. 279.

[129.] No resident freeman was allowed to absent himself from the city after it became a garrison, and was considered in danger, under penalty of the loss of his privileges. Stewards' Accounts. MS.

[130.] This was only rumour: he came by the way of Tetbury and Cirencester to Painswick. Iter Carolinum in Gutch. Collectanea Curiosa II. No. XIII.

[131.] Commons' Journals. Aug. 10. "Ordered that Mr. Bainton, Mr. Ashe, Mr. Stevens, do write a letter to the governor and townsmen at Gloucester to encourage them to hold out in the defence of that place." This letter probably could not be brought in owing to the strict investment: no copy of it appears upon the city records.

[132.] Perhaps a herald and trumpeter. Clarendon speaks only of the latter, one of them was certainly a herald. The summons may be seen in Tracts, pp. 43. 44. 210.

[133.] But Fiennes and the council of war at Bristol committed a trumpeter sent in by Prince Rupert at the time of the execution of Yeomans and Bouchier; and the commons approved of and openly justified the measure. Commons' Journals, June 17, 1643. About the same time they arrested a gentleman who brought from the king a message respecting peace, tried him by a council of war, and though they gave no judgment against him, kept him in prison till he died. The plea for this severity was, that he came without a pass, a formality with which their own messengers to the king had in many instances failed to comply. Clarendon. II. 246.

[134.] Tobias Jordan was sheriff in 1644, and mayor in 1659. His name is engraved upon the splendid scabbard of the sword now usually borne before the mayor. Fosbrooke. 404. 417. 418.

[135.] The whole of the answer may be seen in Tracts, 44. 211. and Clarendon. II. 316. 316. But the names of the subscribers should here be added to complete the document. They stood thus:

D. Wise, Mayor.
Jo. Davidson.
Edw. Massie.
William Lugge.
Thomas Hill.
John Scriven.
Jo. Dorney.
John Halford.
Hum. Matthews.
Edward Gray.
Peter Crispe.

John Brewster.
Robert Maxwell.
Con. Ferrer.
L. Singleton.
Thomas Pury.
Nich. Webb.
Anth. Edwards.
Toby Jordan.
Isaac Dobson.
Charles Blount.
Rob. Backhouse.

Ja. Marcus.
Robert Stevenson.

Thomas Pury, Jun.
Thomas Blaney.

This list, containing two names more than Clarendon mentions, is taken from *Reliquiæ Carolinæ*, p. 212. That in Rushworth is not accurate, which is the more singular, as Corbet himself, so Baxter says, *Life*, Pt. III. 96, greatly assisted Rushworth in his work.

[136.] Their public acts and commissions at the beginning ran in the same style. "If the soldiers asked each other, at any surprise or meeting, *Who are you for?* Those on the king's side said, *for the king*; and the others said, *for the king and parliament*. The king disowned this service;" adds Baxter, "as a scorn that they should say they fought for him when their armies were ready to charge him in the field" *Life*. Pt. I. 34. When, previous to the battle of Edge Hill, the houses in their declaration protested in the first place, "That no private passion or respect, no evil intention to his majesty's person, no design to the prejudice of his just honour and authority, engaged them to raise forces, and to take up arms." The king in reply, after the battle, reminded them that, "notwithstanding the solemn protestation of both houses, of having no evil intention to his person, yet they had used their utmost power by the strength of their army to have destroyed him." Rushworth. V. 26. 20. Cromwell began his military life by a very explicit declaration on this subject. "He told his troop when it was first mustered, that he would not deceive or couzen them by the perplexed and involved expressions in his commission to fight for the king and parliament; and therefore told them that if the king chanced to be in the body of the enemy that he was to charge, he would as soon discharge his pistol upon him, as upon any other private person; and if their conscience would not permit them to do the like, he advised them not to put themselves in his troop or under his command." Clarendon. III. 110. 111. The historian, in his prejudice against Cromwell, will not allow him, even in this particular, to have been sincere; but, if such were at that time the sentiments of this extraordinary man, he might afterwards more justly have been taxed with dissimulation when he took and signed the covenant, by the third article of which, they engaged to "preserve and defend his majesty's just power and authority; that all the world might bear witness with their conscience of their loyalty; and that they had no thoughts or inclinations to diminish his majesty's just power and greatness." By degrees the parliament laid aside this method of speaking of the king, and in the ordinance for new modelling the army, by which Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed general in chief of all the forces, no mention was made of the royal authority, nor any clause inserted for the preservation of the king's person. The lords desired that it might be otherwise; but the commons had then found out that they were strong enough to do without this plea, as well as without the concurrence of the lords.

Precisely in this sort of spirit and language, the Earl of Stamford, besieged in Exeter, had recently written a letter to the king, dated Aug. 4, 1643; in which he protests in the most solemn manner that he only keeps the place for his majesty, and for the preservation of the peace of the whole kingdom, as intrusted by the parliament. Clarendon. *State Papers*, II. 150. Dorney goes farther in laying down the authority of the mayor. "The maior is the king's lieutenant, and therefore to serve his lawfull power, I do not, I may

"not say his unjust will. He is to keep the city to the behoof of the king, "alwaies remembring that he is also entrusted with the keeping of the gates "by the parliament, where his power resides, though his person is absent." Speech, Oct. 6, 1645.

[137.] To those who were unwilling to admit of the validity of their view of the matter, it must have appeared in plainer, but most contradictory English, that they held it *for him, against him*. This mode of phraseology did not escape the lash of Butler.

"We make war for the king
"Against himself."

HUDIBRAS, C. II.

And again in the parable of the Lion and the Fox,

"I was one of those that went
To fight for king and parliament:
When that was over, I was one
Fought for the parliament alone."

[138.] In all two hundred and forty-one houses: but many of them had been pulled down in order to construct the works. The sufferers afterwards proved that their loss by fire, demolition and inundation, amounted to nearly twenty-nine thousand pounds. See APPENDIX, No. V. The royalist Newsbooks insinuate that Massey was the cause of this destruction by fire.—Mercurius Aulicus. Week 36. 41. Fosbrooke, 94—but it was done in pursuance of the deliberation of a council of war. Military men know that it is no unusual measure in such cases. That figurative explanation so often quoted from one of Dorney's speeches assigns the true cause: "Some change hath "been made since these troubles, by the burning of the suburbs; so that it is "a garment without skirts, which we were willing to part withall, lest our "enemies should sit upon them." Fourth Speech of Dorney, Oct. 5. 1646.

[139.] This is the spot that has been and still continues to be excavated for gravel; where antiquaries consider a part of the Roman town to have stood, and so many curious remains of earlier ages have from time to time been found: Fosbrooke, 14. et seq. The vestiges of entrenchments were lately visible; but most of them are now levelled. Skeletons of men and horses have not long since been turned out, and coins are sometimes met with which could not have belonged to the older and deeper remains.

[140.] Some of his men were quartered in Severn-street by the river, and he had a redoubt there. Tracts, 218.

[141.] This remains; and is, from Gloucester, the third mill upon the stream. It is known by the name of Wood's mill. Information of Mr. Counsel.

[142.] The following particulars have been collected respecting the family of Dorney. They appear to have been settled at Uley in Gloucestershire: where, at the green near the church, is a house built by one of them in the time of James I. Rudder tells us, "they were a family of very ancient "standing in these parts, as appears by their name in the front; and who "then possessed the estate belonging to it. It was afterwards sold to the "Smalls, and is the property now of Mrs. Small, relict of Mr. John

"Small, who died in 1778." Bencombe, in the same parish, was another good house, where, we are informed by this author, the Dorneys had long resided; it some time belonged to Edward Dorney, who had a good estate there. John Dorney succeeded William Guyse, as town clerk of Gloucester, in the mayoralty of Thomas Hill—1640-1. S. A. MS. and continued in that office till the year 1662, when he was removed by the commissioners appointed in the reign of Charles II. for the regulation of corporations; and this was in consequence of the very active part he had taken in the cause of the parliament. But he was re-elected in 1667, and continued town clerk till his death in 1674. Fosbrooke, 400. 422. Besides the "Briefe and Exact Relation," he published "Certain Speeches made upon the day of the yearly election of officers in the city of Gloucester, &c. London, 1653." These were delivered in the several mayoralties of Dennis Wise, Oct. 2, 1643; Nicholas Webb, 1644; Luke Nourse, Oct. 6, 1645; Laurence Singleton, Oct. 5, 1646; Jasper Clutterbooke, Oct. 4, 1647; John Madocks, Oct. 2, 1648; Henry Cugley, Oct. 1, 1649; Jacob Stephens, 1650; Anthony Edwards, 1651; and William Singleton, 1652; and contain many allusions to the war and to the existing state of their affairs. In a table at the end are all the names of the city officers, &c. for these several years. Dorney was evidently a man of education, cites Latin, Greek and Hebrew in his orations; and employs in his arguments the scriptures, the classics, the history and laws of the land. He has also given proofs of a talent for versification by no means contemptible, when balanced against some of his contemporaries. He was probably the writer of most of the poetical effusions during the siege. Tracts, pp. 224. 225. 230. 280. 281. and the following encomium on the governor is preserved in his own hand writing, among the king's pamphlets in the British Museum.

"An Acrostic upon the siege of Gloucester maintained by Col. Edward Massie.

GLOUCESTER.

G reatness of spirit with a faithful heart
L odging in thee and acting each his part,
O n my behalfe, attended with success
U nparalell'd, this story doth express:
C onsidering which, deserved love affords
E ven to lodge thee in my chiefe records:
S till shalt thou live with men in fame sublime,
T ill that eternity shall swallow time,
E xciting the prime agent: whose great name,
R etrieves into itself all mortall fame.

JOHN DORNEY, Town Clarke of Gloucester.

Decemb. 1st. 1647."

[143.] Furney. MS. Collections. Heylin, a contemporary, gives this slight sketch of Gloucester. "A fine neat city, seated on the Severn, with a large key or wharf on the banks thereof, very commodious to the merchandise and trade of the place; well built, consisting of fair large streets, beautified with a fair cathedral." Cosmography. L. I.

[144.] It must however be admitted that the West gate street was in part

obstructed by buildings in the middle, and that there was a building of some size, the old market house, in the South gate street.

[145.] Fuller. Worthies. p. 351. speaks thus of the cathedral. "The church in all the siege of the city in our civil wars, was decently preserved; which I observe to his commendation who was governor there." It is generally understood that Charles forbade the artillery to be directed against it; but there is also a tradition that the upper part of the tower was protected by woolsacks. On one occasion the Earl of Forth fired at Thomas Pury, the younger, when he was mounted upon the leads, and burning night lights there. A buttress at the southern angle of the end of the chancel of Saint Mary de Crypt, within the memory of man, retained the impression of a ball, which was apparently directed from Gaudy green against the chancel window. The bruise in the stone is now covered by a sun-dial. The Grey Friars was much injured, and the church of Saint Catherine ruined by the artillery.

[146.] This mode of description is here adopted, in compliance with the popular designation of the names of the streets. But the city does not present its sides accurately to the four points. As to the fortifications laid down in the excellent plan of Hall and Pinnell, if they are to be admitted as accurate, it may be proved that they must refer to a later period. Massey afterwards improved the defences of the place. Several very strong sconces were constructed in his time. Backhouse, who had no temptation to falsehood upon this point, says that three were made in 1643. Tracts, 308. According to the Records there were five, viz. at the North, East and South gates, at Saint Oswald's and the Friars' Orchard; they were demolished in the mayoralty of William Capel, 1652-3. There were others also, opposite Walham, and at the Alvin gate; but it does not appear when these were levelled. Tracts, 47. It was perhaps at the general levelling of the works. That at the North gate seems to have been the largest; and the next in size was at the South gate, if an opinion may be formed from the expences of removing them. S. A. in a.

[147.] C. R. MS. Y. 4. Perhaps all the drawbridges were not in a perfect state at the time of the siege. From the authority here quoted it is certain that there existed as many as have been described.

[148.] Carte in the vexation of his zeal for the house of Stuart, thus describes the situation of Gloucester: "A place guarded on one side by the Severne, and situated on a fine eminence rising on the other side from a watery, miry, detestable vale, where a shower of rain would at any time incommode the soldiers to the last degree, and trenches could not be run without their suffering great hardships." Hist. of England. IV. 493. Dirty enough the vale certainly is in the winter: but this is mere spleen and prejudice, as applicable to the greater part of the season in question. The event, however, shews that there is some truth in the statement. Gwynne says, "Had not Essex come the very day he did to the releife of it, (Gloucester) the land flood, which, by a great glut of rain, fell that night, had made all our labour vain, and we forced to remove the next day." Military Memoirs. Pt. I. c. 4.

[149.] They are in the upper window in the left wing looking out towards Robin Hood's Hill, in a room which opens out of the gallery, and into which

the princes were perhaps turned to amuse themselves; the marks have been recognised by successive tradition. The king's chamber and kitchen still retain their names. A letter written by Charles to the Marquess of Newcastle, and dated from Matson, is inserted in APPENDIX, No. I. (B.) it hints at his want of powder, of which there must have been great consumption at this siege.

[150.] Furney. MS. APPENDIX, No. II.

[151.], His being seen at the siege of Gloucester constituted part of the evidence upon the charge of his having levied war against the parliament. Two witnesses upon his trial deposed to this fact. One saw him at the head of a brigade of horse. Cobbett. State Trials, IV. 1107-8. The manly, but perhaps too graceful representation of him by Vandyck, in which he is portrayed on horseback attended by the Duke D'Epemon, his equerry, would furnish the reader with a good idea of his appearance in arms. He rode well; but Warwick, (p. 66.) informs us, not very gracefully. In battle he wore a complete suit of armour according to the fashion of the day. In the town of Leicester at the storm he was in bright armour: sometimes he had a coat over it. He frequently addressed the officers and soldiers as they advanced, and was very active and fearless in the field. The depositions of the witnesses against him contain many interesting particulars on the above minute facts. State Trials, ut supra. 1103. 1111. With regard to the king's riding about, and his cavalry having so little employment, Vices tauntingly observes that, "Massey gave his majesty such a stop, and walk't his horse "there so long, and entertain'd his king with such deserv'd harsh and coarse "welcome with cannon and musket shot, as that (maugre all the might and "malice of that most formidable army) hee made his majesty leave the bones "and lose the heart-blood of many of the bravest unbidden and unwelcome "guests before Gloucester wals." England's Worthies. p. 29.

[152.] Week 34. Aug. 20-27. 1643.

[153.] He travelled thither with an escort of two thousand horse. Perfect Diurnall. Aug. 28.—Sept. 4.

[154.] Clarendon. II. 324. 367. 368. The Earl [of Caernarvon, disgusted with Prince Maurice's conduct in the west, came back to the king at Gloucester. Ib. 335.

[155.] Biographical Dictionary, article Davenant. A great favourite with the Marquess of Newcastle, who made him lieutenant general of his ordnance. He is mentioned by the queen in the letter in APPENDIX, No. I. (A.) At the battle of Naseby he was falsely reported to be among the slain. Parliam. Scout. July 18, 1644. He was afterwards attendant upon the queen in France, and died in 1668.

[156.] This is no imaginary scene. It is described in Sunderland's Letter, dated Aug. 25, ut supra. Another famous disputant of this period, who was a friend both of Falkland and Chillingworth, was Dr. Walter Raleigh, dean of Wells, nephew to the statesman of that name. Chillingworth used to say "he was the best disputant he had ever met with." This clergyman was persecuted with great barbarity by the parliamentarians, and at last murdered

in prison, Oct. 10. 1646, by the constable who had him in custody, and who was suffered to go unpunished. Walker. II. 71-72.

[157.] Clarendon. II. 350.

[158.] Tracts. 54. 225. The plan of these machines was borrowed from the ancients. Various contrivances of this kind were also employed in the middle ages, before and for a considerable time after the invention of fire arms. Sometimes they used them for undermining the walls. At the siege of Ribadavia in Spain, during the reign of Richard II. "Sir John Holland and Sir Thomas Percy" caused a large machine to be built and moved on wheels, which could be "pushed any where. It would contain with ease a hundred men at arms and the same number of archers; but for this attack was filled with archers only, and the ditches were levelled where it was to pass. When the attack was commenced this machine was wheeled up to the walls. The roof was covered with strong ox hides to shelter them from the effects of stones and darts, underneath were men at arms well shielded, that with pick axes worked hard and with success against the walls; for the townsmen could not prevent them for fear of the archers who gave them full employment." Froissart. VIII. c. 26. Such an engine as those to which the text alludes is mentioned by the Marquess of Worcester in his Century of Inventions.

[159.] Falkland, as well as Sunderland, fell in the battle of Newbury; and Chillingworth died in January, 1644, in consequence of hardship endured at the siege of Arundel Castle, where he acted as engineer and was taken prisoner. Life of Chillingworth.

[160.] Colonel Strode, who had been an eye witness of their conduct in this affair, passed by Dorchester on his way to London; and when the magistrates requested him to view their works, and give his opinion of them, he told them to their astonishment and terror that "they might keep out the cavaliers about half an hour, that they made nothing of running up walls twenty feet high, and that nothing could keep them out." The impression that this made upon them produced the surrender of that place when the Earl of Caernarvon came before it. Clarendon. II. 334. 335. Fiennes also drew a strong picture in the house of commons of the fury of the assault at Bristol. Relation, &c. 7. 10. But the Cornish infantry, who chiefly signalised themselves in this attack, were gone with Prince Maurice to reduce the counties of Dorset and Devon.

[161.] In the king's troop of guards, commanded by Lord Bernard Stuart, which some had at first invidiously called *The Troop of show*. "The estate and value of that single troop, it was thought, might justly be valued at least equal to all theirs who then voted in both houses." Clarendon. II. 41. Warwick says, p. 312. "We reckoned there was £100,000 per annum in that body." One horse of Sunderland's cost him 120 pounds. The cavalry of the parliament were very inferior at the beginning, and owed their improvement to Cromwell. The king, having so many of the nobility about him, for a long time excelled in this arm. Lord Herbert's horse were quartered at Newent. His eldest son Henry, then only thirteen years of age, was with them. He admits this fact in his petition to parliament in 1651.

"The petitioner was seen in Newent, a place seven miles distant from

" Gloucester, where the king's party kept their quarters when Gloucester was besieged: and he was seen placed the first right-hand-man in a troop of horse in a meadow near Gloucester, while the said city of Gloucester was besieged by the late king's party." C. J. May 21, 1651. Yet he affirms that he had not actually borne arms against the parliament, because "for age, strength, and stature he was at that time incompatible with soldiery." But his plea did not save the estate of that family from confiscation.

[162.] Life of Lord Clarendon. p. 83.

[163.] History, &c. II. 341.

[164.] All these are mentioned in the Records; but some of the posts might be occupied only on particular occasions. There was most probably a guard at the Crypt; and the turnpike without South gate also occurs; but the latter must have been called in at the investment of the city and burning of that suburb. Thomas Pury, sen. and Captain Parry, deposed upon the trial of Fiennes, that the besieged had no more than seven or eight cannons. The satirical lines, Tracts, 281, allude to seven score cannons as the strength of the king's artillery; but this may be a ludicrous exaggeration.

[165.] The Vineyard, a country house built by one of the abbots of Gloucester was given by Henry VIII. to the bishoprick at its foundation; and here the bishops frequently resided. It was first plundered in the Christmas holidays, 1641, by Lord Stamford. Rudder. 141, and was by degrees so dilapidated that stone was hawled from it in the mayoralty of Walter Clutterbooke, 1647-8. S. A. in a. Of Bishop Goodman it is related, that "he was plundered, spoiled, robbed and utterly undone; and his losses were so extraordinary and excessive great, that he was ashamed to confess them, lest they should seem incredible." Walker. Sufferings, &c. Pt. II. p. 32.

[166.] Fosbrooke. 297. Information of Mr. Counsel. But the governor afterwards inhabited some house which belonged to Saint Bartholomew's Hospital, for which rent was paid by the corporation. The lodgings were so good, that on one occasion at least, the governor gave way to make room for the judges upon the circuit. S. A. MS.

[167.] A Tract printed in 1642, giving a list of the army of his Excellency, Robert Earl of Essex, p. 8, shews the names of all the officers of the Earl of Stamford's regiment, when it was first raised.

" Col. Hen. E. of Stamford, Lieut. Col. Edw. Massie. Ser. M. Const. Ferrer.

" Captains. Thos. Savill, Edw. Gray, Charles Blunt, Peter Crispe, Isaack Dobson, Arnold Casbie, Jo. Bird.—Quarter Master. Ferdinando Gray.—Carriage Master. Rich. Phillips.—Lieutenants. John Clifton, James Marcus, William Hewet, William White, James Bock, Robert Hampson. Jo. Hemens, Nath. Tapper, Robert Mallerye, Hen. Cantrell.—Chirurgion. Jo. Rice.—Ensigns. John Chambers, Jo. Starkey, Tho. Griffin, William Pincock, James Gray, Hen. Collingwood, Thomas Barnes, James Baker, Laur. Clifton.—Provost Marshall. Robert Powell."

The reader, comparing this with the list of superior officers given by Dorney, Tracts. p. 229, will observe that the whole number of captains was complete, though some changes and promotions had taken place; and that Massey had made his brother George Massey, a captain; of the rest, some had been probably

slain or were taken at Cirencester, others were perhaps dispersed to Bristol and Exeter.

Ferrer stood high in the estimation of his party. He had served in Scotland in the same regiment with Lawdey, slain at Coleford, and had been solicited by him to quit the service of the parliament. Lawdey offered him a considerable sum of money at the time when he was with the Earl of Stamford at Hereford; but Ferrer, firmly attached to his cause, entertained the overture with indignation; and the earl thought the transaction worthy of being reported to the parliament. It will be seen that he was afterwards embroiled in the disputes between the governor and committee of Gloucester, placed under arrest, and dismissed from the garrison. Rushworth. II. 1249. *Lords' Journals.*

White, though a youth, was entrusted with the post of governor of Berkeley Castle. A stone in the Lady's Chapel at Gloucester, since defaced or removed, bore this record to his ability and the occasion of his death. It is the style of Dorney.

What man more valiant was than he that lies
Intombed here after his victories?
Let such as his undaunted courage knew,
Live to report and witness what is true,
In famous Berkeley Castle he was known
As governor, tho' aged but twenty one,
Maintaining still the cause with much renown,
Which he at first for right and just did own.
His name and house since conquering William's days
Is registered; his life's deserving praise:
Till death at Ragland Castle, by a wound,
Ended his days, that so he might be crown'd.

An. 1646.

Thus much with respect to the regular military: and now with regard to the townsmen.

Thomas Pury the elder.—The family of Pury had been resident in Gloucester for at least a century and a half. Walter Pury occurs as a benefactor to the church and poor of St. Mary de Crypt as early as 1506. Thomas Pury, a mercer, was sheriff in 1541, and mayor in 1550 and 1560, and is buried in the chancel of that church. From his epitaph it appears that a branch of them was settled at Pokeham in Berkshire. Thomas Pury, grandson of this individual, who took so active a part in the troubles, was of the profession of the law, one of the sheriffs in 1626, and mayor in 1653. He was a member for the city in the long parliament; in that which was called by Cromwell in 1654, and in that which was vulgarly called the Rump Parliament. As soon as the spoil of confiscation came to be divided, he was among the earliest who obtained reparation for losses; and it was assigned to him out of the estate of the Marquess of Worcester. When the army quarrelled with the parliament, in the summer of 1647, his house and person were assaulted by several soldiers, who were committed to Newgate. C. J. He died in 1666, and is buried at St. Mary de Crypt, where on the north side of the chancel is a grave stone with this inscription. "Thomas Pury, nuper Major hujus civitatis Glocestriae, filius Gualteri, filii Thomae Pury, Armigeri, juxta inhumati, hic situs, una cum Maria conjugis sua charissima, Edwardi Aly

Generosi filia, e trimis secunda. Obierunt, ille 13 Aug. 1666, illa 6 Sept. 1668." Fosbrooke.

Thomas Pury his son, whose name frequently occurs in these pages, according to MS. memoranda in his own hand-writing, (*Booker's Almanack*, interleaved for 1642, in the possession of the editor,) was in his twenty-fifth year at the time of the siege, having been born July 16, 1619, and was keeping terms in the Temple. He represented the city in the long parliament after Brett's exclusion; in Cromwell's parliament of 1656, and in the Rump parliament. Rudder seems to be in error when he informs us that he was mayor in 1653. He survived the restoration many years; he was lord of the manors of Minsterworth and Tainton, to which latter place he withdrew, and lived there in unmolested retirement to an advanced age, "loved and respected," says the above writer, "for his piety, learning, great abilities, and extensive charity." Tainton had been occupied by a garrison during the war. Tracts, 72-73. and the church had been destroyed by battery or fire. In January, 1647, an order was obtained from the parliament by his exertions for rebuilding the church. This was done upon a new site; and it remains a monument of his peculiar religious notions, being placed north and south, and, till lately, having the communion table in the centre of the building. His attachment to literature induced him to found the college library at Gloucester, in the situation and form in which it now appears; and whatever may be thought of his taste in the decoration of it, he was certainly a great benefactor to the collection of books. It was finished in 1649, as is evident from a date upon one of the figures that surmount the screen on the right hand. Evelyn, who visited it in 1654, calls it "a noble tho' a private designe." *Memoirs*. i. 282. This is confirmed by his epitaph upon a tomb in the church yard at Tainton, in which his character is sketched with a mixture of apology and commendation.

"Post vitam occupatissimam et fere octoginta annorum fastidio gravatam, hic tandem requiescit THOMAS PURY, qui indolem natura vegetam, ac ad summa comparatam, vel studiis humanioribus ita excoluit, vel rebus agendis a deo exercuit, ut sive artium peritia, sive negotiorum varietate, vix in pari fortuna quenquam sibi habuerit parem. Tot privatis occupationibus, tantisque publicis aliquando motibus agitato, quidquam (temporis vitio magis quam suo) humanitus accidisse non tam culpandum, quam mirandum potius, cuiquam inter rebelles versanti, pietatem et religionem, inter milites, artes et scientias impensius placuisse. Edificatum in proximo templum extructaque in celebriori loco Bibliotheca hoc eousque testantur: ut nec hisce literarum ornamentis, nec sacro lapide, nec posterorum memoria indignus esse videatur."

He married Barbara, daughter of James Kyrle, Esq. of Walford Court in Herefordshire. Rudder.

Backhouse, serjeant major to Massey, was an attorney at Gloucester, and author of the pamphlet inserted in this collection, p. 283. He was a diligent co-operator with the governor, and seems to have been a favourite with him. He died, as will be seen, in consequence of a wound received at Ledbury, just before Massey was removed from Gloucester.

[168.] Letter, ut supra, dated August 2. Both Clarendon and the *Mercurius Aulicus*, Aug. 20. 27. assert, that the governor was wont to intoxicate his men with wine and spirituous liquors, when he sent them out upon sallies.

(169.) John Gwynne, an ensign in the royal army, furnishes us with one of the current opinions respecting the cause of the king's ill success. *Military Memoirs*. Pt. I. c. 4. "I was at the siege of Gloucester, where then it was reported, that had there been as much care taken in making one mine ready, as in making of the other two which stayed for it, probably we had carried the town, and consequently put a period to a great deal of farther trouble."

[170.] The following officers may be ascertained among the killed, wounded, and prisoners on the king's part. Lieutenant Colonel Edwards; Captain Rumney of the Worcester forces; a captain of the queen's black regiment under Sir Edward Blackwall; Serjeant Major Wells, killed. Sir Jacob Astley wounded in the arm; Captain Bassett of the Worcester forces, mortally wounded; Lieutenants Tipper, Anderson and Trappes, prisoners.

[171.] It may indeed be alleged that greater part of the slain fell in the sallies, and could not be carried off for burial; though the "True Relation," p. 261, informs us, "it was reported that most of those who were killed, were shot in the head in peeping through some holes at the enemy;" but the fact given in the text serves at least to shew that no extensive injury was done by the artillery of the besiegers to the inhabitants within the walls.

[172.] Sunderland's Letter.

[173.] These were not a novelty in this instance: they had been employed at the siege of Hull, where they set buildings on fire. Hutchinson's *Memoirs*, p. 92. At the siege of Lyme the royalists shot red hot balls, and iron bars, which are called fire arrows. The latter were, perhaps, what are styled bolts in archery; and "that they might hang on whatsoever they lighted, they were crooked at the ends." *Journal of the siege of Lyme*, in *Hist. of Lyme regis.* p. 60. They were very effectual upon thatched houses, and once fired the magazine there. At the assault of Bridgewater part of the town was set on fire by red hot slugs. Sprigge.

[174.] The Tolsey suffered in some degree by fire during the siege, but in what way or at what precise time is uncertain. The repairs on this occasion are mentioned in the Steward's Accounts.

[175.] They amused themselves in the same way at the siege of Worcester in 1646. Nash. *Hist. of Worcestershire*. II. App. XCIX. How the royalists laughed off their mortification at the affair of Gloucester, may be seen in some of the attempts at wit, with which the *Oxford Newsbook* at this period abounds. These, though they might please the temper of the cavaliers at the moment, now rather convey an impression of melancholy to the mind as "merry descants on a nation's woes." The following are instances. They are chiefly in answer to the parliamentary reporters, whose falsehoods and exaggerations no doubt challenged reproof. "*The Gloucesterians have slain two of the king's colonels, five lieutenant colonels, twelve captains, &c.*" The royalist then replies, "Lieutenant Colonel Edwards was slain at the first approach; name one other officer and we'll beg thy pardon." *The king hath raised his siege there and is come away.* "He hath razed the wall in several places, and will make thee eat thy words." *Merc. Aulic.* Aug. 13—20. 1643. "His excellency, that able gentleman (the Earl of Essex) this week is advanc-

"ing towards Oxford, which hath made the London newsmen stretch
 "divers truths beyond the line of communication." They say, (1.) "*That the
 "king himself never came within ten miles of Gloucester; (that is, he came almost
 "within musket shot.) (2.) That the Earl of Essex will send 200 of his horse
 "to relieve Gloucester, and leave much horse remaining, (take two out of two
 "and there remains Essex.) (3) That the souldiers in Gloucester have killed
 "1500 of his majestie's army; (you are either a lecturer, or a close committee-
 "man, for you lye but 1400 in 1500.) (4.) That the Earl of Crawford, Lord
 "Grandison, Lord Herbert, Lord Beauchamp, Lord Wilmot, Lord Rich, Master
 "Russel, brother to the Earl of Bedford, Sir John Byron, Sir William Russell,
 " &c. were all slain on Sunday last at Gloucester. (not one of these but
 "are confident they shall live to see thee hanged.) (5.) That Colonel
 "Massey enticed 8 whole troopes of the king's horse into Gloucester, and
 "then let downe the perculis, and took them all prisoners; (a very pretty
 "story; 'tis a pity it is a lie.)" Id. Aug. 20.-27. Among the false
 "reports it is noticed. that Sir Jacob Astley and some other chiefe
 "commanders were lately slaine at Gloucester; (were they slain with
 "a musket or a cannon bullet? Sir Jacob himself desires to know.)" Id.
 Aug. 27.-Sept. 3. "Soon after was another report, that the recorder of Glou-
 "cester was hanged in that city for being an incendiary; (it was the governor
 "set the suburbs on fire.)" Id. Sept. 3.-10. These sallies are chiefly attributed
 to Sir John Birkenhead, who conducted the Mercurius Aulicus at Oxford.
 Peter Heylyn occasionally wrote in the same paper, but his productions were
 of a graver cast. Wood. Athenæ Oxon. in Birkenhead and Heylyn.*

[176.] A paper containing one of these threats was shot into the town
 upon an arrow, and an answer returned in the same way. It is well known
 that cross bows were still used in killing deer; (witness the accident that
 occurred to Archbishop Abbott in the park at Ashby de la Zouch. Granger. II.
 45,) and they were sometimes employed perhaps by irregular troops or
 club men, during this war. They are mentioned in a Tract giving an account
 of a skirmish in Shropshire, when the king was at Shrewsbury. Gwynne
 gives a curious anecdote respecting an arrow, at the siege of the Devizes by
 Fairfax and Cromwell. "I having the guard by the river side, and standing
 "by Sir Jacob Ashley, a bearded arrow struck into the ground betwixt his
 "legs. He pluckt it out with both his hands, and said, "You rogues you mist
 "your aim." Memoirs. Pt. I. c. 6.

[177.] Furney. MS. He received this information from one who had
 been town clerk of the city; and the severity of this threat, in his opinion,
 rendered the garrison more resolute. There were just twelve inns in Glou-
 cester at that time; but many houses were presented at the Michaelmas
 sessions, as common tipling houses selling ale without license, which had
 been probably opened for the use of the garrison: and several in Upton St.
 Leonards, in the king's quarters. C.R. MS W. 6. in anno.

[178.] "The straitness of the siege debarred all intelligence." Tracts.
 p. 54. The divines in Gloucester, as well as in every other place, were most
 instrumental in stirring up and encouraging the people. Mr. Halford, one of
 them, told his congregation that though "their passages were stopt on
 "earth, there remained a way open to heaven." Dorney. Speeches, p. 2.

[179.] Hist. of the Rebellion. II. 343.

Two spies, mentioned by Corbet, and noticed in p. lxviii. having made their way to Warwick, when the king's horse drew off, the governor thought their intelligence of so much importance that he forwarded instantly a despatch to Sir Samuel Luke, the scout-master-general, (Butler's master, and the prototype of his Hudibras); and the letter was published in London. Printed for Edward Husbards, Sept. 1, 1643.

"For the Honorable Sir Samuel Luke, at his quarters.

"Honorable Sir,

"I sent an answer to yours of the 26, this morning, and in obedience to his Excellencies commands presently dispatched away a messenger to Gloucester; since which time (i. e.) this day about twelve of the clock, came hither two substantiall men from the town; by whome I perceived, none of these messengers I formerly sent, came into the town; yet they assured me, the town was in a very good condition and full of courage, having every day put the enemy to much losse. Yesterday morning upon an outfall they killed Sir Jacob Astley (as the soldiers report) I heard by a prisoner that a man of principal respect was killed: It was agreed between them and the governor, at their coming away, that in case relief were coming, they should this night, about twelve of the clock, make fires upon Bredon hill; which the town was to answer, by doing the like upon the college steeple; wherupon I shewing them your letter for their satisfaction, accommodated them with horses, and sent them speedily away, to put their designe in execution."

"Sir, I finde, the king's foot there are few, and those in very ill condition, so that whensoever the town makes a sally, the quarter they fall upon, runs without striking a blow. The town hath not lost above ten persons, of men, women, and children slain.

"If in any thing I have a capacity to serve you, if you please to honor me with your commands, you shall find ready and cheerfull obedience from

"Sir, Your affectionate humble servant,

"Warwick Castle, 28 Aug. about 9 at night."

"Jo. BRIDGES."

Bridges was governor of Warwick Castle during the whole war.

[180.] The royalists talked of taking Coventry and Northampton in their way to London. Sunderland. ut supra.

[181.] Ludlow. Memoirs. I. 66.

[182.] "Some members of parliament (of which my father was one) were sent to inspect their condition, that their wants being known, might be better supplied." Id. ut supra C. J Aug. 3. 15. 16.

[183.] This was politic, and might answer a double end. It would prevent the public from seeing and noting the fact, of how many apprentices the town was drained. Such an expedient had been resorted to before. Lord Say recommended it to the citizens in his speech at Guildhall after the battle of Edge-hill. "This is not now a time for men to think with themselves, that

"they will be in their shops to take a little money. This is a time to do what you do in common dangers; let every man take his weapons in his hands.—Let every man shut up his shop; let him take his musquet; let him offer himself willingly." *Parl. Hist.* XI. 484. Denham ridicules the practice in his second *Western Wonder*.

"Now shut up your shops, and spend your last drops

"For the laws of your cause, you that loath 'em;

"Lest Essex should start, and play the second part

"Of Worshipful Sir John Hotham."

Birkenhead has an unfortunate hit upon this order to the citizens "to shut up their shops, and to continue them shut up till Gloucester be relieved, —which will be when Say and Pym become good christians." *Merc. Aulicus.* Aug. 20—27.

[184.] Some of the trained bands, in spite of this, deserted after the first day's march. *Tracts.* 253. At Norton, on the night of Sept. 7, they refused to obey their orders to march. *Tracts.* p. 260.

[185.] Printed at London by Richard Cotes, 1643.

[186.] "Intelligence from London brought every day the resolution of parliament to relieve Gloucester, and that if their levies did not supply them with men soon enough, the trained bands of the city would march out with the general for that service." *Clarendon* II. 334. The anxiety of the Londoners was wrought up to the highest pitch when Essex had taken his departure. A despatch of his from Chipping Norton, dated Sunday, Sept. 3, was first read in the house of commons. Wednesday, Sept. 6, was post day from the west, and all were in eager expectation to hear, for a report was prevalent that Gloucester was taken. On the next day the first messenger that brought news of the raising of the siege came to the committee sitting that night at Guildhall; a second messenger soon appeared to confirm the intelligence. He had left Gloucester on the 6th, and Essex marched in on the 8th; this confirms the fact, that messengers could go to London immediately after the king drew off. *Weekly Account*, Aug. 28—Sept. 6. *Perfect Diurnall.* Sept. 4—11.

[187.] On the 31st of August, a trumpeter was sent from the royalists ostensibly to procure a passport for some lady, (see *Tract.* p. 270,) but more probably to view the army. A *London Newshook* works up the incident in the following way "It was then also further certified that the cavaliers at Gloucester understanding that the Earl of Essex with his armies was near at hand, according to their usual dissimulation sent a trumpeter with some propositions from his majesty to treat with his excellency before he should advance no further near Gloucester; but his excellency who had been too well versed in their deceit that way further to trust them, returned speedy answer that he had no commission to treat, but to relieve Gloucester, which he was resolved to do or lose his life there; and the soldiers, understanding a trumpet was come with propositions to treat, with a unanimous acclamation, cried out for a long time together. 'No propositions,' 'No propositions!' and with a loud echo sent the trumpeter back to the king's army." *Perfect Diurnall.* Sept. 4—11.

[188.] Extracts from some of the parliamentary Newsbooks, respecting the raising of the siege.

"Monday Sept. 4. The last week's informations related how farre his excellency the parliament's lord generall, was advanced to the reliefe of Gloucester, viz. that on Thursday last he was about Biceter in Oxfordshire, where we then left him to proceed,—on Friday his excellency drew up all his army at Bayard's Green on the plain of Biceter, from whence the army marched towards Chipping Norton, so that it is conceived, he might be as farre as Cheltenham this night, which lieth about seven miles from Gloucester.

"Friday, Sept. 8. Some of the Gloucestershire clothiers that are lately come out of that county, report, that on Saturday and Sunday last, the cavaliers came on to assault Gloucester, and got within pistol shot of the city. Whereupon Colonel Massey made a breach in his works, and drew up six or seven pieces of ordnance, charged with musket bullets to the breach, which he fired upon them, and slew a great many of them, cutting them off as mowers cut grasse, and forced them to retreat, and in their retreat sallied out upon them, beat them out of their works, and took four carts laden with victuals from them, and one of them affirmeth, that he saw his excellency the parliaments lord generall, on Sunday night last, at Sherborne in Gloucestershire, which is Master Dutton's house, and lieth five miles from Stowe in the Would, and about three miles from Burford in Oxfordshire, and fifteen miles this side Gloucester near which city he was supposed to be on Tuesday last;—But yesterday in the evening news was brought to London, that on Friday last, the siege was raised from before Gloucester, and the cavaliers had sent their ordnance down the river of Severne to Bristol, and were all marched there."

"Sept. 12. The last weekly newes of the raising of the siege and the relieving of Gloucester, is now confirmed by some that are come from there, that they saw a great market kept there "on Wednesday and Thursday last, which argues that there is free ingresse and egress in that city, and whereas it hath been reported that his excellency the parliaments lords generall, hath been there in person, it is now informed that he came not within six miles of it, but lay about Cheltenham; and some have said that the king, with his army, was about Bradway hills, in the north part of Gloucestershire; but a day or two will give us better certainty of the reports.

"—Sept. 12. I make no doubt but this popish army (the king's) will within a few days be as weary of besieging Hull, as their brethren were before Gloucester, from which siege the southern popish army is risen through feare, for they durst not stay to view the London apprentices, that were marched under the lord generall the Earle of Essex, within six miles of Gloucester for their reliefe; markets are kept in Gloucester, ammunition sent in, the cavaliers retreated, the queene for very griefe frighted," &c.

"—Concerning the western parts, specially the city of Gloucester, our scout finds the ways so impassible, by reason of the scattered troops of the enemy, scattered not by any defeat given by my lord generall, but to prevent supplies, and hinder his excellency from sending to the parliament and city of London an ample report or relation of that famous siege, and late reliefe of Gloucester; for as his excellency had a quicker and a brave recruiter

“from the city, so doubtless he will leave no means untried, to let them understand of his good success: and though his packets are stopped, there are clothiers come, eminent for their honesty, that tell us they were in Gloucester since the reliefe of it, and that they set their feet upon the cannons with which Colonel Massey pelted the king's men, when they undermined the city: and relate also a story of some coves that were put out to entice some of the enemy's horse to fall on, but the governor laid in ambush some musquetiers, who surprized them all: the short, if we may believe them, is that Gloucester is relieved, and my lord generall unmolested only upon his guard most commonly. His lot is haply fallen in the pasture of the most desperate malignants of those parts, who are fat and have not hitherto been molested by either party. At our scouts coming away, he understood that the royal army or the chief piece of it faced my lord generall, and bravadoes it daily; but it is as the greyhound doth the mastiffe, gives a scratch and away; not daring to engage for feare of receiving a mortal pinch.”

Another account.—“The proceedings of the army under the command of his excellency the parliaments lord generall (and more particularly the affairs of the London trained bands and auxiliaries) doe of right require the first place in our weekly intelligence, who (since their meeting with the lord generals forces, at a place called Bayard's Green, in Oxfordshire, where they made up his army 18,000 horse and foot complete) have alwaies marched together, by which means altho' they have been much straightened for want of lodging, and wanted much necessaries that they were formerly accustomed unto, yet, such was their valour and courage, that they went forward with great resolution, desiring nothing so much as to encounter with the enemy. A more particular and certain account of their proceedings then hath yet been published I shall set downe as it was imparted in many letters, from several credible persons in the trained bands in the army to their friends here to this effect.”

“On Sunday, Sept. 3, the London trained band and auxiliaries were quartered at a small village called Addlestrap, in Gloucestershire: on Monday morning Prince Rupert with about 5,000 or 6,000 of the king's horse, came to this side over which our army was to march: our forces with joyfull hearts went out to meet them; they, (as was then conceived) supposing only the city regiments to be there, began to encompass them about a mile round, with their horse (for my Lord Generall with his army was about a mile behinde). Our city commander drew out their whole body of citizens, in a loose manner towards them, and set themselves in battalia: the enemy sent out a forlorn hope of horse, our forces another of foot, and so faced one another halfe an hour or more: during which time our city captains (to their everlasting honour for magnanimity and valour) rode up to them, fired in their faces and so bravely retreated again: by which time the lord generall and his army came up to them; and as soon as ever he came in sight, fired four or five drakes at the enemy, which so amazed the cavaliers, that they began to retreat a little, and joyne in two bodies. The lord generall's horse pursued them, bravely fell upon them, and had a small skirmish with them, and his own regiment of foot charged them in front, and fired four roaring pieces at them; whereupon they all rode hastily away and our forces followed them. How many were slaine of them I cannot certainly relate, but we took divers prisoners, who say, that the lord of Holland was amongst

"them, and that Prince Rupert when he saw our army, sword ———, he
 "thought all the Roundheads in England were there. Their word was
 "'*king and country*;' ours '*religion*;' which proved the best of the three in
 "the end."

"The next day our Londoners were appointed to quarter in a towne called
 "Presbury, within six miles of Gloucester, (where the cavaliers then lay,) as
 "soon as ever we appeared in sight of the town, on the edge of a hill in sight
 "of Gloucester, they drew out into a corne field and faced us againe; our
 "forlorne hope descended down upon them, and as soon as ever they were
 "at the bottom of the hill, our generall let the foure pieces of ordnance
 "at them; whereupon they fed as fast as their horses would carry them,
 "but we stayed some of them by the way, and sold their Welch hobbies for
 "ten shillings apiece, and that night they raised their siege from Glou-
 "cester, and burnt their huts, whereupon the Londoners and others of the
 "army entered Gloucester."

[189.] Tradition recorded by Rudder, p. 592. "When we drew off, it proved
 "to be most miserable, tempestuous, rainy weather, that few or none could
 "take little or no rest on the hills where they were; and the ceasing winds
 "next morning soon dried up our thorough-wet clothes we lay pickled in all
 "night, as a convenient washing of us at our coming out of the trenches."
 Gwynne. *Memoirs*, Pt. I. c. 5. It is singular that the omen-loving temper of
 some of the writers about this period should have forborne to notice this
 violent breaking up of the fair weather, on the evening upon which the siege
 was raised, a prelude to the king's future complicated calamities. It would
 at least have been as worthy of observation in this light as the blowing
 down of his standard at Nottingham, the falling off of the head of his cane at
 his trial, or the violent storm that occurred on the night of Cromwell's
 decease.

[190.] Heath. Pt. I. p. 60.

[191.] Steward's Accounts. MS. in a.

[192.] Tracts, p. 201. This requisition was of course made upon the pro-
 perty of the royalists. During their three days continuance at Tewkesbury,
 three several companies of plunderers went to the house of Mr. Bartlet at
 Castle Morton, (mentioned in note 32,) and rifled it of every thing that
 they could find, to the very kitchen stuff, which a soldier carried off in a small
 barrel upon his shoulder. Thus, in a remote part of the country, this dwelling
 had been plundered five times within about a twelvemonth. Mercurius
 Rusticus.

[193.] Clarendon. Tracts. 240. The latter seems the most accurate. The
Iter Carolinum shews that Charles remained at Sudley till Essex arrived at
 Tewkesbury; and that he moved forward on the day after.

[194.] The discontent that Essex had for some time cherished was now
 greatly increased. He told the parliament, when he gave in his resignation.
 C. J. April 2, 1646: "It is not unknown to many men of honour, that I
 "had resolved it after the action at Gloucester."

[195.] Lords' Journals. Sept. 16.

[196.] Clarendon. II. 341. One of them was Hatton, a cannonier Tracts. p. 218. He had been only taken in pay "to help about the ordinance," as it is expressed in the Stewards' MS. Accounts, and was probably of no great importance to them, except as to the communications he might make of their weakness. The Perfect Diurnall from Aug. 28 to Sept. 4, gives a story of the "treachery of the mace-bearer and three or four other malignants of the town. They had conveyed themselves into an upper part of the church-steeple with musquets, powder and shot, intending to kill the governor and some other of the chief officers, and in pursuance of their treacherous purpose discharged a musket with such secrecie against Captain Gray, as he marched with his soldiery by the church-wall, the bullet very nearly escaping him, which he presently after declared to the governor, and upon diligent search made in the church, they were apprehended, and the chief of them presently hanged, and the mace-bearer's fingers on both hands (as it is said) were cut off." This may have no foundation in truth, as it is neither to be found in Corbet nor Dorney.

[197.] Commons' Journals, 15 Sept. 1643.

[198.] A royalist account has thus explained the king's views in the measures that were adopted. "The Earle of Essex having descended with his army into the vale of Gloucester, before the king could well draw his from the siege up to the hills to fight with him, it was not thought fit to follow him into the inclosed country, where the king should lose the great advantage, hee had about him in strength of horse, but rather to make choice of such a place to incamp his army, as might be aptest for these three ends: to accomodate his quarters; to strengthen him in his provisions; and equally to intercept his (enemy's) flight in a faire country; whether he should take it by the way of Worcester towards Warwick, or by the way of Cirencester towards Reading, and to these purposes the towne of Winchcombe and Sudley Castle were made choyse of as the most appropriate." True and Impartial Relation of the Battaille, &c. near Newbery. Oxford. 1643.

[199.] Tracts. 262.

[200.] Foster. Tracts. 261. This was in all likelihood a bridge of boats. Prince Maurice had constructed one at Tewkesbury in the spring. See p. xxxviii. There is no account of the long bridge and causeway upon the Avon having been destroyed, over which lay the more direct road to Worcester. But the wary general preferred beginning to manœuvre behind the greater river. On the right bank he was secure. "We caused a bridge to be made over Severne, and sent some forces to Upton bridge in policy, as if we intended to march for Worcester, which caused the enemy to draw all his forces together for the defence of that place, planted their ordinance, and thought to tickle us by the way; but the fooles were cozened, for on Friday morning we went cleane another way." A True Relation of the late Battell neere Newbery, &c. The royalist tract above cited (note 198) adds a particular mentioned in none of our other authorities, which completes the *ruse de guerre* of Essex. "Having left (as it seemes) most of his great ordnance and baggage behind him, and amusing us with a shew of forces still in Teuxbury and Upton, which were (as I conceive) those now remaining in garrison at Gloucester."

[201.] Sunderland's letter, dated Sept. 16. Sidney State Papers.

[202.] Four and twenty hours. Clarendon II. 345. The true Relation says it was on the same day. Tracts. 262.

[203.] Sir Nicholas Crispe was a citizen of London, one of the farmers of the customs, and a rich merchant trading chiefly to the coast of Guinea; he entered into business with a large capital and prosecuted it with great success; he lent the king money to a very considerable amount, and appears to have entertained the greatest veneration for his personal character.

Crispe had been a very popular man in the city, where he had been a commander of the trained bands, till the ordinance of the militia removed him, and he was afterwards attacked with great severity by the house of commons for shewing his earnestness in a petition for peace. Upon this he fled to the king at Oxford; and in the preceeding May and June, about the time of the Bristol plot, he had been engaged in that design for which Tomkins and Chaloner were executed by the Parliament, and Waller hardly escaped with his life. He had prepared and despatched the commission of array which occasioned so much alarm and confusion among the traders of the houses.

At Oxford, Crispe and other citizens of London offered in conjunction with some gentlemen of Kent, to raise several regiments of horse and foot at their own expence. This regiment taken at Cirencester was one which he had thus enlisted and armed; and when the guns were brought from Oxford to the siege of Gloucester, he had escorted them to the camp. The cause of his absence from his men was as disastrous as the misfortune that befel them. He had been quartered, while his majesty was at Evesham, at the house of Sir Thomas Rous, at Rouslench in that neighbourhood; and on the day before this occurrence had been forced into a duel with Sir James Enyon, whom he had killed in mere self defence. The fault and provocation was on the part of the latter, but the king in Crispe lost the services of a valuable officer. On the 2d of October ensuing, he was tried before a council of war, acquitted and received the royal pardon. He was dismissed from the army but had a commission of admiral in the navy. When the king's affairs grew desperate, he retired to France; but returned afterwards to London, and embarked again in trade with his usual spirit and success. He lived to see his master's son restored to the possession of his kingdoms: by whom he was created a baronet the year before his death, in 1665.

Lloyd has described this active and enterprising person, and the signal services which he rendered the king: "Awhile you would meet him with thousands of gold; another while, in his way to Oxford, riding on a pair of panniers, like a butter-woman going to market; at other times he was a porter carrying on his majesty's interest in London; he was a fisherman in one place, and a merchant in another. All the succours which the king had from beyond sea came through his hands, and most of the reliefs he had at home was managed by his conveyance." Clarendon. Sanderson. MS. Diary of Sir William Dugdale in the possession of W. Hamper Esq. Granger.

[204.] Commons' Journals. Sept. 18.

[205.] Heath, Pt. I. 50. Their march must have been retarded in some measure by the sheep and cattle that they had carried off and were driving

with the army. These to the amount of about a thousand and sixty were lost during the battle.

[206.] "We made such haste in pursuit of Essex's army, that there was an account given of fifteen hundred foot, quite tired and spent, not possible to come up to their colours before we engaged the enemy; and a night or two before, we lost two regiments of horse, (Kentish men, and new raised regiments,) which were surprised and taken prisoners in their quarters; and what was worse, in most men's opinion, we were like to drop down every step we made with want of sleepe; yet, notwithstanding, we marcht on still, until the evening we overtook the enemy at Newberry town's ende. Gwynne, *Memoirs*. Pt. I. c. 5." The reader who compares this statement of Gwynne with the evidence of the *Iter Carolinum* in the next page, may, after all, be struck with the seeming tardiness of the king's pursuit. It may therefore be observed in explanation, that the troops at first might have been scattered too widely in quarters, and drawn together with difficulty. Moreover he had to climb very steep hills with his artillery and waggon train; and though the greatest distance that he made in these forced marches from Evesham to Newbury did not exceed twelve miles a day, it will be recollected that these were computed miles, through bad roads. Essex, after the taking of Cirencester, made still slower progress, and Rupert with the cavalry retarded him: but the exertions of Charles were so highly thought of that Clarendon mentions it as "matchless industry," to lead up the foot and "by expedition and diligence, to recover the advantage, which the supine negligence of those he trusted had robbed him of." There is something which can be less satisfactorily accounted for in the previous want of energy on the part of the king and his military advisers, that with so superior a force he should not at once have broken up from Gloucester to meet Essex when he was on the advance to raise the siege. He might be conscious that his men were too dispirited at that time. But taking the proceedings of the campaign altogether, I adopt most readily the judicious suggestion of a friend, that, in the case of any other commander, had Charles been absent, the whole of his conduct would have looked like treachery, and been followed by enquiry. Among the multitude of blunders committed on all sides in the course of the war, this campaign on the part of the royalists seems a series of the greatest: they were as great, as the disasters that followed them were never to be repaired. A military writer might offer a better elucidation of them; but to an unprofessional apprehension the matter seems totally inexplicable.

[207.] The pamphlet entitled, "A True Relation, &c." Tracts, p. 233, is supposed to contain one of the best accounts of this battle, and is remarkable for the clear, candid, and soldierly manner in which it is composed. May says of it, "There was a punctual Narrative published by some colonels of the parliament-army, gentlemen of great and unstained reputation, concerning this battel, which narrative I have heard some of the enemies confesse to be full, not onely of modesty but truth in the general, or for the most part;"—and he has accordingly incorporated it into his history. B. III. c. 6. A Latin translation of this Tract was also published, probably designed for circulation abroad. The title is, "Descriptio Rerum Gestarum in Expeditione, quam suscepit Illustrissimus Heros Robertus Comes Essexiæ, Supremus Imperator Exercituum Conscriptorum pro servanda regia dignitatē, et vindicanda patria, Religione, et Libertate, ad Liberationem Gloucestriciæ obsidione clausæ. Una cum narratione prælii ad Numberiam commissi." 1643. And this, ver-

sion is perhaps from the pen of May, who translated into Latin his own abridgment of his history of the parliament.

[208.] Warrant of the Earl of Essex.

To Mr. Fulk, Minister, and the Constables of the parish of Enburn.

These are to will and require you forthwith upon sight to bury all the dead bodies lying in and about Enburn and Newbury-wash, upon your peril of disobeying. The one and twentieth of September, 1643.

Essex.

The King's warrant.

Our will and command is, that you forthwith send into the towns and villages adjacent, and bring thence all the sick and hurt souldiers of the Earl of Essex's army, and though they be rebels and deserve the punishment of traytors, yet out of our tender compassion upon them as being our subjects, our will and pleasure is that ye carefully provide for their recovery as well as for those of our own army, and then to send them to Oxford. The one and twentieth of September, 1643.

To the Mayor of Newbery.

Sanderson, p. 648.

[209.] The king's course from his setting out on this expedition to his return, comprising every march, halt, and quarter, is given in the "Iter Carolinum, collected by a daily attendant upon his sacred majesty." It may be premised that he had not left Oxford with his army since November, 1642.

"A List of his Majesty's marches from Oxford to Bristol, Gloucester " siege, &c. beginning the first of August, 1643.

	Nights.	Miles.
1. From Oxford to Farringdon, dinner, to Malmesbury, supper and bed.	1	12 16
Bristol taken by the king.		
2. To Bristol.	6	22
3. To Tedbury, dinner, to Cirencester, supper and bed, Sir William Masters.	1	20 8
9. To Pansweek.	1	11
Gloucester besieged.		
10. To Matson, Mr. Selwin's, near Gloucester. September.	26	4
5. To Pansweek.	1	4
6. To Bantley Hill, dinner, to Coverley, supper and bed.	1	8
7. Dinner in the field, to Studley castle, supper and bed.	4	12
11. Dinner in the field, to Evisholme, supper and bed.	1	14
12. To Parshall.	2	4
The Earle of Essex approaching with his army, the king raised his siege from Gloucester, and marched		
14. To Evisham.	2	4
16. To Snowshill.	1	6
17. To Norlich, dinner, Alscot, supper.	1	12
18. To Faringdon, dinner to Wantage, Sir George Wil- mot's, supper and bed.	1	10
19. Dinner in the field, Newbury, to supper and bed, Mr. Cox's, and on Wednesday the 20th the great battle was struck there.	4	11

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

clxxvii

23. To Oxford during pleasure.

Nights-	Miles.
0	20

Gutch. Collect. Curiosa. II. No. XIII. p. 430 et seq.

It will be seen that the incorrect orthography of places is retained, and that there is a dislocation in the paragraph which mentions the raising of the siege: instead of placing it between the 12th and 14th of September, the writer should have inserted it between the 10th of August and the 5th of September.

[210.] Hist. of the Parliament. B. III. c. 6.

[211.] Clarendon. II. 360.

[212.] C. R. MS. Y 4. p. 43. The subscription of the Speaker is rather a departure from the stiff official style of the letter. The reason of this is, that Lenthall was Recorder of Gloucester, and always professed great friendship and obligation towards them.

[213.] Rudder. p. 87. In the conclusion of this sentence it is said, by inference from this writer, that the inscription was destroyed at the restoration. But Mr. Counsel states from his own recollection, that the part of it, at least, which contained the date, was in existence when the gate was pulled down some years ago.

[214.] This is a royalist statement, but its accuracy is unquestionable. Merc. Aulic. Sept. 19.

[215.] Brett had been absent at the Oxford parliament, and was afterwards expelled from the London house of commons: he was succeeded by Thomas Pury the younger.

[216.] C. J. Sept. 19. 22. Oct. 9. Sir Richard Ducie, had been taken prisoner by Sir William Waller. Rudder. 776.

[217.] Perfect Diurnall. Oct. 9-16.

[218.] C. J. Oct. 16. Forty cases of pistols and one hundred and forty carbines were added by order of Oct. 30. The principal magazine of the parliament was in the Tower of London.

[219.] Tracts 58. 59. et seq.

[220.] A specimen of the style adopted by the lord-general in these instruments, is furnished in the annexed document communicated by Mr. Counsel.

Robert Earle of Essex and Ewe, Viscount Hereford, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Bouchier and Lovaine, nominated and appointed capitaine generall of the army employed for the defence of the protestant religion, the safetie of his ma^{ty} person, and of the parliament, the preservation of the laws, liberties and peace of the kingdom, and protection of his ma^{ty} subjects from violence and oppression.

To John Barrough, Colonell.

By virtue of the power and authoritie given me by an ordinance of the lords and commons in parliament, I doe constitute and appoint you

colonell of a regiment of ffoote to be raysted in the fforest of Deane, in the county of Glocester, and alsoe captain of a company in the same regiment to serve for the defence of the king, parliament, and kingdome as above-mentioned; These are therefore to will and require you to take the same into your charge, and diligently to exercise your officers and souldyers in armes. Commanding all inferior officers and souldiers of the said regiment to obey you as their colonell for the service above-mentioned according to this commission given you; and you likewise to obey and follow such orders and directions as you shall receive from me, Colonell Massie, and y^e superior officers of the army, according to the discipline of warr. Given under my Hand and Seale this twentieth day of September, 1644.

ESSEX.

[221.] Commons' Journals. Oct. 7.

[222.] Id. Oct. 23. Nov. 3. Dec. 15. William Cooke made his peace afterwards with the parliament: and this is he, of whose bannerol a representation is given in one of the plates of this volume, from an original drawing in the possession of Sir Berkeley William Guise; it accords with the account by Prestwich (Vert; on a mount of rock, &c. a man in front, armed in steel; his thighs with greaves, of the same; his breeches crimson, large boots of brown leather; over his right shoulder a yellow sash, his helmet at top adorned with a yellow and sable feather; over his left shoulder a red string pendant, to which a little bag, formed like a long purse, brown; in his left hand a cocked hat, or French chapeau; in his right a sword, with which he seems chopping it, as two pieces are seen as if falling to the ground; over his head, in form of a large arch, a scroll argent, shaded crimson, lined or, with these words, in Roman sable letters, *MUTO QUADRATA ROTUNDIS*; fringed or, gules, or, and azure. Respublica. 67. 68.) the date assigned to it in the engraving, though faithfully copied, is probably inaccurate; since, at the time of the siege of Gloucester, he seems to have been a royalist; but we cannot exactly shew the period at which he hewed his square into a round. Edward Cooke served in Massey's regiment in the west, and was shot through both cheeks just before the battle of Langport.

[223.] The Irish consisted of one thousand foot, and one hundred horse. They advanced to Thornbury with eight pieces of cannon. Baker. 549. Sir William Saint Leger fortified the town. Rudder. 753. This officer was killed at the second battle of Newbury. Heath 66.

[224.] The hundred of Whitstone, and the county of the city were at one time, the only parts altogether free from their presence. Tracts. 87. The following entry in the records alludes to Whitstone, when a visit was expected from them.

"Paid to Richard Crompe, for raising up the country by the } 0 2 0
Mayor's order"

S. A. MS. 1643-4. See Tracts, 307.

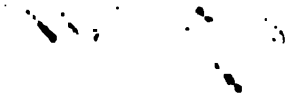
[225.] Some of the Irish deserted to Massey. Tracts. 68. Perfect Diurnall. Nov. 6-13. They were very drunken and disorderly in their quarters at Bristol. Military Scribe. March 6-12. The parliament held them in such abhorrence, that in the course of the war, orders were issued to grant them no

1

THE BANNEROL AND DEVICE OF COLONEL WILLIAM COOKE
OF HIGHNAM COURT. BORNE 1643.



Printed and Sold by J. Sturges, at the Sign of the Gun, in St. Dunstons Church-yard, London.



quarter; and this occasioned some acts of cruelty on both sides. Clarendon. II. 623.

[226.] Perfect Diurnall. Nov. 6.

[227.] Id. Jan. 27—Feb. 3. Massey had a frigate upon the Severn, which was very useful to him in his operations at Tewkesbury and Chepstow. Tracts. 71. At the latter place he beat Sir Henry Talbot, and took him prisoner. Vicars. in England's Worthies. p. 30.

[228.] Military Scribe. No. 3. March 5-12.

[229.] Collections were made among the recusants in every county for the Northern expedition. Those who were engaged in this business in Gloucestershire, were Sir John Wintour, Mr. Wakeman, Mr. Benedict Hall, and Mr. Atkinson. Diurnall Occurrences from Nov. 3. 1640. to Nov. 3, 1641. p. 28. et seq. C. J. Jan. 30. 1640.

[230.] "Resolved, that Sir John Winter, Secretary to the queen, is thought fit to be removed from the person and court of the king and queen, as one that is concerned in dangerous councils." C. J. Feb. 15. 1641-2. Thurloe. State papers. I. 80. 1st Qualification.

[231.] Sir John Wintour was one of the greatest depredators in the forest of Dean. Before the troubles, all the king's coppices, and waste soil had been granted to him by patent, except the Lea Bailey, with all mines and quarries, in consideration of 10,600*l.* and a fee farm rent of 1950*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* for ever. At that time, within the limits of the forest so granted, were growing 105,557 trees, containing 61,928 tons of timber, besides 105,209 cords of wood. The civil war put an end to the patent; and the enclosures, which had been made, were thrown down, and the whole re-afforested. At the restoration, the grant was revived; but, on a representation to parliament of the injury which the neighbouring inhabitants, and the public were likely to sustain, a commission was issued to enquire into the state of the forest; and upon an accurate survey, there were found 25,509 oaks and 4024 beeches, containing 121,527 cords of wood, and 11,325 tons of ship-timber. On the return of the commissioners, a new grant was made to the nominees of Sir John Wintour, of all the above trees, excepting the timber fit for the navy. Five hundred fellers of wood were immediately employed; and so rapid was the devastation, that an order of parliament was immediately made to prevent any farther felling of timber or cutting of wood. Before a bill could be passed, however, the parliament was prorogued, and Sir John Wintour left to pursue his pleasure; which he did so effectually, that, on a new survey, in 1667, only 200 of the oak and beech trees were left standing, and a deficiency of 7000 or 8000 trees was found in the quantity that should have been reserved for the navy. Beauties of England and Wales. Gloucestershire. pp. 710. 711.

During the protectorate, Wintour, like many of the royalists, seems to have lived by his wits. He had a project of charring sea coal in 1656. See Evelyn. Memoirs. I. 302.

[232.] The manor had been granted by Queen Elizabeth to his ancestor, Sir William Wintour, for his gallant services as vice-admiral against the Spanish Armada. He began to build the mansion in question about the year 1588. It was then called White Cross: in the Tracts it is styled Lidney-house.

It was burnt by Sir John Wintour, and the remains were after the war converted into an iron furnace. Atkyns. 282.

[233.] There were still many persons in the city who favoured the king's cause. All the Gloucestersians had not been on the side of the parliament. The epitaph of Thomas Price, who was mayor in 1666 and 1667, and had been a major in the king's horse, is expressive of his loyal constancy and sufferings. It is in the chancel of Saint John Baptist.

M. S. Thomæ Price, viri vere Armigeri, quippe qui sub Carolo primo Martyre gloriosissimo in Bello contra perduelles sæpe vulneratus, semel pro mortuo derelictus, clarissime meruerit; Domi, Foras, Exul, Redux semper sui similis, fortis et cordatus. Pacis restitutæ Artes non minus calluit et coluit, quam olim militiæ: in civitate Gloces bis prætor, diu militiæ præfectus; semper æquanimus, suavis, benignus, omnibus etiam male de se et familia sua meritis, quorum penitentia quam pœnam maluit. Post tot curas, ærumnas, honores, labores fortiter sustentatos, cum sanguis, sæpius effusus, nec venis nec vitæ ulterius suppetere, animam puram et defæcatam, ut Christianu' de- cuit, sanctè efflavit anno ætatis 57, Januar. 14. A. D. 1678. Posuit mæstissima conjux.

[234.] Lords' Journals. Nov. 13.

[235.] So completely was the plot disguised, that in London, where they had some obscure notion of it, he was supposed to be in earnest. Perfect Diurnall. Jan. 22-29.

[236.] This was in the mayoralty of Nicholas Webb, whom Dorney praises for his trouble and pains as surveyor of the city works. Speeches. p. 11. The cost of labour for repairing the breaches at the east gate, was 14d. per perch, labourers who were paid by day-work, had, some a shilling, some ninepence per diem. C. R. T. A. MS. The arms granted to the city, August 14, 1652 by Sir Edward Bish, garter, king at arms, are symbolical. The lions and broad swords mean the warlike character of the city in the civil wars. The rural coronet, lion, and trowel, together with the motto, FIDES INVICTA TRIUMPHAT, alludes to the siege, and the erection of the fortifications. Fosbrooke. 405.

[237.] The trenches of the besiegers were filled up. Part of the infirmary, without the south-gate, stands upon one of them, and shews the distance of the approaches from the walls. Either at this time, or during the mayoralty of William Caple, a. 1652, 1653, when the sconces were altogether demolished, a great quantity of the materials, of which they were composed, was brought into the city; and, according to tradition, used in raising those parts which are subject to flood. This upper layer is frequently observed when the pitching and soil are removed; the surface of the old streets which lies under the whole, is brought to light in many cases at a considerable depth. There are two series of regular strong pitching beneath the existing surface. One at the depth of about two, and the nethermost about four feet. These were recently seen in the alterations that have been made in Saint Mary's-square, and the same was observed in the Southgate-street. The Roman pavements, newly discovered

(July, 1825.) under the foundation of the church of Saint Mary-de-Lode, are at the depth of about five feet.

[238.] Narrative of Backhouse. Tracts. 308.

[239.] Mercurius Veridicus. Jan. 17—24. The royalists were raising men in the county upon the commission of array. Colonel Dutton, one of their committee at Tewkesbury, was expelled the house of commons for his adherence to the king. C. J. Jan. 1. Tracts. 304.

[240.] C. J. Feb. 2. and 16. The estate of Captain Ashfield, a catholic, was applied to raise horse to be placed under the command of Captain Ailsworth, who distinguished himself afterwards at the taking of Malmesbury. Tracts. 333.

[241.] Perfect Diurnall. March 4—11. Merc. Veridic. March. 5-12. I was reported that the Earl of Manchester, had ordered Colonel Cromwell to escort it. The anonymous author of his life (8vo. 1741. p. 7.) says, that he actually did so to Gloucester. When Sir William Vavasour, was observed on Feb. 17. to be drawing off, it was thought that he was going to intercept it. Tracts. 319.

[242.] Perf. Diurn. March. 18-25. Merc. Veridic. April 2—9.

[243.] S. A. MS. The entry is in true conformity with the dialect. "Sacke and *keaks*, (cakes) at the Tolsey, when lieutenant-colonel Ferrer, came from London."

[244.] Colonel Purefoy, of Caldecot, in Warwickshire. Dugdale, Warwickshire. He was a member of the house of commons, sometime governor of Coventry, and one of those who signed the death-warrant of the king. Heath. 198. Purefoy's horse were only to remain with Massey till his own regiment could be recruited. C. J. June 4.

[245.] The question of supplies for Gloucester had been several times fruitlessly agitated in the house of commons, on the preceding Oct. 11. Jan. 1. and 12. At length, on April 11, an ordinance was passed for raising them upon voluntary contributions, a plain proof of the difficulties to which they were reduced in procuring money. And this was, perhaps, done in consequence of that extraordinary and energetic remonstrance, presented by the Earl of Essex to the lords, a few days before, in which Gloucester is thus noticed, as one of the places likely to be lost through neglect. "You see what our weakness is: it hath given occasion to the enemy to enlarge his quarters, watch his advantages, scour from the west to the north, cross all our enterprises. Newark is taken; Lincolnshire lost; Gloucester is unsupplied; and the last week there was but a step between us and death; or, what is worse, slavery." L. J. April 8.

[246.] Commons' Journals. April 22.

[247.] Id. May. 4. 10. For the ordinance passed upon this occasion see Tracts. 345 et seq. It exhibits the names of that committee, that gave the governor so much trouble at Gloucester.

[248.] Tracts. 92. and 327 et seq.

[249.] Near the fire-place in the dining-room. Communicated by Joseph Pyrke, Esq.

[250.] Corbet and the writer of the tract *Ebenezer*, Tracts. pp. 95. 329. conceal this fact. The former only says that the summons was refused. A royalist historian supplies this link in the narrative. Sanderson, 705.

[251.] Two articles, omitted in the report of the proceedings of the House of Commons on Friday, 31st May, see Tracts. 336. 337, are furnished by the Commons' Journals, and are here quoted to render that document more complete.

"Ordered, That it be referred to the committee of both kingdoms, to consider what troops of horse, and other forces may be spared out of the several counties, and imbodyed and employed under the command of colonel Massey, and to make him up a good brigade."

"Ordered, That it be referred to the committee for Gloucester to prepare a letter, and to take notice of the eminent and faithful services done by colonel Massey, and to return him thanks for it."

[252.] Commons' Journals. June. 10.

[253.] Sanderson. 705. Iter. Carol. Gutch. II. 432. The king quartered at the parsonage. Dr. Temple, the incumbent, was chaplain to the prince. Rushworth. V. 671.

[254.] The main body of the army was to have quartered at Winchcomb, while Charles with the horse went to Evesham. Sanderson. 706.

[255.] The parliamentarians treated Waller's expedition with a jocularity that seemed to express either their contempt for his majesty's strength, or a confidence in their own leader, which was not justified by the event. They said of Waller that he was gone "a king catching." Heath. 57.

[256.] It had been brooding in the mind of Essex some time before. Parl. Hist. XIII. 152.

[257.] Lord Chandos left Oxford, and came into the quarters of the Earl of Essex, in June. Id. 210 et seq.

[258.] Clarendon. II. 491.

[259.] Ibid. 497. Tracts. 106. Waller entertained a lasting friendship for Massey, and, in 1647, when they were expelled the parliament, and driven into exile, placed upon record this eulogium of him. "Something was muttered, but nothing openly spoken against Lieutenant General Massey: I was told afterwards by some of the officers, that Massey was looked upon as a profane man, and unfitt for a command, where all the congregation was holy. Those that know him, will give him a better certificate, and avow him to be a gentleman of a fair and unblameable conversation: and for his abilities, as a soldier, it were *injuria virtutum*, a kind of discommendation to commend him. Let his own works praise him in the gates. But though he wears a good sword, he cannot brag of the temper of it, as Thearidas did of his, (Plut. Lacon. Apoth.) that is *acutior invidia*, sharper than envy. His fault was,

"that he was not of the faction, which they (he is speaking of the Independents) called the army." Waller's Vindication. 84.

[260.] Remarks and Experiences of Sir W. Waller.

[261.] C. R. S. A. in 1614. The general was quartered at the house of Mr. Bell. Perfect Occurrences. June 21-28. probably Bell of Sandhurst, who endeavoured to interfere in persuading Gloucester to surrender. Tracts. 219. 280.

[262.] Iter Carolin. Gutch. II. 433. He stayed at Evesham from the third to the twelfth of July; and the day after his arrival sent a message to the parliament proposing to negotiate a peace. Dugdale. Short View. App. 885. Of this the parliament took so little notice that they did not so much as copy it into their Journals. Parl Hist. XIII. 283.

[263.] Perfect Diurnall. July 18-25.

[264.] C. J. July 16. Apparently the same as Sir Ralph Dutton, knight, mentioned before in Note 239. In the order he is styled Mr. Dutton; for the parliamentarians were loth to acknowledge those knights in especial that the king had made for recent services; having, moreover, no one on their own side at that time who could confer such a reward. See the opinion of Corbet, and his party upon this in Tracts. 101. John Dutton of Sherbourn, the elder brother, was probably against the royalists: he had so good an opinion of Oliver Cromwell, or the stability of his protection, that, dying in 1656, he appointed him guardian to his only son. The estate of Sir Ralph was sequestered, and he was forced to quit the country; but being driven back by contrary winds on his passage from Leith to France, in 1616, he was cast on Burnt Island, where he died. Atkins. 339.

[265.] Tract. Ebenezer. 335.

[266.] Backhouse carried up letters to the house of commons from both sides. July 3. C. J.

[267.] Life. Pt. I. 41. 42.

[268.] The titles of the Tracts upon the pro and con of this question are as follows: "The Spirit of Prelacie yet working, or, Truth from under a Cloud, in a relation of that great and publike contestation had in Gloucester, July, 1644, written then and now published, as it were of necessity. Together with a postscript containing some generall and particular observations upon Master Edwards his Gangræna, by Robert Bacon, M. A. minister of the gospel. 1646." The answer to it is, "A Vindication of the Magistrates and Ministers of the City of Gloucester, from the calumnies of Mr. Robert Bacon, in his printed relation of his usage there, which he entitles, 'The Spirit of Prelacy yet working, or 'Truth from under a Cloud,' together with ten questions discussed, which tend to the discovery of close Antinomianisme, by John Corbett, minister, chaplaine to Major-general Massie. 1646." Wood, Athenæ Oxon. art. Nath. Fiennes, informs us, that Bacon was one of those whom Fiennes, while he was governor of Bristol, had patronised in the room of the clergy ejected there. Bacon says of himself that he had been a minister in that city about eight or ten years, suffered from the bishop before the beginning of the parliament, and fled from the place after it was taken by the royalists, when he sustained losses in money and goods to the amount of four hundred pounds; he adds that he had been in

banishment at Gloucester three quarters of a year. The treatise called "Gan-græna, a catalogue of errors and blasphemies," excited much attention: and is a curious evidence of the complicated divisions of the times. Bacon is very angry (p. 31.) with the author of it for asserting, what seems, after all, to have been the true state of the case, that at Gloucester, he was first erroneous, then incorrigible, and for both cast out of the town.

[269.] Commons' Journals. Aug. 3.

[270.] Dorney. Speeches. 19.

[271.] Commons' Journals. Aug. 7.

[272.] Tracts. 108.

[273.] The fifth house in the Westgate Street, below Bull Lane, is said to stand upon the site of that in which the governor was wont to hold his councils of war. Information of Rev. John Bishop.

[274.] Hammond was brought to trial for this, and acquitted. "Sir Philip Stapylton reported from a council of war, to which Major Hammond was referred for a trial, upon the slaying of Major Grey at Gloucester, the result of the said council of war; by which the said Major Hammond was acquitted, *nemine dissentiente*, from any thing, but that he slew him in his own defence; as appears by the certificate under the hand of Sir William Balfour, president, and Isaac Dorisla, Advocate of the Army, dated Essex House. Nov. 28. 1644."

"Ordered, that Serjeant-major Hammond be discharged from any further restraint, and his bail discharged, and his bonds given up." C. J. Dec. 3, 1644.

[275.] MS. note in a copy of Sanderson, p. 731. in the library at Rudhall, near Ross; written in a contemporary hand, and, probably by one of the family of that ancient house, who were royalists.

[276.] C. J. Aug. 21. Ferrer, who went up to London immediately after the siege, and remained there about six months, had been favoured by the confidence of the parliament with respect to money and levies, and been promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He might have presumed upon this when he returned. Sanderson, p. 656. hints at something like petty jealousy in Massey's character, when he says, "he liked no partners in honour." Clarendon has charged him with vanity and weakness. State Papers. III. 144. If indeed he was as the latter has described him, the panegyrics lavished upon him after his defence of Gloucester had been enough to have spoiled him. Ferrer appears to have been killed at Banbury, and his widow petitioned the house of commons for relief. C. J. March 28, 1648.

[277.] Commons' Journals. Oct. 10.

[278.] "Ordered, that the committee at Haberdashers' Hall do pay, out of the monies that come in upon the twentieth part, two hundred and fifty pounds unto Colonel Massie, governor of Gloucester, being part of the two thousand pounds formerly bestowed upon Colonel Massie." C. J. Aug. 17.

[279.] London Post. No. 3. Aug. 27.

[280.] The greater part of Essex's army surrendered on Sept. 2, and six days after, the king, at Tavistock, renewed his overtures to the parliament for a treaty. Parl. Hist. XIII. 282-3.

[281.] Perf. Occurrences. Sept. 20-27. The desperate conflict near Montgomery Castle, and among the mountains, little noticed by historians, occurred Sept. 18. Parl. Hist. ut supra. 286. et seq.

[282.] Chronicle. 64.

[283.] C. J. Sept. 24 and 28. On the first of these days, five hundred pounds were voted to Massey, towards the payment of his men.

[284.] C. J. Oct. 12. London Post. No. 9. Oct. 16.

[285.] See this ordinance among the Tracts. 351. et seq. It is not easy to conceive where such a sum could be obtained in the exhausted state of the county; this provision, like many others directed to be made for the troops, had probably no existence but upon paper.

[286.] Rudder. 527. 762. Willet. Excurs. from the source of the Wye. 70. 71. Dr. Parsons' account must be corrected by reading feet instead of yards, according to the information of a person well acquainted with the spot. When the Marquess of Worcester's Estates were confiscated, Tidenham, with other portions, fell to Cromwell.

[287.] Commons' Journals. Sept. 28. Oct. 21.

[288.] On the 22d of this month, was fought the second battle of Newbury, which increased the disagreements between the parliamentary generals. On the night of Oct. 31, Charles quartered at Sir William Masters', at Cirencester in his route from Bath to Oxford. Iter Carol. Gutch. II. 438.

[289.] Another burden was laid upon the county by an ordinance passed Oct. 18. for a weekly assessment for the relief of the British army in Ireland. For the county it amounted to 125*l.* and for the city and county thereof to 10*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* per week. It seems impossible that these imposts should ever have been collected, when the garrison of Gloucester itself was in want.

[290.] "Colonel Massey hath no strength of thousands, as we heard it reported; he desires but 1500: I would he had these." Perf. Occurrences. Oct. 25.

[291.] London Post. No. 18. Jan. 7. They mutinied when he was gone out of the castle to borrow money for their pay. Massey had two brothers in the army, George and Robert; the latter was coming down with a troop of horse. He had a sister some time resident with him in Gloucester. Parl. Post. July 15-23. 1645.

[292.] London Post. No. 22-23. He had three brigades of foot, and four regiments of horse. Baker. 558. He was made Lord Astley of Reading, by patent dated Nov. 4, 1644. 20 C.I. But he is usually called Sir Jacob Astley: for, as it has been already observed in the case of knights, see Note 264, the parliament were unwilling to acknowledge any newly created titles. Thus the

Earl of Essex, in correspondence with General Ruthven, used to address him as Earl of Forth, long after he had been made Earl of Brentford.

[293.] A triumphant and appalling display of forty-eight colours taken from the king's troops in the battle of Marston Moor, appeared upon the table of the house of commons, July 12, when the Dutch ambassadors were first admitted to an audience, as mediators to settle the dispute. *Parl. Hist.* XIII. 245.

[294.] *Clarendon*. II. 621.—The historian was at this time only Sir Edward Hyde. He was created Lord Hyde of Hindon in com. Wilts, Nov. 3. 12 Car. II. and Viscount Cornbury in com. Oxon. and Earl of Clarendon, April 20 ensuing. *Dugdale*, *Baron*. III. 478.

[295.] *Parl. Hist.* XIII. 415. 490. Great numbers of royalists were about this time allowed to compound for their estates. A list of those who redeemed their sequestrations in Gloucestershire, with the sums of their respective compositions may be seen in APPENDIX, No. IV.

[296.] Two ordinances, for continuing the weekly assessment, and for the payment of a third part of the profits arising out of the custom on currants, were published in this month in favour of Gloucester. March 13-15. See *Tracts*. 354-5.

[297.] *The London Post*. April 1. says that Massey went to Pershore; finding the enemy intended to fortify the Abbey, he burned it to the ground. This is more than doubtful. Nash makes no mention of it.

[298.] Probably in the immediate neighbourhood of Lidney-House, where Massey's men, who had blockaded it, might have found quarters.

[299.] *Mercur. Veridic.* No. I. April 12-19. It appears, though undated, to be the despatch of April 3, mentioned in the *Commons' Journals* as having been read in the house on April 9.

[300.] *Perfect Declaration*. April 19-26. About this time the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of London came to the door of the commons, and desired the house that especial care be had of the city of Gloucester. *Perf. Diurn.* April 21-28.

[301.] The accounts of these ravages given in the various news-books are not sufficiently explicit as to dates. But, from the best judgment that we can form out of such rambling materials, it appears that the royalists visited the forest in this way twice, at least, after the last affair at Lancaut.

[302.] *Sanderson*. 803. *Heath*. 74. The latter was present when they were admitted to kiss the king's hand. "The colonel," he says, "was very respectfully and civilly treated, and confirmed into the king's service and trust, by his majesty's gracious acceptance of his sorrow for his former actions, and his resolutions of reparatory duty." It must be observed that this was Charles II.

There is an inadvertency in a preceding paragraph of the text which must not pass uncorrected. Instead of this occurrence having taken place *nearly three years*, it was nearly four years after the skirmish at Ledbury; viz. in

February, 1648-9, just after the death of Charles I. when many of the Presbyterians had taken refuge abroad.

[303.] C. J. April 12.

[304.] Clarendon II. 624.

[305.] In one of his letters published by the parliament, a copy of which was found in his cabinet taken at Naseby. It is dated from Oxford, Feb. 15, 1644. Rushworth. V.

[306.] Iter Carolin. Gutch. II. 493. "At Mr. Jones's, Stow-in-Would."

[307.] Yet the king had been by no means dejected at the prospect of this campaign. In another letter to the queen from Droitwich, Monday, May 12, he thus describes his views and condition. "As for my business heere, my first worke will be the reliefe of Chester, w^{ch} I am confident will be easily and speedily done, after that I shall resolve according to occasion: for that the Scots w^{ch} are in England and the Northerne Rebels advance southward wth an army, I must goe to see if I can beat them; otherwise I shall fall into y^e associated counties, or if Farfax bee engaged farr westward to try to destroy him there: if thou aske what I have to do this, I now march with above 6500 foot and 3500 horse, besides considerable recruits w^{ch} I am sure sodainely to have." Harl. MSS. 7379.

[308.] Sir Baptist Hicks, knight, was made a baronet, July 1. 18 Jac. I. and advanced to the dignity of a baron by the title of Lord Hicks, Viscount Campden, May 5. 4 Car. I. He built Hicks's Hall, in London, and founded an hospital at Campden. At his death he gave ten thousand pounds to charitable uses. Dugdale. Baron. III. 462. Atkyns. 162.

[309.] Id. 167.

[310.] Sir Henry Bard, of Staines, in co. Middlesex, knight, was created a baronet, Oct. 6, 1640. he was afterwards made Viscount Bellamont; and appears to have been one of those who sought to promote their private interests in the troubles of the times. Few of the royalists could find an opportunity of doing this. Heath. p. 80. praises him, and says, "he rose from a commoner by excellent services done to the king." In the apophthegms of King Charles, p. 32. is an anecdote of his visiting Ragland Castle while he was governor of Campden-house, in which the Marquess of Worcester indulges in a pun upon "Camden's Remains." Bard commanded one of the divisions of the king's army at the battle of Naseby. The parliament who, as usual, would not acknowledge his title, permitted Mr. Henry Bard, to go into exile. C. J. Dec. 17, 1647.

[311.] Clarendon II. 651. The Parliaments' Post. May 6-13. Atkyns, 167, asserts that the outside cost twenty-nine thousand pounds. "As for civil structures in this county," says Fuller, "our late wars laid a finger on Bar-clay, their arm on Sudeley Castle, (seated where the wilds and woulds meet, and the fair clasp to joine them together,) being in part plucked down; but their loynes have been laid on Camden House, (one of the newest and neatest in England, built by Baptist Hicks, Viscount Camden,) pressed down to the very foundation." Worthies. p. 351.

[312.] Perfect Declaration. April 19-26. He accompanied the king in his march northward and was sent from Droitwich with the despatch to the queen cited in Note 307; therein Charles mentions him in these terms. "This bearer Sir John Winter, as thy knowledge of him makes it needlesse to recommend him to thee, soe I should injure him if I did not beare him the true witness of having served me with as much fidelity and courage as any, not without much good successe; though some crosse accyidents of late hath made him (not without reason) desire to waite upon thee, it being needfull that I should give him this testimony least his journey to thee be misinter-preted." Harl. MSS. 7379. Both Heath and Sanderson say that he was called into the army.

[313.] One of Massey's friends vindicating his character in a bombastic pamphlet published on his quitting the kingdom in 1647, thus notices the transaction. "Who was he that went out from that command (of Gloucester) in such a blaze to adde glory unto conquest, and crown his actions with an neverdying honour; when he took the strong garrison'd Evesham, in a storme of fire and leaden haile, the losse whereof did make a king shed tears? Was it not Massey?" Virtue and valour vindicated. London. Aug. 19. 1647. He took prisoners, Colonel Robert Legge, the governor, Colonel Foster, and Lieutenant Colonel Bellingham, Major Travillian, 13 captains, 17 lieutenants, and above 20 inferior officers, with all the ordnance, arms and ammunition. Vicar's in England's Worthies. p. 32.

[314.] C. J. May 26-31. Fifty barrels of powder were ordered to be furnished out of the public stores by the officers of the ordnance, for the service of the garrison of Gloucester.

[315.] C. R. S. A. in anno.

[316.] C. J. June 2. 6. 7. They wrote to him to inform him, that before the receipt of his letter, they had provided money for him, and had adopted measures for the preservation and defence of Gloucester; that they had settled Sir John Wintour's iron mills upon him, and taken care for the widow and children of Major Backhouse. He arrived in London on the 11th of June. "Colonel Massey, and Colonel Harlow came to London on Tuesday last; and Thursday about noon, Colonel Massey posted out towards his western command, and Colonel Harlowe returns to-morrow towards Gloucester." Merc. Veridic. No. 10. June 14-21. "The house ordered 100*l.* to be paid to the widdow of the late Serjeant-major Backhouse (who was serjeant-major to Col. Massey) for maintenance of herself and family." Friday, Oct. 10, 1645. Perfect. Diurnall. Oct. 6-13.

[317.] "Paid unto a messenger that brought the newes of Gorryngs rowting. 2*s.* 6*d.* C. R. S. A. in anno. Massey visited Gloucester and was entertained at the mayor's, on the 28th of February ensuing. C. J. Feb. 4, 1646-7.

[318.] C. R. S. A. ann. 1645-6-7-8-9-1650-1, but no farther.

[319.] Id. 1645-6. Notices of presents made to Massey by the city, in the steward's accounts under the head "Gifts and Rewards." Temp. Nic. Webb. Arm. Major. 1643-4. "Presented to the Honourable Colonel Edward Massey, governour of this garrison, one silver and gilt bason and ewer."

Temp. Lucæ. Nourse. Arm. Major. 1644-5. "Presented to the Honourable Edward Massie, governour of this garrison, two silver flagons."

[320.] The account hitherto given of Massey has been principally confined to his connexion with Gloucester; but some farther particulars of his life may not be unacceptable to the reader.

We have been unable to ascertain any thing respecting his parents or the time of his birth. With regard to his extraction; the Veals of Symond's Hall considered him as a relation; and it might be upon this ground, that in the reign of Edward III. Sir Peter le Veal married Cicely, daughter and heir of Massey of Charfield, by which they obtained the manor of Charfield. He was probably born in London. The independents, who sneered at him when they gained the ascendancy, declared that he had been an apprentice on London bridge, and that he ran away from his master, and went over into Holland, where he entered into the army. This charge his advocates did not attempt to deny; though they retorted that it could be "no blot to his pristine gentility." In Holland, he became an engineer, and expert soldier; but returned to England before the breaking out of hostilities between the king and parliament, and is said to have held a command in one of the expeditions into Scotland, as captain of pioneers. Here he formed a friendship with Colonel William Legge, of whom mention has been made in the historical introduction previous to the siege of Gloucester. When Charles withdrew to York, and was endeavouring to raise an army, Massey went thither with an intention of engaging for the king; but, perhaps, rating his services too high with reference to the rank to which he aspired, he failed in his application. However, as he was one, who, to use his own expression upon a different occasion, had been accustomed to make the war his "living;" and, in common with many others, seems at that time to have been more anxious about rank in arms, than tender about the cause in which he might embark, he hastened to London, where soldiers by profession were most welcome, and where he presently obtained a Lieutenant Colonelcy, under the Earl of Stamford, in one of the regiments of foot newly raised for the service of the parliament. With this he marched in the army of Essex to Worcester; but does not appear to have been present at the battle of Edge-hill, because his regiment had previously been ordered to occupy Hereford, and was in that city when the battle was fought. The rest of Massey's military career from the time of his arrival in Gloucester, where he was made governor through the interest of Sir William Waller, down to his departure for London, has been amply recorded in this volume. We pass over this period therefore, and proceed to the month of June, 1645.

Having been made major-general under Fairfax, and appointed to the command of a brigade, to which was attached the whole of the artillery that had belonged to Sir William Waller, he applied himself diligently to raise recruits. One of his printed circulars is among the king's pamphlets in the British Museum.

"June 26. 1645. All gentlemen souldiers that will serve under the command of Colonel Edward Massey, commander in chiefe of the westerne association, let them forthwith repaire to the sign of the George, in King-street, Westminster, where they shall receive present entertainment."

Massey lost no time in conveying himself to the scene of action: he was in the west before the end of June. While Fairfax was marching to his aid, having won the battle of Naseby and retaken the town of Leicester; Massey's

concern was to watch Lord Goring; for which service he had no more than three thousand men: Goring's strength was reckoned at twelve thousand; but the parliamentarian was as active as his opponent was indolent; and such was now his reputation that his name was a host, and inspired confidence in all who served under him. Before Fairfax could join him, he had dispersed some of the clubmen who were strong in those parts, and had beaten a considerable detachment of royalists, from whom he took nine colours and three hundred horse. Fairfax came up; and the next day, July 10, they defeated Goring in the battle of Langport. At the storming of Bridgewater, July 21, Massey with six regiments was ordered to assault the Devonshire side of the town. In these affairs he conducted himself with his wonted bravery; but instead of accompanying Fairfax and Cromwell to the attack of Bristol, he was sent to quarter about Taunton to intercept any of Goring's forces that should be moving in this direction, a duty which he very ably performed. During the whole winter his brigade was stationed in the counties of Somerset and Devon, particularly before Barnstable to prevent the escape of the king's horse. Warham had been surprised by the royalists from Oxford, as they were going to relieve Corfe-Castle, but Colonel Cooke, with Massey's men recovered it. The celebrated Colonel (afterwards Major-general) Edmund Ludlow acted as a volunteer under him. In the mean time, Fairfax was marching to and fro, and quelling the royalists, or driving them into Cornwall. Lord Hopton laid down his arms in March, Exeter surrendered in April, and Oxford in June 1646. On the ninth of July, according to the Perfect Diurnall, Massey took his seat in the house of commons as a member of parliament; but it is not mentioned for what place he served.

When not an enemy remained in field or garrison, the parliament ordered the disbanding of Massey's brigade. This resolution was adopted by a political manœuvre in the independent party now rising into consequence under the auspices of Cromwell. It had been pretended in the month of June that the countries in which they were quartered had long complained of their disorderly conduct; and it might be very true that they were far from "doing violence to no man," or being "content with their wages," as it is probable they had not been regularly paid; and indeed their commander had been obliged sometimes to find money for them upon his own credit. These regiments, five in number, seem to have been made up of the dregs of the soldiery; they consisted entirely of horse; all the troops were complete, and contained a great many foreigners, so that the undertaking to reduce them was considered a matter of some hazard. The parliament wished to have enlisted them for Ireland; but the greater part of them refused that service. A committee of Fairfax, Massey, Ludlow, and Allen, a member of the commons, set out to disband them. Their first intention was to have done it at Malmesbury. On their way thither they were received at Cirencester with great preparations and rejoicings;* but when they came to Malmesbury they found that the country was unable to furnish provisions for the soldiers; wherefore by Massey's advice the rendezvous was ordered at the Devises. Thirty-six troops were accordingly mustered near Roundway Down, which upon a moderate calculation, according to the estimate of the times, must have amounted to upwards of two thousand men.

* The people of Cirencester were so fond of Fairfax that they made a point of having him for one of their burgesses at an election in the January following. He would have declined the honour; but they insisted upon it in spite of every opposition that could be made. Perfect Diurnall, Jan. 11-18. 1646-7.

Heath says, there were two thousand five hundred. They were paid and discharged by proclamation made by the provost marshal at the head of each regiment, October 20. Such as would not enlist for Ireland were ordered to repair to their several homes or friends according to the time limited in their passes, without loitering by the way, on pain of being apprehended as stragglers, and proceeded against according to law. More than two thousand passes were granted; some of which were made out, according to Sprigge, "for Egypt, others for Mesopotamia and Ethiopya." Heath justly exults in this admission, as a balance to that outcry which the parliament had raised or encouraged against the king for employing foreigners in his armies. The truth is, that though they clamoured against the practice in Charles, they had recourse to it themselves from the beginning. The disbanding of these men was upon the whole accomplished with much less difficulty than had been apprehended. Yet Ludlow allows that, "while many were glad of the opportunity to return home to their several callings, diverse idle and debauched persons, especially the foreigners amongst them, endeavoured to stir up the brigade to a mutiny." Three weeks after, this actually happened at the disbanding of Colonel Poyntz's (another presbyterian) brigade at York, where the commander with difficulty succeeded in suppressing it by his individual and most resolute exertions, and at the peril of his life. These facts respecting the soldiery have been more dwelt upon than the extent of this sketch may seem to allow; but they are important in the account of Massey, since his future fortunes seemed to hinge upon these occurrences. Had his soldiers and those of Colonel Poyntz continued embodied, the presbyterians might have stood their ground. Massey might not have been driven into exile: more bloodshed, indeed, might have ensued; but it is also within the range of probabilities that the king might have been saved.

In the winter of 1646-7. Massey was attendant upon his duty in parliament, where the two prevailing factions began to struggle for the mastery. Massey was a presbyterian: these were most numerous in the house; but the independents were now masters of the army. The former had discerned too late the advantage that had been gained over them by the recent disbanding: and they made an effort in their turn to dissolve the independent army or send them to Ireland. On April 2. 1647, Skippon was appointed to be general of a force to be raised for that country, and Massey was to be lieutenant-general of the horse. This project was stifled in its birth. The army at the instigation of Cromwell remonstrated; they refused to be discarded; they insisted upon their pay, and objected to go to Ireland. Waller, who in his "Vindication" has exposed all the arts and plots of the independents at this juncture, remarks that some of the officers laid it to Massey's charge that "he was a profane man, and unfit for a command, where all the congregation was holy." And then with all the warmth of a generous friendship he goes on to clear him from this imputation. (See Note 259.) "His fault was that he was not of the faction, which they called the army."

During the progress of this dispute the troops seized the person of the king, and in June marched towards London, at the same time with all the authority of sovereignty impeaching Massey and ten other leading members of the commons, whom they had most reason to dislike. The city was in great consternation, and prepared for a defence. They got together eighteen regiments of foot, some of them eighteen hundred, and two thousand strong; and would

have brought into the field four thousand cavalry of the bravest and most serviceable description. Massey, Waller, and Poyntz, attempted to organize this force, which would have far outnumbered that of the discontented army. Massey was to have been commander in chief; and Waller was to have commanded the horse. But this scheme also failed; the city made their submission, and in July the impeached members were obliged to consult their safety by retiring under colour of a pass from the speaker for six months' absence to go beyond the seas. After Massey and Poyntz had passed over into Holland, they published a declaration shewing the true grounds and reasons that induced them to depart from the city, and for awhile from the kingdom; in which they recount their services, explain their motives and principles, throw out reflexions upon the army, and profess their anxious desires for peace, for the restoration of the covenant to religion, and of the king to his just rights and authority, for the maintenance of the privileges of the parliament, and the preservation of the lawful liberties of the people. This was published August 9, 1647, and, together with the circumstance of their flight, gave immediate rise to several abusive pamphlets from both parties. The titles of some of them are as singular as the materials are curious towards affording an insight into the transactions and temper of the times.

1. "A speedy hue and cry after General Massey, Col. Poyntz, William Pryn, and many other new modelled reformadoes, &c. who are now fled into Scotland, and leavying an army against Sir Thomas Fairfax. Wherein the presbyterians are displayed, opened, anatomized, and described in their true colours, &c. Printed in the year of Jubilee. 1647. August 10." (An Independent Tract.)
2. "An outcry against the speedy hue and cry after General Massey, &c. or an apostrophe to all historicall, comickall, satyricall, and tragicall pens, not to see magnanimous Massey, the satyryzed subject of a pestilential pamphlet. London. 1647. August 18." (Presbyterian do.)
3. "Virtue and valour vindicated, or the late hue and cry sent after General Massey, Pointz, &c. retorted in the teeth of that scandalous libeller. London, August 19. 1647." (Presbyterian do.)
4. "The disconsolate Reformado, a true relation of the sudden change which hath happened between Sir Thomas Fairfax's army and Major Gen. Massey, and Col. Poyntz, Reformadoes. London. 1647. Aug. 21." (Independent do.)
5. "The arraignment and impeachment of Major Generall Massey, Sir William Waller, and others of the house of commons, aldermen of the city of London, and other presbyterians. London. 1647. Aug. 23." (Independent do.)
6. "General Massey's Bartholomew Fairings for Colonel Poyntz, or the London Reformadoes. 1647. Aug. 24." (Independent do. in rhyme.)
7. "The Reformadoes righted. Being an answer to a Paltry Piece of Poetry, styled General Massey's Bartholomew Fairings for Col. Poyntz. London, 1647. Sept. 10." (Presbyterian do. in rhyme.)

All these were published within little more than a month, and are evidences of the taste for scurrility, and the height of that party spirit which raged in London. Massey had not been long in Holland before a messenger was despatched after the eleven members who had absconded, to summon them to

return by the 16th of October ensuing, that they might answer charges then to be preferred against them. During his absence the house revived the question of paying him a debt of about a thousand pounds, which he claimed as disbursed for the service of the western association. In August it was reported that he had been several days at the court of the Queen of Bohemia in Holland; and two tracts, one published in May and the other July, 1648, announced that he had declined the offers of the Queen of England and the Prince of Wales to accept a commission in Scotland in the service of the king. Another report sent from Hamburg at this time was that he had been in Sweden, where he had been made a general in the Swedish army. He took his seat again in parliament early in September; and remained there till the 5th of December, when he voted with a majority of 140 against 104 that the king's answer was a ground for peace. Cromwell and his followers then interfered; placed a guard over the house, and excluded a great part of the members. Under these circumstances the question was resumed and the vote rescinded, and Massey with most of his party was thrown into confinement. On January 16. 1648-9, he made his escape from the tower in woman's apparel, and reached Holland once more; and there after the execution of the king accidentally meeting with Lord Loughborough at Rotterdam, as we have already related, went with him to the Hague, and threw himself at the feet of Charles II. "according to the natural modesty of that sect," says Clarendon in his satirical vein, "with as much confidence (and as a sufferer for the king his father) as if he had defended Colchester." The noble historian lived to be convinced of Massey's entire loyalty after he had returned to his allegiance, but seems never to have thoroughly liked him for his defence of Gloucester.

In the spring of 1648, when the Duke of York had made his escape into Holland, we find that Massey, Lord Willoughby of Parham, and Mr. Alexander, all presbyterians, embarked with him at Dort, and accompanied him to the Prince of Orange. Many presbyterian and royalist refugees had now sought an asylum in that country; and though they might for a time keep somewhat aloof, while certain points of jealousy and enmity subsisted between them; yet it is evident that a gradual coalition was taking place among these late enemies, but now companions in misfortune. They occasionally mixed together, and the former professing indignation at the manner in which the king had been treated, seem to have sought more intercourse with the royalists than might have existed among them had they all remained at home. Their mutual adversity soon drew them nearer. In fairness to the presbyterians it must be allowed, that, though in addition to faults on his own side, these men were the prime agents in the disasters of Charles, I, the independents under the management of Oliver Cromwell were the immediate cause of his death. A curious letter is inserted in the APPENDIX. No. XXII. (A.) from a royalist, who met Massey and some of his associates at Breda in the course of this year.

Charles II. was invited to Scotland and crowned at Scone on the first of January, 1648-9; and an army was raised of which the king himself was general. He granted a commission to the Duke of Buckingham to raise a regiment of horse. Massey was second in command of it, and had the rank of lieutenant-general. All the English that resorted thither, and there were at least eighty officers among them, were placed under him. Many reports were

circulated in London respecting him, for it was expected that he would make an irruption into England. Cromwell with his army was at Edinburgh. The Scotch troops took up a strong position about Stirling, and the foot were intrenched and huddled in Stirling Park, where they remained till after Midsummer. On the king's birth-day, May 29, there was a review and sham fight, when "Massey," says a newsbook, "was to engage with the Scots, for practice among themselves; which was done so accurately, that Massey and the English beat the Scots, and pursued them a good way; at which some Scots seem to be angry with Massey, and take it as an affront; though he did it in jest." Other letters from the English army of about the same date affirm; "Lieutenant General Massey is governor of Kirkcaldy, and commands the forces that lie on the Fife side towards the water. He hath taken great pains about new inventions of fireworks, and engines of warre, for which he hath some engineers that lead the Scots king into thought of doing such things as never were known before. He is setting some at worke to make leather guns, that so they may not be clogged with carriages, nor necessitated to an infantry to bee alwayes with the horse, for these guns are to be carried on horseback; and so that one man may fire two guns. He is also employing men to make strange kinds of fire-workes for the foot to be used on the tops of their pikes, they are to have swans' feathers and wildfire, and new-found engines devised for the spoiling of our horse in case we come to charge upon them. He is in very high esteem among them, and would fain be upon English ground." They well knew that he must always be upon the alert; and Cromwell, who never wanted means of good intelligence, narrowly watched his motions. Even at this time a suspicion was afloat that he would attempt to penetrate to Gloucester, where he was to be joined by some Cavaliers. At length Cromwell, recovered from a fit of sickness that had long detained him at Edinburgh, began once more to take the field. He had previously, according to his custom, kept the sixteenth of June as a day of humiliation and seeking of God for a blessing upon his arms, in which many of his officers in turns offered up extemporaneous prayers, and the general himself preached a sermon from the forty-first chapter of Isaiah, from verse 8 to 16 inclusive. At Torwood near Linlithgow, there was some skirmishing between advanced parties, where a trooper named Cross, of Massey's regiment, was wounded and taken prisoner. Upon this Massey despatched one of his prisoners with a message to Cromwell, at his head quarters, sending with him his own trooper's horse to bring him back, and proposing an exchange. In his letter, if we may credit the reporters, he assumed a lofty tone: "the said Cross was taken in the service of his majesty of Great Britain, my king and master:" and in conclusion alluding to the exchange, he added, "This, Sir, is expected by him that is resolved to be just to all men; and that dares not dissemble by writing himself to be your servant, Edward Massie." The general took no notice of this language of defiance: finding upon enquiry that Cross had formerly been in the service of Charles I. he refused to release him; but he so far attended to the application as to send another in his stead. Much manœuvring took place. The Scots could not be brought to a general action; neither could they be forced in their position. On the other hand the English were distressed for provisions. Cromwell himself confessed that he was gone as far as he could in counsel and action. "We did say to one another, we knew not what to do." However, he pushed on to Glasgow, and ate up every thing there, while Massey scoured over the

ground that he had quitted, and ranged towards Edinburgh. Fife, on the opposite side of the Firth of Forth, was a county from which the king drew his supplies: a considerable body of Oliverians under Lambert and Overton crossed the water and landed at the North Ferry. The king detached Major General Sir John Brown to oppose them; and near Dumfermline the first disaster befel the royal army. Brown was defeated and taken, with the loss as was said of two thousand slain, and sixteen hundred prisoners. In this affair Lambert was shot through his armour with a brace of bullets, which lodged between his coat and arms. Some of the Highlanders used bows and arrows. Cromwell in the mean while faced the gross of Charles's army in the park at Stirling, and made fruitless attempts to draw them out. At last he resolved to pass himself over into Fife with the remainder of his force. Massey was at this time keeping a bridge five miles to the eastward of Stirling, with a brigade of horse. While the enemy were thus advancing upon his rear, and had taken Saint Johnston's, and threatened Stirling, the king adopted the resolution of marching into England. Those who have been of opinion that Cromwell was surprised by this measure may have received a wrong impression. Various contemporary letters from his army manifest a general expectation that Charles would move towards the borders. Be this as it may, he entirely got the start of the English. Good generalship had been exercised on both sides. The Scots had excellent officers trained abroad in the best schools of war. "Their marches were in such traverses," says an eye witness, "that we knew not what to conjecture;" and here in celerity they certainly outwitted their adversaries; neither were any of them overtaken by the corps that were ordered to pursue or harass them till they had crossed the county of Lancaster.

The scheme of passing the borders, and, still more, of pushing so far to the south carried with it an air of mere desperation. So, indeed, the ruling party in England studiously represented it, who spared no pains to hold up all the efforts of young Tarquin, as they called the king, to public ridicule. Viewed in another light, it appears a determination manly and worthy of the claimant of a crown at stake, to throw himself upon the loyalty of his people and into the heart of his dominions; where his men, he perhaps thought, must fight; and where he hoped, but as the event proved, vainly hoped, that thousands of his subjects would be prepared to join him. And considering the circumstances and necessity of his case, there was more of plan in it than may be supposed; and that plan clearly turned much upon Massey's presence with the army. The Oliverians were not in such force upon the western as in the eastern side of the country. The route of the king would lie at no great distance from the confines of Wales, inhabited by an ever-loyal race: Worcester was a city famed for its attachment to his late father; and could he reach that point, the interest and talent, and local knowledge of Massey, might render him essential service with respect to Gloucester. If it be asked why the Scots did not at once penetrate to Gloucester, the answer will be, that this fortified city still contained a strong garrison under the governor, Sir William Constable, and care had been taken to reinforce it and to bring up troops in that quarter. There were other reasons why they were glad to halt upon their arrival at Worcester; but their enemies entertained an apprehension that they intended to turn eastward, and march to London.

Massey was the leading man upon the road. As soon as they passed the borders it was determined that he should be at least a day in advance of

the main body to give notice of the king's approach; he was personally acquainted with most of the principal presbyterians of Lancashire, and was to assemble the gentry of that and other counties through which they passed to be ready to attend upon his majesty; he was also to unite himself to the Earl of Derby, who had hastily levied a party of his friends and retainers, and had just landed from the Isle of Man, where he had been living in retirement upon his own estates since the close of the late war.

But here an unfortunate circumstance occurred, which we shall relate in Clarendon's own words. "It was fatal at that time to all Scottish armies, to have always in them a committee of ministers, who ruined all; and though there had been now all the care taken that could be, to choose such men for that service as had the reputation of being the most sober and moderate of that whole body, and who had shewed more affection, and advanced the king's service more than the rest; yet this moderate people no sooner heard that Massey was sent before to call upon their friends, and observed that, from the entrance into England, those about the king seemed to have less regard for the covenant than formerly, but they sent an express to him, without communicating it in the least degree with the king, with letters, and a declaration, wherein they required him to 'publish that declaration, which signified the king's, and the whole army's zeal for the covenant, and their resolution to prosecute the true intent of it; and forbid him to receive or entertain any soldiers in his troops, but those who would subscribe that obligation.' The king had soon notice of this, and lost no time in sending to Massey 'not to publish any such declaration, and to behave himself with equal civility to all men who were forward to serve his majesty.' But before this inhibition was received, the matter had taken air in all places, and was spread over the kingdom; all men fled from their houses, or concealed themselves, who wished the king very well; and besides, his motion was so quick, that none of them could repair to him."

This letter of Charles will be found in APPENDIX, No. XXII. (B). It was wrung with difficulty from the hands of the messenger made prisoner and mortally wounded at Tarporley by a party under the command of Colonel Duckenfield, governor of Chester. He immediately sent it to Lambert, who forwarded it to the council of state, and they took care to give it all the publicity in their power.

The first skirmish upon English ground took place at Warrington bridge, where Lambert and Harrison made a shew of opposing their passage, but retired before them. The king with his guards, the duke of Buckingham and Massey, were present. The Scots, conscious of having eluded the main army, cried out as they charged the rear with great impetuosity, "O you rogues, we will be with you before Cromwell comes up." Cromwell was in fact three days march behind them: but four thousand of his foot were marching in their shirts, their doublets and arms being carried for expedition's sake by the country horse, and they were advancing at the rate of twenty miles a day.

Charles soon found that his expectations of an extensive rising in his favour were not likely to be realised. Colonel Mackworth shut the gates of Shrewsbury upon them. The Earl of Derby, who had been left in Lancashire to raise and organise an auxiliary force, was totally defeated by Colonel Lilburn at Wigan in that county. The Scots army, worn down by fatigue and considerably diminished by desertion, reached Worcester on the 2^d of August, where

the king was proclaimed with great demonstrations of joy on the following day.

As it was soon perceived that the enemy were coming up in great force in the East and South, it was determined to secure the bridges upon the Team and Severn, that they might not have an opportunity of surrounding Worcester. Massey, who knew every step by land and the rivers, was accordingly sent forward to Upton to keep the important pass there. He had with him between four and five hundred horse and dragoons. One of the arches of the bridge had been broken down; but a plank had been laid over it for the accommodation of passengers. On Thursday, August 28, Lambert marched from Evesham to Upton, and reconnoitred the pass. The particulars of his making himself master of it are variously related. One account is, that Massey had placed no sentinel there, and was in his quarters at about a mile distant; which, considering his customary diligence, is not at all probable. Another states that Lambert found but a slender guard. Eighteen dragoons got upon the bridge before Massey took the alarm, and fired upon his party in the town, while some of the horse swam or forded the Severn. During the time that Massey was employed in charging the latter and driving them back over the river, Lambert ordered the dragoons to cross the plank and take possession of the church, which stands upon a little eminence on the right of the entrance into the town. When Massey returned into Upton he made an unsuccessful attempt to dislodge them from the church. His men drew up, and fired their pistols and thrust their swords in at the windows; but Lambert's horse again came up, and so superior a force was at hand, that they found it prudent to withdraw. Three or four men, and twice as many horses were slain. Massey behaved as he had ever done; but for the present he had changed his fortune with his cause. A parliamentary narrative admits that he "brought up their rear very stoutly. When they turned about, at "least forty carbines were shot at him within half pistol shot." He was struck upon many parts of his armour, and wounded through the left hand; some said in the head, the right arm and thigh. His horse fell under him in the street; but he contrived to ride off upon one with which a Highlander had supplied him. Lambert, unacquainted with the real strength of his brigade, declined pursuing him, and he brought off his men to Worcester; however, that his hurts were not trifling may be inferred from the circumstance of his being observed to enter that city looking very pale, and supported in his saddle by a soldier on each side of him. And now at least he entertained a bad opinion of the undertaking, if it may be believed, that his servant, who fell into the hands of the enemy, affirmed he heard his master say, he wished the king safe in some foreign part. Thus disabled from rendering any assistance when his counsel and exertions were most needed, he remained confined to his bed till the third of September in which Cromwell was again victorious. The battle of Worcester was scarcely ended when the evening closed in; and his only security remained in flight, though he could not be in a condition to undertake it. Yet he joined in the crowd that attended the king when he made his escape, while the soldiers of Cromwell were entering by Sidbury gate, slaughtering the Scots in the streets, and pillaging the city. On the opposite side, at Saint Martin's gate, there rushed forth a mixed multitude of horsemen, hardly any of them knowing whither they could retire for safety; they had only a confused notion of marching for Scotland, whither few of them actually returned. From these

the king separated himself as soon as it became dark. As for Massey he found himself unable to keep up with them for more than six miles. It was probably somewhere about Droitwich that he took leave of his majesty; upon which Charles is reported to have said to him with tears, "Farewell, my dear and faithful friend, the Lord bless and preserve us both." Massey seems soon to have left the northern direction which so many of the fugitives took, and to have turned his course more to the east; and thus he must have entered into a tract much less beset by his enemies. The whole country in the neighbourhood of the Birmingham and Kidderminster roads was soon roused, and the military and peasants were hunting down the unfortunate Scottish stragglers and catching their horses. Massey had one companion, Major Wood, who had formerly served the parliament under Sir William Waller. Their route by cross roads from the place just mentioned to the quarter whither they manifestly resolved to direct their flight, would probably lie through Alcester and Stratford to Coventry and Nun Eaton, by which they would reach the road leading from Ashby de la Zouch to Leicester. On that road stands the village of Groby, and hard by was Broadgate (or Bradgate) Castle, now in ruins, the seat of the Earl of Stamford, his former patron. Arrived in this neighbourhood, and wearied with riding so far in his disabled condition, and tormented with the pain and fever of his wounds he addressed a letter (see APPENDIX. No. XXII. (C))—to the countess, then at Broadgate, appealing to her humanity and protection, that she would prevail upon her son, Lord Gray of Groby, to receive him as a prisoner. She complied with this request; and the place of his retreat was therefore quickly known. For this nobleman, who was in arms against the king, and had been with Lambert at Upton-bridge, and afterwards in that part of the battle which took place to the westward of Worcester, gave immediate information of the affair. An entry in the Commons' Journals shews that on Sept. 10, a letter was read in the house "from Thomas, Lord Gray, from Broadgate near Leicester, of the 7th of Sept. 1651, with the examination of Edward Massie therein inclosed, as well as a letter from the said Edward Massie to the Countess of Stamford;" and it was referred to the council of state to consider how he and other prisoners might be brought to trial.

While at Groby he was recovering from his wounds under the charge of a party of horse, a singular pamphlet appeared in London describing his situation, and detailing the circumstances of his very penitent death at Leicester. The reader of this might almost be tempted to suspect that it was an invention of some of his ill-judging well-wishers, anxious to put a stop to a farther enquiry; though it is difficult to understand the good that could be derived from such a barefaced falsehood. Massey wanted not friends, who were aware of his danger in case of recovery, and eager to concert the means of his deliverance from it. By the end of the month he was able to remove, and was taken under an escort to Warwick castle. One who professes to have seen him at this time speaks of his unabated firmness, when he knew that he had nothing to expect but death; since the council of state had determined that he was a fit person to be brought to trial and made an example of justice. His brother, Captain Hugh Massey, an accomplice in the plot for which Love, a presbyterian minister, had been executed, having been arraigned for high treason about this time, and pleading guilty, was pardoned and set at liberty. In November, Massey was brought from Warwick to London. On the road

while his guard were employed in taking refreshment he set spurs to his horse, and attempted to escape into the city; but was brought back, and lodged in the Tower. Lieutenant General Middleton, another prisoner in the same cause, was lodged there, with many others taken after the battle of Worcester. They were kept in confinement several months, and no doubt would have been brought to trial at a time convenient for such an exhibition of severity; but when they had received intimation from their friends, the presbyterians, that their fate was at hand, Middleton first escaping by the contrivance of that party, and Massey shortly after, both of them were safely transported to France. This incident was blazoned to the public by "A new Hue and Cry" after Major General Massey, and some others, who by the help of Peter's "keys escaped from the Tower of London, August the 30th, and is thought to "be fled to Holland."—

"O yes, O yes, &c.

"Can any tell any tale or tidings of a presbyterian colonel, with brown hair, a middle stature, sanguine complexion; having certain marks about him that he lately received at Worcester. He is supposed to have crept up the chimney, and so gone down by a rope, the prison door being fast locked with a padlock in the morning when he was first missing, being Thursday, August 30. Others suppose he escaped through the guard in women's apparel, as once before he made his escape at St. James's. If any man, woman, or child, can tell any tale or tidings of any such like person, let them now speak, or for ever hereafter hold their tongues." &c.

In this year, 1652, he presented a declaration to the states of Holland, shewing the great interest of the United Provinces, in the restoration of the king. The Dutch were then at war with England and hotly contending for the sovereignty of the seas.

In the summer of 1653, he was in an ill state of health: this we learn from a letter of one of his friends, the gallant Colonel Wogan, of whose romantic adventure in marching through all England with a few cavaliers to join Middleton in Scotland, so extraordinary an account is given by Clarendon. Wogan attributes Massey's indisposition to his anxiety for the king, and kindly offers him consolation. Though this young officer was better able to wield a sword than a pen, and for a gentleman had as little talent for orthography as can well be imagined, yet the letter is interesting. Thurloe has preserved it, no doubt, as a curiosity; and as such it is inserted in the APPENDIX. No. XXII. (D.) Time passed heavily with men who having been habituated to the excitement of war were now doomed to inactivity; and their means of existence, as well as those of their master, must have been scanty and precarious. Massey could have little else to support him at this juncture than that which the Greek tragedian styles the maintenance of exiles,—hope.

But, though he suffered under this depression of his circumstances, the energy of his character was less quenched than overcast. If any one was wanted to venture into the heart of a country, where himself and his friends were proscribed, Massey was the person to undertake the arduous task. Thus in the year 1654, when the cavaliers in various parts of England and Wales concerted a general rising, for which Penruddock and Grove, and others, in Wiltshire, suffered death, he had penetrated into the county of Gloucester in disguise, and very narrowly escaped from the hands of his pursuers. (APPENDIX. No. XXII. (E.)

In 1655 his finances seem to have been reduced to a very low ebb, and as, from his youth up, he had never earned bread but at the point of his sword, he turned to his only resource; and, without compromising his allegiance, endeavoured to obtain employment under a foreign prince. Denmark or Sweden, he had reason to think, were countries in which a soldier of fortune might find honourable entertainment. In the Autumn he went to Hamburgh, where the English merchants received him with marked hospitality and attention; and thence to Elsinour and Copenhagen. But as he could meet with no encouragement beyond a courtly reception, though backed by letters of recommendation from Charles II. he returned with a determination, subject to his sovereign's permission, to seek an active service in some other quarter. All this is satisfactorily shewn in a respectful letter addressed by him to the king, about this time resident at Cologne. APPENDIX. No. XXII. (F). During these wanderings in quest of the means of subsistence, Cromwell's spies at Hamburgh and Cologne closely observed and frequently transmitted reports of his movements to their employer; who, in the secret articles drawn up between him and the king of France for the exclusion for the royal family of England and their attendants from his dominions, among the names of nineteen individuals so proscribed, closes the list with that of Major General Massey.

Upon the peace between England and France, and the rupture of these powers with Spain, Charles II. removed his court to Bruges in Flanders, where, under the protection of the Spaniards in 1656, he embodied five regiments of English, Scotch and Irish, collected from various quarters, with which he purposed to take advantage of any opportunity that might present itself. Massey, as may be supposed, was not without his lot in this armament; and in the course of the Autumn was again in England, of which Cromwell was aware. (See p. cxxix.) But the time was far from being ripe for the recovery of the crown. The king could not land with so small a force; neither had he money to support them: they were, therefore, afterwards attached to the Spanish troops, who, in 1657 and 1658 acted against the French and Cromwell's auxiliaries. Thus Englishmen were once more brought to oppose each other, and that upon foreign ground; but the royalists were here again eclipsed by their countrymen, under the command of Lockhart, Reynolds and Morgan, and in several rough encounters Cromwell's "red coats" carried all before them.

Charles II. was compelled to wait till the death of the Protector before any thing like a favourable opening could be obtained. Oliver Cromwell died September 3, 1658, and was succeeded by his eldest son Richard; and then the royalists at home and abroad began to stir with increasing hopes. Massey was one of the first whom the king employed to negotiate with his friends; and he placed entire confidence in him. Many agents were at work throughout England. Mr. Mordaunt, a younger brother of the Earl of Peterborough, the celebrated Captain Titus, and Mr. How, a gentleman of considerable property and influence in Gloucestershire, were indefatigable in organising a conspiracy. They began about the month of March, 1658-9. Presbyterians and royalists united in the undertaking. Lord Willoughby, Sir William Waller, Sir George Booth, and Sir Horatio Townsend, were engaged in it. In July, 1659, all matters seemed ready for a general rising, and Charles had proceeded to Saint Omer, that he might be ready to come over upon the shortest warning. Massey had been much in the county of Gloucester, and had ascertained the general disposition of the people. He found the forest of Dean well affected, and

Bristol and Gloucester eager to put down the anarchical government that oppressed them. By his personal reputation, and with the assistance of Lord Herbert, Colonel Barrow, Captain Glaynford, and many of the king's friends, he calculated upon bringing together, miners and others, from the forest and the clothing country, above three thousand men. But an unforeseen circumstance completely put a check to this design just as it was upon the eve of being carried into execution.

Sir Richard Willis had been an officer in the late king's army, who had served with great reputation for loyalty and courage till towards the close of hostilities, when in the day of adversity he deserted his master under circumstances that redounded little to his honour. This person had been won over by Oliver Cromwell, and had acted regularly as a spy upon the royalists; in which capacity he still continued under the change of government, if government it could be called that followed upon Richard Cromwell's abdication, when the remnant of the long parliament took the reins of authority into their hands. Willis made the discovery of their plot from the correspondence that he kept up with many of his former party who had no suspicion of his proceedings: and thus information of Massey's design was despatched to Gloucester. There was in the city at that time a troop of regular horse, and a militia-troop, commanded by officers named Dale and Crofts, who, with the help of the Purys, father and son, raised three hundred foot upon the spur of the occasion; and sent out some horse to apprehend Lord Herbert, Massey, Barrow and Glaynford. They took Lord Herbert and brought him to Gloucester; Barrow and Glaynford defended themselves in Barrow's house, and were left at liberty upon their parole to render themselves at Gloucester. Massey was more fortunate. In the beginning of the night just as he was setting out for Gloucester, the horse surrounded a small house where he was secreted near Symond's hall, and arrested himself and his servant. He was bound and placed upon a horse, and a stout trooper sat behind him; two rode on either side of him, and the remainder in his front and rear. In this posture they were hurrying him off to a place where they might secure him; but it is said they were intoxicated before they left the house. The night was very dark and tempestuous, and they had to pass down Nympsfield hill; where Massey's horse stumbled and fell headlong with his double burden; and the trooper quitting his grasp, Massey escaped into the woods which lined the road. His servant and Lord Herbert were the only persons who were brought into the city; but the design was entirely at an end. The stormy weather, attended with unusually cold rain and hail, continued the whole of the next day, and prevailed over all England; it was so excessively severe, that it prevented the royalists from assembling, as they intended, in various counties. Most of them, after ineffectually attempting to rendezvous, returned to their homes; and the few who were collected under Sir George Booth and Sir Thomas Middleton, in Cheshire, were defeated and dispersed.

But in the confusion that prevailed while the parliament and army were struggling for pre-eminence, it was not long before a fairer prospect presented itself to the friends of the restoration. In January, 1659-60, Charles II. wrote to Massey (See APPENDIX. No. XXII. (G.) giving him ample powers to renew his attempt upon Gloucester, of which he commissioned him to be governor if he could get possession. But matters were about to be settled in a very different manner. Monck had already crossed the Tweed, and was marching towards London. Massey could apparently do nothing in those parts to which

the king had at first commanded his attention; for the refractory regiments lately quartered in and about the metropolis were removed into the country by Monck's contrivance, previous to his arrival there with his army; and many of the troops were sent to Hereford, Worcester and Gloucester. But indeed London was now the principal field of action; where the king's party were indefatigable in their exertions, and a thousand complicated wheels of intrigue were set in motion. Massey had frequent conferences with Monck, and sent many despatches to Sir Edward Hyde, in which he gave him an account of the state of their proceedings. The last volume of Thurloe's State Papers contains several of these letters detailing with considerable vivacity and acuteness the situation of parties, and shewing how busily he was then engaged. They are written chiefly in cypher; some of them being expressed in the third person, and signed THOMAS. In one he declares his resolution to go to Gloucester and other parts to get himself and Titus, if possible, into the parliament, that they may "be sent to the Tower for talking." Thither he went accordingly at the latter end of March; and a letter from Thurloe to Downing, the English ambassador at the Hague, dated April 6th, 1660, acquaints us with the result of this journey. "There was like to have been a great stirr at Gloucester. Massey went down thither to stand for a burgesse. Before the election some of the soldiers by order of the general seized him. Upon this grew a great tumult, the people endeavouring to rescue him. In this scuffle many were wounded on both sides. The soldiers at last taking Massey's paroll, the matter was appeased, and Massey is sent for to appear before the councill." This was the council of state, that upon the dissolution of the Rump parliament had assumed the administration of the government and issued several proclamations for preservation of the public peace; and the election then carrying on was for that parliament which restored the king in the May following, and in which Massey took his seat as one of the members for the city of Gloucester. He was knighted by the king at Canterbury, two or three days after his arrival from France. The house of commons, among their earliest proceedings upon the restoration, ordered on May 16, that he should be paid with interest the money that he had disbursed for the service of the western association, which amounted to a thousand pounds. Evelyn relates in his memoirs that the king appointed him in September to be governor of Jamaica. On December 19, in consequence of a petition that he presented to the commons, they resolved that in consideration of his "eminent and faithful services performed *as well to his late Majesty*, as to the king's majesty that now is, and of the great debt owing to him and his charges abroad during his expulsion from the kingdom for his faithfulness to his trust," he should be paid the sum of three thousand pounds. This parliament was dissolved about ten days after. At the next election he was returned as member for Gloucester, and he is occasionally mentioned among committees in the journals till the latter end of 1662. According to the list of representatives given in Fosbrooke's History of Gloucester, he continued in that situation till 31. Car. II. 1678. But here, no particulars of the latter part of his life having been met with in our researches, we lose sight of him entirely; and the period, place, and circumstances of his death, like those of his birth, are altogether unknown.

Among the varieties of his eventful career, nothing is more remarkable than his multiplied escapes from personal danger. Clarendon has spoken of Lord Digby, as highly singular in this respect; and it may be believed that most of the principal actors in these troublous times had many a tale of

this kind to tell in retirement ; it is to be regretted that so few of them have been handed down in narratives or memoirs of the age ; but it may be doubted whether in the case of any individual they would have been found in number and variety to have surpassed those of Major General Massey.

His character is better illustrated by the contents of this volume, than by any summary of it that could be here subjoined. His stature and general appearance are described in the hue and cry inserted in this memoir ; and for the lineaments of his features the reader is referred to the annexed portrait. There is a painting of him by Coker, in the possession of Mrs. Massey at Dee Bank, Chester. It is due to the obliging enquiries of her son, William Massey, Esq. of Codrington in the same county, to mention that, in consequence of an application for the editor, he obtained information of Massey having been sometime governor of Limerick ; but no farther traces of this fact have been found.

It has not been ascertained whether he was ever married or had issue. Very many years ago, the writer was acquainted with a family in London, who asserted that they were descended from him, or from one of his brothers, and bore his name.

[321.] Preached Jan. 30. 1662-3.

[322.] He was killed at Taunton. Sprigge. 328.

[323.] C. J. June 18. C. R. S. A. Temp. Lucæ Nourse. Ar. Major. " Ten barrels of beer sent to Collonell Morgan our new governor."

[324.] Sprigge. 54.

[325.] Parl. Hist. XIII. 516. 517. C. J. June 18.

[326.] Sprigge. 64.

[327.] When Fiennes was governor, he found that 1800 men were nothing for the manning of the works, which required twice as many. Relation made in the house of commons by Col. Nath. Fiennes. p. 6. Rupert says, in his vindication, that it was the opinion of all his officers that Bristol was not tenable against a vigorous assault.

[328.] This disease had long prevailed in England, and added grievously to the miseries of the time. The prince had retired from Bristol on account of it. The city of Gloucester kept ward at the west and south gates, " to keepe out Deane's people," and " Thornbury people," and a messenger was sent to Michel Dean to enquire about the plague there. C. R. S. A. 1645. 1646.

[329.] Clarendon. II. 693.

[330.] Sprigge. 119. 120. The vindication of Nathaniel Fiennes in the *Anglia Rediviva* appears too laboured to proceed from an impartial hand. Walker in his *History of Independency*, and Wood assert that Nathaniel Fiennes was the chief compiler of that book. Sprigge married the widow of James Lord Say, Nathaniel's elder brother. *Athens Oxon.* II. 761.

[331.] Letter to Sir Edward Nicholas. Evelyn. *Memoirs.* II. 107. His letter to Prince Rupert may be seen in Clarendon. II. 694. He wrote after-

wards to Prince Maurice, explaining the reason of his having acted thus towards Rupert. The original letter is among the Harleian MSS. 6988. p. 116. A copy of it is inserted in the APPENDIX No. I. (C.)

[332.] Clarendon. ut supra.

[333.] C. R. S. A. in anno. "Sweet meates delivered at the Tolsey, "when the Earl of Leven marched with his army through the city. III dozen "cakes."

[334.] The city paid for his funeral peal. "The college bells rung at the "funeral of a Scotch knight that was a major slayne at Hereford bridge, "being at that time as their army marched through our city," 0. 10. 0

He was buried in the Lady's Chapel, where on the north wall was formerly a monument to his memory with this inscription :

"Laurentii Craffordii, Gen. Maj. Scoto Brit quod mortale fuit immortalita
"ten hic expectat. Filius fuit Hugonis Craffordii Jordanhilli, (ex nobili
"familia Kilbernia) nascendi ordine sextus : a prima pubertate causam palati-
"natam amplexus annos XI. Gustavo et Xtianæ regibus in Germania mi-
"litavit Caroli Ludovici Elect. palat. auspiciis, turmis aliquot equi protri-
"bunus triennio imperavit anno 1641, adversus rebelles Hyberniae missus
"biennio Tribunus res magnas gessit pari fortitudine et fide commendatus.
"Anno 643, a Parliamenti Anglici ordinibus evocatus primum in Comitibus
"Mancestræ, deinde in Scotorum exercitu legatus 2us seu Generalis
"Major, biennio fere, rebus maximis cum summa fide et virtute gestis,
"gloriam meritis immortalem. 17. Aug. 1645, dum Herefordiam acrius op-
"pugnat, plumbea trajectus occubuit bonis nimirum desideratus. ætat. ann. 34.
"Natus est in arce paterna Jordanhilla prope Glascuum in Scotia. Nov. Cal.
"1611."

"Quos tibi maturos mors invidisset honores,

"Cui titulos tantos prima juvenia dedit !

"Pelides sic ante diem, sic occidit Hector ;

"Quam libet ignavi sæcula lenta trahant.

"To vindicate rights human and divine

"The crown of Sweden, and Palsgrave of the Rhine ;

"And both the British senates having serv'd,

"With honour gain'd, and faithfulness preserv'd,

"The publick interest pleading with his sword,

"He died before the walls of Hereford."

Fosbrooke, p. 271. from Le Neve.

[335.] Perf. Diurn. Sept. 1—8. Perf. Passages. Sept. 3—10. Diary. Sept. 11—
18. On his march from Oxford he passed one night at the old inn of the White
Hart, at Morton in the Marsh, Saturday Aug. 30. 1645. Iter. Carolin. He
and his little army endured much hardship at this time. "The king in-
"tended to have marched with three thousand foot to the relief of Bristol,
"and to have passed them over the Severn about Berkeley Castle. His horse,
"to the amount of three thousand were to have forded the Severn, not far
"from Gloucester, and to have joined the foot. Goring was to have brought
"up his army from the west to the Somersetshire side of Bristol, and they
"were to have attacked the quarters of Fairfax on every side. But the

"unexpected surrender of Bristol marred the whole scheme." Clarendon ut supra.

[336.] Sir Charles Lucas was one of the best officers of cavalry in his majesty's service. From the first skirmish at Powick, in which he was wounded, to the last siege, viz. that of Colchester, he was engaged in the whole of the war. At the latter place he made good the resolution he had taken at Berkeley; for the royalists held out to the last extremity; and did not surrender till they had eaten up most of their horses. Aug. 23. 1648. Lucas and his brave companion Sir George Lisle were shot within a few hours after by the sentence of a council of war. Fairfax never cleared himself from the odium of this act. Heath. 91. 180.

[337.] Sprigge. 125. When this occurred, the king, with the shattered remains of his horse, was at Bridgnorth; from that place he went to Newark, where many of his officers mutinied; his majesty then withdrew to Oxford. Clarendon. II. 714. et seq.

[338.] Chepstow and Hartlebury Castles surrendered to Morgan. Heath. 91. Nash. Hist. of Worcestershire. I. 508. and he assisted at the sieges of Worcester and Ragland Castle. He had the command at the leaguer before Ragland till Fairfax came up, and he was often personally engaged with the sallying parties. Sprigge. 291. When he summoned Chepstow Castle, he told the governor that himself and his men must expect Stinchcombe quarter if they refused to yield. This is supposed to have been an allusion to some severity exercised upon the soldiers of the parliament by Prince Rupert, at Stinchcombe in Gloucestershire. Willett. Stranger in Monmouthshire. 296.

[339.] Clarendon. II. 753.

[340.] The despatches of Birch and Brereton are in Parl. Hist. XIV. 297.

[341.] Some of them were brought into the old receptacle for prisoners, Saint Mary de Lode, then in a state of dilapidation.

"Laid forth by order to mend St. Mary's Church, to mend the bars of the window to keep those cavileers safe that was taken at Stow."

1 10 0
C. R. S. A. in anno.

[342.] Tract printed in Parl. Hist. ut supra. "During his confinement he was heard to say, that now they had no hope to prevail but by our divisions." Ludlow. I. 172. The words of Lord Astley in the text have often been quoted without doing them justice. They lose much of their force and all their point unless given with the accompanying circumstances.

[343.] Clarendon. II. 753.

[344.] Life of Philip Henry, by Matthew Henry. Ellis. Original Letters. III. 323. note.

[345.] Saints' Everlasting Rest. pt. I. 139. et seq. II. 258. 259.

AN
HISTORICALL RELATION
OF THE
MILITARY GOVERNMENT
OF
GLOUCESTER:
FROM
THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVILL WARRE
BETWEENE
KING AND PARLIAMENT
TO THE
REMOVALL OF COLONELL MASSIE FROM THAT GOVERNMENT
TO
THE COMMAND OF THE WESTERNE FORCES.

BY JOHN CORBET
PREACHER OF GOD'S WORD.

Published by Authority.

LONDON,

PRINTED BY M. B. FOR ROBERT BOSTOCK AT THE KING'S
HEAD IN PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

1645.

**T. WHITE AND CO. PRINTERS,
BEAR ALLEY.**

TO THE
RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,
THE
MAYOR, ALDERMEN, AND COMMON COUNCELL,
WITH
THE BURGESSES OF THE CITY OF GLOUCESTER.

GENTLEMEN,
SILENT and calme times, and an equall stream of secular affairs are more acceptable to men of the present age, because they are times of injoyment; whereas the greater changes and confusions of the world do more delight posterity, or such as survive the trouble of those changes. For it is a pleasure to behold at such a distance the risings and falls of nations and their governments, as to see the raging sea from the secure land. And it doth not seldome come to passe that an universall concussion, and the shaking of the pillars of the earth, doth cast it into better frame and settle it on a firme basis: so that the men of the former age doe labour, and those of the later enter into their labours. Even so, it is the calamity of

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

these dayes to be engaged in such a warre and the wofull attendants thereof; yet their felicity to be engaged for the highest interests in this life, which will exalt them, whatsoever the successe be; and if prosperous, will make the faithfull in the land a perpetuall excellency and the joy of many generations. The action of these times transcends the barons' warres, and those tedious discordes betwene the Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, in as much as it is undertaken upon higher principles, and carried on to a nobler end, and effects more universall. And in this you have acted not the least part for a particular government to your owne safety and honour, and by a generall acknowledgement not a little to the preservation of the whole kingdome. Wherefore out of abundant respect to my deare native place, having collected some memorials of its fidelity and industry, I humbly present them to your view, who were witnesses of, and bore a part in those performances. I remember my own thoughts when we were in the height of danger, and ready to fall into the depth of misery, that I did seeme to refresh myselfe in the concept of the future joyous remembrance thereof, when we should outlive those extremities. And you also must needs be abundantly satisfied in reminding those manifold hazards and exegencies which you, by patience and perseverance, have in good measure overcome. For which cause this historicall relation, though it tenders itselfe to the review of all serious men, yet unto yours chiefly, that your joy might be yet more full. Neither ought we to be so injurious to Divine Providence, as to bury or keep secret the influence and working thereof upon the endeavours of a willing people.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

Hitherto you have runne well, nothing remaines but perseverance, that the concluding part may be blessed and honourable. Let your City ever flourish and prosper under the protection of the Highest.

Gentlemen,

Your humbly devoted Servant,

JOHN CORBET.

LEGES Historiæ civilis aperte satis innuit Franciscus Verulamius notando plurima quæ eam circumstant vitia. Dum plerique narrationes quasdam inopes et plebeias conscribant; alii particulares relationes, et Commentariolos opera Festinata, et textu inæquali consariant; alii capita tantum rerum gestarum percurrant; alii contrà minima quæque et ad summas actionum nihil facientia persequantur: nonnulli, nimîa erga ingenia propria indulgentia plurima audacter confingant: ast alii non tam ingeniorum suorum, quam affectuum imaginem rebus imprimant et addant, partium suarum memores, rerum parum fideles testes; quidam politica in quibus sibi complacent, ubique inculcent, et diverticula ad ostentationem quærendo narrationem rerum nimis leviter interrumpant: alii in orationum et concionum aut etiam actorum ipsorum prolixitate parum cum iudicio nimii sunt.

Hæc omnia cautè vitantur in historia legitima et numeris suis absoluta.

De Augment: Scient. l. 2. c. 5.

AN
HISTORICALL RELATION
OF
THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF GLOUCESTER.

AMIDST the variety of action in the present age, the course of this military government was conceived not unworthy to be knowne unto more than them that acted, or beheld at a nearer distance; only the care of a true and meete representation held his thoughts, who hath now brought it to the publick light, and hazarded the censure of these knowing times. If I have fallen below the story, I shall neither beg acceptance nor crave pardon for a deliberate error; neverthelesse to give an accompt of the designe is no more than that due which all may expect and challenge: only the princes of learning's empire are authentick in the very name, and require an uncontrolled passe without a preface to usher them: but whosoever owes respect and duty to the world: his observance will plead for the necessity of a reall introduction.

The relation therefore brings to remembrance the affaires of a particular command, which as yet hath not been the meanest part of the present warfare, the event whereof all Christendome may expect with admiration and horreur; it is one branch of the history of these times, which happily may be viewed in severall parcells

better than in one entire body: for such a chronicle, if it shall duely expresse the rise and progresse of things, must needs be perplexed with multiplicity of interwoven discourses, when three kingdomes are engaged, and no part in either of them stand free as spectators only of the common calamity; that the worke must either swell into a bulke misshapen and burdensome, or lye too narrow to comprize the severall parts in their just and perfect measures; but many single narrations doe more exactly delineate, give the truest colours, and put upon things the most unsuspected visage. Generall histories doe seldome approach the fountaine of action, and their glosse, though beautifull, yet more dull, cannot hold forth that native grace and lustre. Whereas there appeare in particular branches those lively sparklings and more secret motions of life and heate, which strike upon the fancy and intellect that can behold and reach them; besides they that gather up so many divided plots (as now acted) into one modell, are wont to endeavour after a smother path, a greater harmony, and more exact symmetry of parts; whereas the face of things is conscious of more disproportion, sometimes a confusion of businesse, and the severall scenes may easily swerve from the originall plot; but the divided parts drawne in severall are not so constrained and racked, but come naked and more simple, and shew that the reason of the same counsells is one in the senate or conclave; another in the field, discovers the failing or the crosse-working of contrivances, how in the midst of action the maine land-markes are waved, and many grand projects never reach their period. Out of all which the comparing faculty of a judicious observer may collect the mis-guidance or defects of policy; and see how the piercing subtilties of wit are broken and shattered by the course of things more knotty, rude, and violent; and this is the life of history, that ought to declare the delinquency of state as well as its accomplishment and perfection.

If the materialls of the worke be questioned whether fit to be

drawne up into one regular and compacted whole, and to make a standing monument, we also know that nothing in this kinde is to be thrust upon the world, since history doth intend to gratifie the future times with the remembrance of those things only which prudent men desire, and claime from such as pretend an interest and portion in the treasures of knowledge; it beares therefore before it nothing more than the thing itselfe gives forth, and which may finde acceptance with severer wits; for not only the remarkable changes of the universe, the grand periods of kingdomes and common-wealths, the chiefe and turning points of state affaires, but particular platformes, lives, examples, and emergent occasions also, are to be observed and laid up for posterity. More yet, those particularities, and minute passages are they that come home to men's businesse, approach their experience, and guide their course; but things more grand and lofty seeme to be turned upon the wheeles of Providence; too high for the imitation of men. The worke of a politick or martiall man is to fixe his designe, and then to expect the accomplishment, not by one sudden or great atchievement, but by a series of many particles, and through an infinite variety of emergent occasions, and at last the maine turning point falls in by the over-ruling power of the universall cause; such are properly the workes of men into which they ought to enquire and search. Besides, the chiefe skill is not the generall knowledge of the maine undertaking, but a certaine dexterity in meeting every point, in working through many mazes and windings, since sundry passages of small purport intervene to disturb or promove it. Experience tells, that many universall schollars are the most uncouth persons to civill employment, which so happens, because they study bookes more than the course of businesse, in which they gaze upon high objects, and binde themselves to the rigid observance of received canons; that if they venture amongst men, upon a slight accident unexpected, they sticke in the mire or runne a wrong course. We dislike not the taking up of

well tryed principles, only by examples of all sorts must we learne to except and distinguish, and by consequence to use or abate the rigour of politicall maximes: neither doth it seldome come to passe that inferiour things over-rule, and a circumstance may be predominant. From such a low bottome and means beginning are great things raised, and as their verticle point comes in an instant, so may they be turned upon a weake and slender hinge; yet we meane not those circumstances that are the inseparable attendants of every naturall action, but only such as are worthy, and have a morall influence; all which shun their understandings who respect only great, and excelse objects, which peradventure may flourish with ostentation and pompe, but if applyed unto the life of man bring forth an effect like the birth of the mountaines. And here we tender a naked comentary and true rehearsall of those things as deserve not wholly to be forgotten; if it be not full of rare changes which may grace the composure, and affect the reader; yet doth it give the full draught of a martiall command, and a true copy of the things it intends to expresse: it hath this advantage, in common with others of the like nature, that it can come forth to the censure of the present age without the guilt and shame of mistakes or flatteries. Authors more universall could never gaine to be stiled the writers of unquestionable verities, for they see at a greater distance, and by a more obscure and duskey light: certainly a nearer approach, and some kind of interest is required of him that desires to shew not only some tracke and foot-steps, but the expresse image of things, for whatsoever passes from hand to hand though upon the most undubitable authority, proves at the best but the image of a picture: for the best wit that takes things, though upon the surest trust, must needs fall short of the copy by which he writes, if not in beauty, yet in the truth and life thereof. The only danger in such as are intressed is, least they be partiall to their own side, or make the discourse more lofty than the stage can

reach; which mischiefe the deliberate thoughts of a serious man can prevent, and tell him that the unvarying of the defects, and misfortunes of his owne party doth evince the sincerity of the relation, and graceth it with more variety, than what the continuall streame of the height of gallantry and successe can yeeld; and which is most of all, doth demonstrate that at some times the designe was laide upon the principles of reason, and prosecuted with industry, whereas continuall victory is attributed to a certaine hidden felicity, and the bounty of Providence. Affection therefore receives a check from that man who is more true to his owne faction and ends, than to transgresse against the honour of that worke he takes in hand.

As for this military government, the power hereof hath rested in one command, and therefore doth more easily close into a single frame, yet not in a smooth and equall straine, but distinguished by many rises and falls: it is a branch almost divided from the maine stocke, and hath been put to live and act of itselfe: nevertheless a branch still, and enlivened by the authority of the kingdomes soveraigne power, from which it receives an influence both of support and guidance: but its distance from the fountaine of power had derived upon the trustee a more free command, and made way for the perfect worke of a souldier, both counsell and action, which is the surest way to make such commands both active and prosperous.

The seate hereof lyes in the heart of the enemies country, like a forlorn hope, and is maintained not so much for its owne sake, or that so much ground might lie under a parliament power, but to divide the king's association, to stop his recruits, to scatter his forces, and continually to distract the designs of that army. Experience is witnesse of how great concernment it hath been to the safety of the common-wealth, not one place in the kingdome of England hath so much exhausted the enemies army, nor hath the

like advantage to ruine it: it can paine them at the heart, it is a fire kindled in their bowels, that might eate out their strength, had it been the felicity of the state to have sent hither a part of those great supplies which have been elsewhere expended, and done little towards the conclusion of the great worke.

If this collection shall present any thing that comes home to a civill life, or the employment of a souldier, if it shall bring to minde acceptable services, and cause the people to remember the day of small things, with the power of active and faithfull endeavours, that observe and follow the Divine Providence, I shall not faile of my end: and I know that this my adventure is no more than what the action doth deserve, and the world may challenge.

THE ingagement of the city of Gloucester in this common cause of religion and liberty, first began when the houses of parliament declared to the kingdome their resolution of a defensive war: neither were its principall and active men drawne in by inferiour and accidentall motives, but quickened by the same principles in the maine, that did enliven and actuate the supreme court, expressing in themselves the very motions of a parliamentary spirit by an absolute and greedy compliance with every act that breathed towards the perfect health of the state, the severall remonstrances of both houses were received with all due respect, whereas no declaration sent from the other party, found the courtesie of a formall entertainment. It hath been the honour of that civill government, never to be guilty of the least act of disservice against that cause which their hearts wish might prevaile and prosper. Therefore when the fire kindled and fomented by Jesuited Papists and their adherents, was blowne up into a flame, and the heads of two parties appeared within this realme, the city of Gloucester determined not to stand neutrall in

action, but to adhere unto one party, with which they resolved to stand or fall, necessity requiring no lesse, which affection improves into vertue. The acknowledgement of its owne advantage in situation and strength importuned a more timely declaration, least by itselfe neglected, it should be seized by the enemy, whose eye was upon it, and so cast into perpetuall bondage. Also the greatest part of the country consented and resolved to maintaine their birth-rights in the defence of the priviledges and power of parliament, against all invasions of usurpation and tyranny.

During the king's preparations in the North, they attempted (according to the slendernes of all beginnings) to put themselves into a posture of defence, and expected the instructions of parliament. And whereas the ordinance of militia was the first pretended ground of difference betweene his majesty and the houses, (they desiring such officers in whom the state might confide, and the king refusing to deprive them that by himselfe were intrusted) when the rent was once made, a greater necessity impleaded the execution of that ordinance: whereupon the Lord Say was by order of parliament appointed lord lieutenant: a commission was likewise granted unto divers gentlemen for deputy lieutenants, many whereof drew back and shunned the employment, that the power for the most part rested in the members of the House of Commons for this county, by whose countenance many companies of volunteers were raised, then called the militia bands, and led by such captaines as the embryo of the warre could afford. But the first undertaking was more jocund than the progresse; as oft times it comes to passe, that a military pompe and appearance of bravery doth affect and raise up many feeble spirits, who quickly lye flat when they begin to feeble the stubbornesse and cruelty of warre.

The commission of Array did not adventure to tender itselfe to the people; it was about to be offered to their liking at Cirencester, by the Lord Chandos and some other disaffected gentlemen, but

was stifled in the birth, and crusht by the rude hand of the multitude before it saw the light; the chiefe abetter thereof was like to suffer violence by the meanest of the people, whose fury constrained him to promise, and give under his hand, that he would never more deale in the businesse. But when they saw that this lord had escaped their hands by a secret conveyance, they were the more enraged, and waxed cruell against his accoutrements and furniture, and whatsoever of his was left behind, delighting in a contumelious revenge and rustick triumph. Such were the effects of that fury that tooke hold on the ignoble multitude, in whom not alwaies the deep sense of their owne interests doth provoke this extasie of passion, but peradventure a slighter accident and unexpected turning of the fancy sets them in a hurry, when their insolency becomes intollerable, and they glory to vent their humours, by reason of an usuall restraint and subjection. Neverthelessse they have produced good effects, and oft times a more undescerned guidance of superiour agents turnes them to the terroure of the enemy, and unexplicable selfe-engagement upon the common people, which prudent men promote and maintaine, yet no farther than themselves can over-rule and moderate. Hereupon the full streame of the country runnes for the ordinance of the militia, and against the king's declarations and commission of array. But since we are now upon the beginning of action, it will not be from the matter to declare the grounds of that affection which the country did expresse, and were common unto them with many parts of the kingdome, that were devoted to the same cause, but might appeare in a greater degree, and have a clearer evidence in the present example. Most men, therefore, did undoubtedly foresee greater hopes of liberty from the parliament than the king's party; in so much that there appeared in all the states adhearants an inbred propensity to freedome, but a desire of vast dominion, dignity, revenge, or rapine in them that tooke to the contrary faction; by

which this country did seeme well disposed to comply with the parliament's grand designe: for there was no excessive number of powerfull gentry, who for the most part care not to render themselves the slaves of princes, that they also might rule over their neighbours as vassalls: but the inhabitants consisted chiefly of yeomen, farmers, petty free-holders, and such as use manufactures that enrich the country, and passe through the hands of a multitude, a generation of men truly laborious, jealous of their properties, whose principall ayme is liberty and plenty, and whilst in an equall ranke with their neighbours they desire only not to be oppressed, and account themselves extreamely bound to the world, if they may keepe their owne; such therefore continually thwart the intentions of tyrannie unto which they only are moulded, who detesting a close, hardy, and industrious way of living, doe eate their bread in the sweat of other men, and neglecting a secure estate, rejoyce rather in the height of fortune though inconstant and dangerous. Such is the predominant humour of gentlemen in a corrupted age. Besides, the countryman had of his owne, and did not live by the breath of his great landlord; neither were the poore and needy at the will of the gentry, but observed those men by whom those manufactures were maintained that kept them alive. By which meanes it came to passe that neither they of the middle rank, nor the needy were devoted to the examples of the gentlemen who turned back, betrayed their trust (and are alwaies more apt to be corrupted, or mistaken in judging of the common interest) but had learned to reverence their liberties, and to acknowledge their native happiness.

But some higher cause had a greater influence on the endeavours of many for a well-bounded freedome, and regular priviledges; a knowledge of things pertaining to divine worship, according to the maine principles of the Christian profession. Which religion is not according to the will of man, but grounded upon an unchange-

able and eternall truth, and doth indispensably binde every soule to one law perpetuall and constant. This therefore doth strongly implead the necessity of externall priviledges in her professors, and though it doth not destroy the kingdomes of the world, nor usurpe a greater liberty than humane lawes will easily grant, yet it will not give away its native right; and it hath moreover in its nature an irreconcilable enmity against arbitrary government, and will worke its selfe out of bondage when the felicity of the times shall give power and a lawfull call. And in this kinde of knowledge this city and county was more happy than many other parts of the kingdome by meanes of a practicall ministry, which hath not only its powerfull working in divine things, but doth also inable vulgar capacities more fitly to apply themselves to such things as concerne the life of a morall man; and although each person thus informed reacheth not the depth of the reason, yet he can comprehend the truth thereof, and jealousie makes him the more quick-sighted. Thus have we found that the common people addicted to the king's service have come out of blinde Wales, and other dark corners of the land; but the more knowing are apt to contradict and question, and will not easily be brought to the bent. For this cause the ambition of the times hath endeavoured the undermining of true religion, to promote a blind and irrationall worship, that might bring forth an ignorant and slavish generation of men, which kinde of bondage the meanest person that performes a reasonable service cannot but resent and feare.

Yet something there was that might debase and infeeble their spirits (the plague and mischief of the whole realme) a grosse ignorance, and supine neglect of military discipline, there being no ground for the study and exercise of armes that might keepe the body of the state in health and vigour. Nor is it unlikely that extreame vassalage was the end of that long sluggish peace, when the nation could not have been more happy, than in some just and

honourable warre with forraigne parts, though now none more miserable by reason of these civill broyles, that teare the bowels and eate up the strength of the kingdome. It is no shame in the progresse of time to looke backe upon the beginnings of action. The trained bands accounted the maine support of the realme, and bulworks against unexpected invasions, were effeminate in courage and uncapable of discipline, because their whole course of life was alienated from warlike imployment, insomuch that young and active spirits were more perfect by the experience of two daies service. Wherefore these men might easily repine at oppression, and have a will to preserve themselves; yet a small body of desperate cavalliers might over-runne and ruine them at their pleasure. Some professed souldiers were sent downe from the parliament to settle these and the militia bands, who had this only according to the rules of warre, to be gathered under severall captaines, and many of them into the forme of a regiment, which disposition might fit them for a suddaine service, and the very posture conferre something of a warlike spirit.

Within the city of Gloucester one company of volunteers was added to the trayned band, and some peeces of ordinance obtained from London and Bristoll, which were then received with universall amazement by an inland people, though not long after they grew familiar with their terrible executions; meane while the city was open on three parts at least, and had no considerable defence, only capable thereof by advantage of situation: the citizens did mainly shew their care and affection in fortifying the towne, a worke both expensive and tedious; being of great compasse, and raised from the ground: during these things the enemy came not neere our dwellings, we heard of them a farre off, but little thought that the cloud of blood should be blowne from the north and settle over us, upon whom it afterwards brake into so many showres; that this place should become the seate of warre, and the stage of action;

that then lying open to a free commerce with the world, it should be shut up sometimes in strict custody, but still under a larger confinement, and beleagured at a distance in the midst of the king's head garrisons. . .

At that time the rumours of warre and first acts of hostility quickly filled the eares and tongues of people; alarms were then taken at a greater distance, and the first was given from the neighbour city of Worcester, by five hundred of the king's horse, which entred the towne, and at that season were not the least part of his majestie's forces: his whole strength could not amount to the number of a just army, according to the slender proportion of those times, neither could they march like a set and perfect body, but flasht through the land as the lightning that strikes from one quarter of the heaven to the other. The noyse of a nearer enemy raised the volunteers of the country, who marched under the conduct of some gentlemen towards Worcester, expecting to meete Colonell Nathaniel Fiennes with a strength of horse, but Colonell Fiennes had faced the towne and drawne off before the advance of our foote, and they also retreated having done nothing, but so meanelly prepared for the service, that they were much bound to the enemy that they fell not out of the city and cut them in peeces. The same volunteers came on the second time, and were to joyne once more with Colonell Fiennes, who returned with a greater strength of horse and dragoones under the command of Colonell Sands, and now also prevented our foot; they attempted the onset, and approached the towne with much speed and confidence on the Welch side of Seaverne, supposing the Earle of Essex at hand to assault the other side; but were meereley deluded by a false message from the enemy with a signall accordingly given, at which instant of time Prince Rupert arrived at Worcester. By meanes of this deceit the horse rush upon an ambuscado, when through the straightnesse of the passage first over a bridge, then through a narrow lane,

neither the reare could be brought up, nor the van make a retreat. It was an hot skirmish, and performed with sufficient gallantry on our part by them that came up, where persons of value were slaine and taken, the rest wholly routed and fled in confusion farre beyond the reach of a persulte. This victory was of great consequence to the enemy, because the omen and first fruits of the warre. Upon this the king's forces hearing of the approach of the parliament army immediately quitted the towne: so they shifted from place to place since their inconsiderable number would scarce allow them to erect any garrison; yet they encreased by their motion and quick dispatch, gathered the strength of the countries as they passed along, and withall overcame the contempt of their small numbers, and by frequent execution gained the repute of a party not easily to be vanquished. This they acted while the parliament army lay still, or marched according to the slow paces of a greater body. The day after the skirmish the Earle of Essex entred Worcester with his whole power, and there continued a month's space, sent forth severall parties, as the Lord Stanford to Hereford to prevent the forces of South-Wales, whilst the king lay about Shrewsbury, and raised to himselfe such an army as was able to deale with and endanger that maine power raised by the parliament.

After the famous battaile at Edge-hill, the first large field of bloud in these civill warres, though the king's army was there much broken, yet his strength increased, and multitudes began to looke towards him, as one at least-wise possible not to be overcome, and in this strange confluence of men his army seemed like that fabulous generation that sprung out of the teeth of the Cadmean serpent buried in the earth. The neglected enemy becomes formidable, and the parliament forces may desire their first advantage, but have sufficiently learned that to give the first blow is not against the law of a defensive warre; the hopes of a subitaneous service are lost and the kingdome is made sensible, that their peace and liberty

will cost much blood. Both the armies begin to take up their winter quarters in the most defensible places, and for the most part are settled according to the affections and engagements of the people; Colonell Thomas Essex marched into Gloucester with the command of two regiments of foote as governour of the towne, but as yet the deputy lieutenants had the sole command of the county. Foure weekes had not passed in this government but Colonell Essex was commanded to Bristoll, to secure and settle that city of so great concernment, both by sea and land, and at that time much distracted between the well-affected and malignant parties. So it was, that the king's cause and party were favoured by two extreames in that city; the one the wealthy and powerfull men, the other of the basest and lowest sort, but disgusted by the middle ranke, the true and best citizens. Thus the present state of things had taught men to distinguish between the true commons of the realme and the dreggs of the people; the one the most vehement assertors of publicke liberty, but the other the first rise of tyrannicall government, and the foot-stoole upon which princes tread when they ascend the height of monarchy. In that city many of the rich men were dis-affected to reformed religion, and some more powerfull were conscious of delinquency; others upbrayded themselves with their owne publicke disgrace, and therefore did much distaste the waies of the parliament, and the needy multitude besides their naturall hatred of good order were at the devotion of the rich men. These therefore began to raise commotions, and hearing of the advance of the forces from Gloucester, flocked together after a tumultuary manner, shut up the gates, but chiefly guarded that port where they expected an entrance would be made, and planted many ordnance against the approach of our men, with a full resolution to fire upon them. They were expected in the evening, but Colonell Essex had intelligence of these preparations, and from a party within was directed that night to march to another

gate (then neglected by the multitude) that should be set open; this was performed accordingly, and betimes in the morning he entred the city with his two regiments, besides great numbers out of this county, and in an instant surprized the mutineers, and quashed the businesse without drawing of blood.

The city of Gloucester was againe left naked till the Earle of Stamford marched hither with his regiment of foot, and two troopes of horse from Hereford; the Earle himselfe was commanded into the west upon his first arrivall, but his regiment designed for this city under the command of Lieutenant Colonell Massie, first as deputy governour under the Lord Stamford, afterwards with the power in himselfe which for the space of two yeares and sixe months continued an uninterrupted and happy government. The providence of God and the felicity of the place so over-ruling, that that country which should endure the brunt, sustaine so many violent shocks, and beare up under the king's whole army should be defended by a commander whose experience, fidelity, and valour with indefatigable care and industry might answer the expectation of so great a trust, assisted with that regiment, whose very name proved a terrour to the enemy, and long enjoyed the honour of the most ancient regiment in the parliament army, though broken, torne, and worne out with extraordinary duty and service. And because the meere pompe of military preparations, and the hopes of a sudden victory being now past, the warre hath put on a blacker visage, and the sad effects thereof come home to these parts; it is meete to expresse what was the state of the country at that time. The inhabitants of this county had openly engaged themselves in the state service, nor as yet had they any thought of repenting, though cast into the midst of an iraged enemy. Oxford is the king's head-garrison; Herefordshire possessed by his forces upon the first removall of the Earle of Stamford into Gloucester; Worcester hath already entertained a strength; Wales rises on the king's

behalf by the power of the Lord Herbert: the Earle of Essex, with his army is drawne towards London, the parliament forces in the west have their hands full; and there remaine in these parts of the kingdome only two broken regiments at Bristoll, which was much distracted by intestine divisions, and one regiment at Gloucester; so that the most slender guard was left upon these parts, where the enemy resolved their chiefe game for the winter action, And if this country must be preserved, it must be done by the volunteers, which were yet as a cake not turned, a kinde of souldiers not wholly drawn off from the plow or domesticke employments, having neither resolution nor support suitable to the service: but the greatest defect was the want of able and experienced officers; neither had they any commander in chiefe upon whom the hearts of the people might fasten.

Amidst these things the strength of the county was drawne to Cirencester, a fronteer towne towards the king's head quarters, then made a garrison to prevent the incursions of the enemy, as well to preserve the country from ruine as to advance the publicke service; Colonell Fettiplace had the command of this garrison, under whom some traine bands and volunteers were drawne into a regiment, and two companies of the Lord Stamford's regiment were added to incourage the businesse: a few horse and dragoones were raised at the free charge of the country, and the rest of the militia were to assist upon all appearance of danger: all things were transacted in a more voluntary, but lesse regular way. The businesse chiefly rested on Sir Robert Cooke, Sir John Seamore, Master Nathaniel Stephens, Master Edward Stephens, Master Thomas Hodges, with the rest of the deputy lieutenants; and setting aside these men with some gleanings of the gentry, the yeomen, farmers, cloathiers, and the whole middle ranke of the people were the only active men. The gentlemen in generall denied their concurrence, discerning their country either by open enmity or detestable neutrality; and

from the major part no better fruit was to be looked for in a degenerate age, when in many of them there appeared an hatred of the commons, and a strong disposition to the ends of tyranny. Others there were not wholly averse from the good of the common-wealth, whose enmity was grounded in religion, which obtained the most eminent place in the parliament's cause. The superstitious adoring of their old way imbittered their spirits against reformed religion, which to them seemed a peevish affectation of novelty, besides, the hatred and feare of ecclesiasticall discipline. But the greatest number neither driven by ambition, nor the spirit of blind zeale, only resolving to be true to themselves, deserted the state with some inclinations to the contrary faction, reflecting on their estates invironed with the king's country, neare the heart of his strength and farrè from parliamentary supplies; besides, the violence and quicke dispatch of the king's army, with the slow performances of our country agents after the space of an ordinary legall course in those extremities, did much deterre them; the country complained of their principall men for the neglect of taxes, and the gentlemen might happily see the grudgings of the country in the payment of those taxes (for the common people are alwaies covetous though well-affected) and forbore to urge whatsoever might distaste the people, or crosse the parliament's accustomed moderation. Which slow deliberations did lessen the esteem of the service in the hearts of many.

The secession of the dis-affected gentlemen did cast an aspersion that could not sticke, that the businesse was deserted by knowing men, and prosecuted by a rash and confused multitude. Whereas by no one thing could it more evidently appeare to be the cause of the common-wealth than by the acknowledgement of the whole body of the commons, which is more honest and wise in things of publicke concernment; for though they be very weake one by one, yet brought together they ballance each other, and when no man

hath power to impropriate much, each man expects only a proportionable share in the publicke interest. Neither is their judgement and fore-sight to be undervalued who are apt to discerne any thing that concernes themselves, and being united are not like to faile, for they have the best experience and are neerely affected with the woe or weale of the state, and so may sometimes judge better than those that guide it, as he that useth the house can better judge thereof than the builder, and the pilote of the sterne than the carpenter. And although they have not the first and most excellent part of knowledge to finde out, and by themselves to understand the rules of government, yet have they the second part, which is also excellent to judge aright of things proposed, and if not made fit for the yoke by dependence on the gentry, can discover the fraud that lyes under the fairest pretext; but the gentlemen by depriving the meaner people of their due protection, blemished the reputation of their families, and crossed the end of their honours and possessions, which in a well ordered state are given for a shelter to the under shrubs that some generous spirit neerer the commons might keepe off the invasion of princes, and whose power was most desired in such an exegence, to gather up the scatterings of the people and keepe them united, who for want of this concurrence were of lesse strength and vigour.

Such was the face of this country now ready to receive the first shooke of the enemies' fury. About the first of January, 1642, the maine strength of the king's army came before Cirencester prepared and resolved to storme it, yet they only faced the towne, and after two daies were strangely taken off, either disabled by the extreame cold on the hills, or some suddaine misfortune, or daunted by the shew of unanimity and resolution in the people, or else clouded in their thoughts by the secret will of God in the nick of action, that they made not the least attempt, but threatned an afterclap. A few daies after our forces had their designe upon

Sudely castle, at that time kept by Captaine Bridges in the behalfe of the Lord Chandos. Lieutenant Colonell Massie was intrusted with the manage of this action, who drew from Gloucester a party of three hundred musketeers, with two sakres assisted with fourescore horse, and foure companies of dragoones from Cirencester by order of a counsell of warre held there, and consent of the deputy lieutenants; there were in the castle neere threescore souldiers, with provision and ammunition sufficient: our men drew up before it in the evening, made severall shots, and the canon did some execution; the same night summons was given, the enemy refused to render upon quarter, but craved time till the next day, which in part was granted; guards were set upon them all night, the next morning our men were drawne out to make an assault, beds and wooll-packs were fetched out of the neighbourhood, which they tumbled before, and saved themselves from shot: the horse and dragoones came up before the foot approached the wall, and possest themselves of a garden under the castle, and got hay and straw which they fired, that the smoake driven by the wind smothered the house, in the shadow of which the ordnance were brought up undiscovered, and planted against the weakest part of the castle, which when the enemy perceived they sounded a parley, and immediately rendred upon agreement; the conditions were that all might have liberty of person, and passe to their owne houses, leaving their armes behind, and taking an oath never to serve against the parliament: they compounded also for the goods in the house, for which they were to pay five hundred pounds within sixe daies, or to leave them a-free prize to the souldiers.

Within two daies after Prince Rupert faced Sudely with about foure thousand horse and foot pretending an attempt to regaine it, but in the meane time marched his artilery towards Cirencester. Lieutenant Colonell Massie made provision to maintaine the castle by taking in water, and store of hay and corne, and having left

there Lieutenant Colonell Forbes with a sufficient guard, himselfe retreated to Gloucester; the prince with his forces kept the hills, and after three daies fell before Cirencester a stragling and open towne, neither well fortified nor capable of defence. The champaine country round about was most advantagious to the horse, in which the enemies' strength did chiefly consist, and which was then wholly wanting to that garrison, for their horse and dragoones were sent to the taking of Sudely: most of their officers were drawne out upon that service except the captaines of the volunteers, and Lieutenant Colonell Karre was the only experienced souldier left there: their canoneers were wanting, the common souldiers quite off the hinges, either cowardly or mutinous. The storme rose when least feared by the miserable people, who had not ended the joy of their late deliverance from as great a power but strangely diverted; and though they were still in the same danger upon the reverse of the army, yet were they not capable of the least distrust, till the storme hovered againe, either supposing themselves invincible, or by defiance to have baffled a wary enemy, that falls backe and waites his time to returne with greater fury. On the second of February the towne was assaulted and taken; the first and maine assault was made on a house a flight shot from the town, which was defended by a hundred musketeers for an houre's space against two regiments of foot, and a regiment of horse which were led on by the prince, till at length having drawne up their musketeers, and by granadoes fired the barnes and ricks and smothered the guard, the enemy's horse drove their foote before them, entred the streetes by maine force, and possest themselves of the garrison within two houres, yet it cost them the lives of many, amongst whom the Welch-men were reported to suffer the greatest slaughter; who in that army were a continuall sacrifice to the sword. Each guard made resistance according to the officers' valour and experience; the souldiers of the Earle of Stamford's regiment had

acted the best part but that they were most put to the sword when the towne was entred, except those that by flight had their lives given them for a prey. Some few besides defended their guards a while, but the passages were many and open, and the enemy soone came upon their backes; as for the country-men their houre was not yet come, neither had they quitted such imployment as did infeeble their spirits, nor entred the schoole of war to study indignation, revenge and bloud, that alone can overcome the terrour of an army.

It so fell out that in the midst of the service they were at their wits end, and stood like men amazed, feare bereft them of understanding and memory, begat confusion in the minde within, and the thronging thoughts did oppresse and stop the course of action, that they were busied in everything, but could bring forth nothing; few of ours were slaine in the fight, but many murdered after the taking of the towne, eleaven hundred taken prisoners and at least two thousand armes lost, which the country had there laid up as in a secure magazine; the miserable captives were entertained with all despight and contumely, according to the enemie's accustomed cruelty in the beginning of the warre; commanders and gentlemen had no better quarter than the common souldiers, but were all thrust into the church to be reserved for a triumph, and trampled upon in a base and impotent revenge: whether the first fury of a civill warre, and the jarres of brethren prove most outrageous, or the cause of religion had blouded their minds. Not a man could be released, though the price of his redemption were paid, till he had first attended the triumph at Oxford; that an unfortunate king might view the aspect of such innocent subjects, that should presume to claime those rights wherein they were borne, when reason might easily evince that no slight matter could engage such a people in an open warre as were ever willing to deceive themselves into a supererrogation of loyalty.

The whole country was quickly full of this disaster, and in vaine

did thinke to recover what was lost by weakenesse of spirit or error in the chiefe manage of the businesse; thousands of men armed and unarmed flocked together, and resolved to undertake the enemy under the conduct of a grave and well-minded patriot; but the desired leader was conscious of the peoples' madnesse, and knew well that they made a loude cry afaire off, but if once brought up to the face of the army they would never abide the fury of the first onset. Wherefore he refused to engage himselfe and them upon a certaine destruction; neverthelesse the people bitterly railed against him, and curst him as a traitor to his country; neither could the experience of these times dispossesse them of that absurd conceite.

The very next day after the losse of Cirencester the city of Gloucester was demanded by Prince Rupert, the summons found the people extreamely dashed at the strange turning of things, and so much amazed that they could not credit the report of this blow, though confirmed by sundry eye-witnesses; the hearts of many sunke very low and began to lye flat, zeale and religion upheld some, all had a kinde of will; but the strong fidelity and resolution of the souldier at that time, and in all extreame hazards upheld the garrison. The prince therefore received a short answer from Lieutenant Colonell Massie and the principall officers, that they were resolved with their lives and fortunes to defend the city for the use of the king and parliament, and in no wise would surrender at the demand of a forraigne prince. Another answer was returned from the mayor of the city (for the martiall command was not fully settled) that he was resolved according to his oath and allegiance to keepe the city in his majestie's behoofe, and would not deliver the same according to this summons. Whereupon a second summons was sent from the prince, which could not alter the case in their judgement who held the towne, and seeming withall to perswade and sollicite them out of their hold, did easily

beget an opinion of the enemy's weakenesse and their owne considerable strength, since neither religion nor modesty could withhold from blood that enraged party, but only the conscience of a selfe insufficiency; the souldier therefore began to acknowledge the remainder of power which did not appeare contemptible with the king's army.

Hitherto the city hath been lodged in the midst of many out garrisons, as the heart in the body, but now it hath enough to doe in its owne safety, and the remote parts must be pared off that a liberall nourishment might preserve and foster that place which was the seate and fountain of life unto these parts of the kingdome. Sudely castle was deserted, the garrison of Tewksbury (which was defended only with such slender forces as Gloucester could spare out of its penury before the enemy fell on the county) was already surprised with feare; both places could not be maintained when so great a power did urge, and beare downe on every side. Those of Tewksbury sent an expresse to the city to informe them of the state of their towne, and to request more aide; likewise they dispatched messengers to the villages round about, to acquaint them with the state of things, and to try whether the inhabitants would come in person or send in their armes, but there came neither the one nor the other, and it was resolved by the counsell of warre at Gloucester that the forces, ordnance and ammunition, with all well-affected persons should forth-with repaire thither. In the heate of this debate there came an invitation from Worcester by a letter from Sir William Russell, with intimation of conditions of peace; all which disposed that towne to compliyanee with the enemy. Here-upon a common counsell being held, and the officers present, it was determined that the Gloucester order was to be obeyed. The towne thus deserted was willing to provide for its owne safety, and chused rather to obtaine some reasonable termes of peace than suffer it selfe to be quite ruined; wherefore they drew up some

propositions to be sent to Sir William Russell, yet before the dispatch they sent to Gloucester a second message by the minister of the towne, and an officer of the garrison with Sir William Russell's letter and their answer. These promised an early return, but failing some houres of the time appointed, in the meane while the propositions were sent to Worcester. This message brought a countermand, when there sprung an alarum that Cirencester was regained, and the spoile and prisoners recovered backe; for this cause the souldiers were detained a while, but when the report was found untrue, of themselves they began to quit the towne. In the evening the messenger returned from Worcester with the propositions granted; the subjection seemed unfortunate and dishonourable in them whose affections were engaged to this cause, neither did there appeare a meanes to prevent it for the transmigration of the whole towne was impossible, nor as yet did the condition of the warre require any such thing from one particular place; for the parliament's adherents, as also the malignant faction did never at once forsake their habitations to be gathered into one body for a suddain conclusion, but were brought peecemeale unto action, and many lye under covert in the enemies' country reserving themselves for future service. Thus the people entertained gladly those conditions, which though performed in part yet were a sufficient bondage, did impoverish their spirits, coole their zeale of religion, and lessen the former inclination to liberty; after which by frequent changes under many lords they became so feeble that they never durst confide in themselves to vindicate the towne into its former happinesse, but a long time remained averse to the fairest opportunities, yea necessities of ingagement and desired an everlasting neutrality. The deserting of this towne encreased the forces of Gloucester by two hundred foot and dragoones, and tooke off the feare of a greater mischief; for though the quitting of the place caused us to resent our great distresse, yet the taking thereof

would have confounded our thoughts, and hazarded the maine chance, where the whole strength did not lye at stake.

The enemy breathed out threatnings, many false friends sought cunningly to make us affraid, the country-men in generall were taken off, who in their jocund beginnings still concluded on the victory, but never prepared for a blow, that the whole businesse was dashed at one clap, and especially when Cirencester was taken, in which they did repose so much trust. The issue discovered the weaknesse of the former proceedings in committing the whole fortune of the country, and the lives of so many men to such a poore defence, and hazarding the maine rest where the strength of the game could not be managed. Besides, the enemy had this great advantage in over-powring the minds of men; who since their cause could not lay claime to justice, nor themselves procure love, sought to prevaile by terrour, and by their late cruelties became dreadful: so that such spirits as wanted greatnesse of minde or strong fidelity to persevere, did greedily comply with that party, supposing themselves secure from this side, at least in respect of a deep personall suffering, which supposals were grounded upon the parliament's lenity, and unto which peradventure they were bound, that they might gaine affections in a voluntary warre. The more zealous and active had no head under whom they might unite and grow strong; the power of the deputy lieutenants was quite fallen, a kind of command suitable only to the infancy of military affaires, and the whole businesse was devolved on the souldier, whom the people then beheld as the professed servants of fortune, and trusted not till after manifold experience; so they sunke under the burden, and gave up themselves to spoile and rapine. The clouds gathered round the city, the enemy lay strong at Cirencester and Tewksbury, our men were confined to the towne walls; the workes not halfe finished, the souldier within mutinous and desperate: no monies came from the state, and but small supplies out of the

country, that the vilest mutineers were to be dealt with by intreaty, their insolencies to be suffered with patience, who tooke so great advantage by our extremity that their humours had a full vent, and ran forth into incorrigible wickednesse: the city was constrained to free quarter and great disbursements by way of loane, and the governour to use his skill in keeping together the mal-contented souldiers.

The army raised in Wales, by the power of the Earle of Worcester, and his son the Lord Herbert, begins to appeare is designed for Gloucester, and comes on at Coford in the forrest of Deane three miles from Monmouth, where Colonell Berrowe's regiment had made a kind of loose garrison for the defence of the forrest in an open towne, and with slender preparations. Here the Welch fell on, but their officers with strange fury drove our party before them, which was borne downe by their multitudes yet with a greater losse on their part; divers officers were slaine, and with the rest their commander in chiefe Sir Richard Lawdy, major generall of South-Wales; of ours few slaine, but Lieutenant Colonell Winter, and some inferiour officers, with about forty private souldiers taken prisoners. All the strength of these parts are now driven into the walls of Gloucester, only Barkly castle is held still for an encounter between us and Bristoll. This city was accounted one of the chiefe holds of the kingdome, and far from the well-spring of succour, yet was there no care of a competent brigade or magazine, a common defect, by which the state hath received much detriment; that through the penury of men, armes, and ammunition, remote garrisons are left in dispaire, or the intention of the maine army must be diverted for their relief. Our succours were yet to be raised, or selected out of severall commands and come on slowly; the people were held up by false reports, and to stave off the enemy the governour was to put the best face on a bad matter.

Meane while a great power of the Welch army advance towards

Gloucester and settled at Hignham house within two miles of the city and began to entrench. The governour placed a guard at the bishop's house to keepe them at a distance. Sir Jerome Brett their major generall had the confidence to demand the towne, but the summons was received with scorne from a Welch brigade, and became ridiculous when Prince Rupert had beene twice refused, besides an inveterate hatred derived by fabulous tradition had, passed betweene the Welch-men and the citizens of Gloucester. Such slight and irrationall passages prevaile much with the common people in whom opinion beares rule. Those forces were said to expect Prince Rupert's approach on the other side, else it cannot be imagined to what end they lay five weekes in a stinking nest. They were basely baffled, never attempted our out-guard, never undertooke the least party that issued forth. Meanwhile the prince was conceived to waite upon other designes. The Bristoll plot offered it selfe, upon which his person did attend before the gates of that city. Thence he was drawne off to stop Sir William Waller's advance for our reliefe, who deceived the prince by strong reports and night marches, and happily drilled along his small army to the place of action. The governour could attempt nothing but only make good the guard at the bishop's house, and flourish with some slender sallies; he had not an hundred horse, and the enemies' foot were double the number of those in the garrison; at length an addition of two hundred horse and dragoones from Bristoll under the command of Captain John Fiennes gave some life to the businesse: hereupon severall parties at sundry times were drawn out, which never failed to beat the enemy into their works, kill and take prisoners, although treble the number of our strongest party. So that the name of our blew regiment became a terrour to those miserable Welch-men, who were partly constrained to take up armes, partly allured with the hope of plunder. Certainly they were deceived out of their owne country not to fight but to take

Gloucester; by which meanes they could act an impotent villany and cruelty, but nothing of a souldier's gallantry.

Immediately after the taking of Malmesbury Sir William Waller bent his course towards Gloucester, and laid his designe for the surprize of the Welch army; he gave notice of his advance unto Lieutenant Colonell Massie, with directions instantly to draw forth both horse and foot before Hignham, and to keepe them in continuall action, that they might not understand his approach. He gave order likewise that those flat-bottomes which were brought from London upon carriages for service upon the river Seaverne, should be sent downe to Framilode passage, sixe miles below Gloucester, where both horse and foot were arrived by noone, passed over the river before night, and unawares of the enemy got between them and home, tooke them in a snare and intercepted their flight. The governour performed according to the intention of the plot, drew forth all the horse and a party of five hundred foot, brought up the ordnance neere the house, and kept them in the heate of play till the evening; at night he set guards round the house, with that straitnesse and confidence that the enemy durst not stirre, nor a spy steale out, although they lay fiftene hundred strong. At sunne rising they had a fresh alarme by our ordnance, and were held to it by our musket shot. This morning their horse issued out, attempting to force their way through the horse guard, which they did, and put some of our horse, rashly charging and upon disadvantage, to a disorderly retreate, but comming up to a foot guard received a repulse: and to the reliefe of that guard which was thought too weake, a party was drawne from the artillery, and that againe by this meanes much neglected, in so much that the same instant the enemy fell out upon our ordnance then like to be deserted, but were beaten backe by the gallantry of some few that kept their ground. In this point of action Sir William Waller came up and shot his warning-peece on the other

side, which dasht the enemy, and so revived our men that they ran up with fury, stormed a redoubt, and tooke in it two captaines and above thirty private souldiers, which service had a maine influence upon the surrender of the house ; Sir William placed his army to the best advantage for shew, and displaid the colours of two foot regiments reduced to a hundred and fifty men, drew neere the house and made some few shot with his canon ; after his approach not a man of the enemy was slaine or hurt, yet the common souldier would doe any thing but fight, when they were well fortified, and had a sufficient magazine ; they sounded a parley and sent forth some officers to treat, which had this result ; that they should render the house and themselves as prisoners, and the officers should receive respect and quarter according to their quality. Upon the returne of these termes some advised to break through, which the common souldiers utterly refused and neglected the advantage of a dark and rainy night. The persons that treated dealt the second time in a kind of begging way, but at last accepted the former conditions, and gave up the Welch army into the hands of men quite spent with continuall marches and watching. Divers persons of quality were here taken, the most powerfull gentry of Herefordshire, some of those that in scorne were stiled the nine worthies, who in the first opening of the great breach affronted the parliament with a scandalous remonstrance ; the next day being the twenty fifth of March, neere fiteene hundred were led captive into Gloucester, as great a number as Sir William Waller's army with the garrison forces could rise unto : thus the first frutes of Wales were blasted, the strength of the nearer parts almost vanquished, and the effects of this victory had been more lasting had it been used to the best advantage. The king's party had a notable faculty in the improvement of victories by strict imprisonment, and inhauncing the rate of their captives ; their usuall fiercenesse did extract great ransomes or unequall exchanges, and disposed them

to detaine their captives in extreame misery, and to neglect their owne friends in the like thralldome, of which those that were taken at Cirencester gave a full testimony: but the parliament garrisons knew not how to keepe a correspondence in this case, but groaned under the burthen of miserable prisoners, were prone to exchange, or set free upon easie termes. And by this meanes most of the common souldiers then taken within tenne daies were sent backe into their owne country, with an oath never to serve against the parliament; others that tendred themselves were entertained in the service, who for the most part proved runnegadoes; the commanders and gentlemen came off, some with a ransome, and oath which they quickly violated, and the residue were wholly lost at the surrender of Bristoll.

The whole successe of the former action happily complied with the maine plot, and extreemly dashed the king's affaires in these parts. The generall fame did increase and heighten the repute of Sir William Waller, and the enemy possessed there with began to draw back on all sides; Sir Matthew Carew forthwith quitted the towne of Tewksbury, which within twelve houres was repossessed by our forces, Captaine John Fienes was commanded thither with a slender strength of horse and dragoones, with whom the well-affected of the town that abode in Gloucester began to returne. The undertaking was hasty and confused, without the observance of the enemies' motion or distance, or any rationall assurance of defending the place. Our party had no sooner saluted the towne but received an alarme that the former forces were returned with a greater power. It was a gallant brigade of horse commanded by the Lord Grandeston, which immediatly came from Cheltenham, whereof our men had not the least intelligence: it seemed by the event that the enemy expected none from Gloucester; however there was quicke dispatch on both sides, yet Captaine Fienes with his whole party had bin surprised, had not those horse been kept

off at a mile's distance by a ridiculous accident. It so fell out that they met a man coming alone from the towne, whom they fell to question whether any forces were there, of what strength, and by whom commanded; the man intending nothing lesse than the escape of our party, but supposing them a part of the parliament forces, and willing to curry favour begins to talke of a maine strength and vast numbers, with so many guns and all kind of preparations, and withall defies the cavaliers with much affected indignation; which words so farre prevailed that they presently held a counsell of war, and once were about to fall back. This delay gave an houre's respite to those within to prepare for a flight, who had no sooner recovered the end of the towne, but the enemy had entred, amazed to see themselves so miserably deluded.

When Sir William Waller had refreshed his men some few daies about the first of Aprill 1643, he advanced towards Monmouthshire, at the solicitation of divers gentlemen of that country, with a promise of concurrence in reducing those parts to the obedience of king and parliament. When he came neere the towne of Monmouth where the Lord Herbert had began to place a garrison, the souldiers did not abide his coming, but all shifted for themselves by flight; Sir William entred the naked and open towne, where he stayed a while and sent many parties abroad the country for supplies of money; thence marched to Uske, where he set free some prisoners kept there; but the reducing of the country came to nothing, for the gentlemen did not perform, and he found there what usually comes to passe in such cases, that men desirous of alterations invite upon ample promises, but never make good, and seldome appeare in the businesse till the souldier hath done the worke to their hands, or they have gotten some stronge hold to secure their ingagements. So that the well-affected would not declare themselves, because a running army could be no lasting support, and they had no strong hold, nor the stream of the people,

which were at the devotion of the Earle of Worcester, almost an universall land-lord in that county.

Whilst these things are acted Prince Maurice enters Tewksbury with a power of horse and foot added to those former under the command of the Lord Grandeston, resolving to make after Sir William Waller, and to intercept his return out of Wales, for he was gotten into such a nooke of the land in the enemies' country, that the prince might easily drive him to a *non ultra*. Wherefore a bridge of boates was made over Seaverne at Tewksbury, that they might passe to and fro nearer the retreat of our army. Here the prince marched over with a body of two thousand horse and foot, confident of this designe, and therefore too remisse and slow in his advance. Sir William was nimble in the retreat, caused his foot and artillery to passe over Seaverne at Chepstow, and himselfe with his horse and dragoones passed through the lower part of the forrest of Deane neare the river side, and before the enemy had notice of his march sent forth two parties to fall upon two of their maine quarters, which was performed whilst the maine body slipt between both, and a party was left to face them and make good the retreat, which came off something disorderly, and with the losse of a few private souldiers. It was an exquisite conveyance, and unexpected felicity that brought them out of the snare through those intricate waies. This alarme quickly reached Gloucester, and Lieutenant Colonell Massie drew out three hundred foot and two troops of horse to fetch off our men, but if he found them dis-ingaged, for a further designe. This party met them within two miles of the towne, where the governbur made knowne to Sir William Waller his purpose to set upon Tewksbury, and taking the opportunity of the prince's absence, and the enemies' jollity at our supposed totall defeate, instantly advanced upon them, and by break of day brought up his men before the towne, one part whereof fell in to the Hami, ceased upon the guard left with the

bridge of boats and cut off that bridge, the horse with the rest of the foot came up Gloucester way, the forlorne hope surprised and slew the sentinell, climbed over the workes, and cut down the draw-bridge; whereupon both horse and foot rushed in, and the party on the other side of Avon ready to enter: there were left in the towne neere three hundred men commanded by Sir Matthew Carew, whom the triumph of yesterdaie's conceived victory laid asleepe, and the sudden alarme roused up, first into a shuffling fighting posture, and after halfe an houre to a nimble escape. Sir Matthew Carew fled, and many escaped the hands of our men, who wanted numbers to surround the towne, but most of the common souldiers, and some valuable officers were taken. Oxford was as miserably gulled in these passages, and in a few houres extreamely affected with contrary reports; for the jocund newes of the vanquishing of Sir William Waller arrived early in the morning, but before noone an expresse came of the losse of Tewksbury, which was cast upon the heat of the first report like cold water into a boyling pot.

The same day a party of Prince Maurice his horse appeared from the top of a hill neere Tewksbury, and intimated the approach of his whole army; whereupon Sir William Waller marched thither that evening, and resolved to breake downe or make good the bridge at Upton upon Seaverne, besides which there was no passe nearer than Worcester; but the scouts gave notice that the prince had recovered the bridge and set a guard upon it. The next morning Sir William advanced towards the prince, and found him in Ripple Field with his army drawn up, and divided into three bodies, besides the hedges lined with musketeers. Here our forces faced the enemy in a large field, and could hardly reach the third part of the prince's strength, brought up their gunnes, having neither shot prepared nor cannoneers that understood the businesse, nor the assistance of foot, save only a part of the governour's owne company, besides the wind and sun were against them, and no retreat if need

were, but through a narrow lane of two miles long; and whereas they might stand upon the top of a rising ground to deceive the enemy with the semblance of a greater power behind, they descended a little on the side of the hill, and discovered their weaknesse to a full view. In this posture some perswaded to fight, and began to make some shot with the ordnance which gave no shew of the least execution; but some other officers examined the cannoneere, and finding neither fit bullet nor any convenient shot, but all things at randome, earnestly dissuaded either to make the onset, or expect the enemy in that place; and advising likewise the tryall, discovered their ambuscadoes within the hedges. Hereupon Sir William Waller fell back, and entred the narrow lane commanding a party of dragoons to face the prince's army, and the musketeeres to stand at the corner of the lane within the hedges to make good the retreat. The enemy fell on, not a man of those dragoons would stand to receive the charge, but hurried away, broke over the hedge, fell among and disordered our owne musketeers, the enemy clapt in after them, cut down foure or five of the foot, and tooke as many prisoners; Lieutenant Colonell Massie kept close to his foot, and instantly dispatcht to Tewksbury for a supply, and Sir Arthur Hazelrigg prevailed with his owne troope to charge, and in his owne person performed gallantly; the foot with those horse put the enemy to a stand, and in part tooke off the foulencesse of the retreat through that strait passage. When they came to the next open place our men had the advantage of a ditch to stay the persuit, and in the heat of the chase one foot souldier at the command of the governour turned upon the enemy a gate then cast off the hinges; which barred their entrance and enabled our men to draw up for a charge; here for a while they stood in a maze, but on a suddain faced about, ran flock-meale, the enemy upon their backs, and the close of this action was like to be miserable, but at the entrance a strait passage neere the Myth Hill, a supply of foot from the

town opportunely met them, gauled the enemy and put them to a stand once more, whilst the governour charged the leader of the forlorne hope hand to hand, and was rescued by the gallantry of some officers, when of ours only a small party of horse remained in the field, the rest being got off in great confusion. Yet the escape might equall a victory, and the saving of the forces passe for cleare gaine. Prince Maurice did not attempt the regaining of Tewksbury, the government whereof was intrusted to Sir Robert Cooke, who had newly raised a regiment of foot by commission from Sir William Waller.

At that season the main strength of the king's army was drawn from these parts when Redding was beleaguere by the Earle of Essex, by which meanes the parliament forces had a large and free game in this countrey, went on with a full stream of successe, driven with a gentle gale of Providence, and a kinde of unimitable happinesse, in unbloody victories. The fortune of the former did over-rule the event of the succeeding action, and the name and presence of Sir William Waller did include more than a thousand men. Neither was he wanting to himselfe, but made the best use of his present fame, and kept it up by constant active endeavours, lest a little intermission might permit the enemy to recollect himselfe, or the reall weaknesse of this army be discerned. It was therefore suddenly resolved for Hereford, whither he advanced with a thousand horse and dragoons, assisted by the governour, with the greatest part of the Lord Stamford's regiment: there were also the beginnings of Colonell Thomas Stephens his regiment. The maine body of horse and foot were drawn up before Bister's gate on the north side of the town, stood aloof off and shot at random; till the lieutenant colonell commanded Captain Grey with a party of musketiers over the river, towards Wie bridge, whose march was secured by a rising bank under the walls. These were ordered to make shew of an assault, and if need were to fall back unto the

water side, where seconds were placed for their relieve. The enemies' horse sallied out upon them, whom that party having gallantly kept off, and forced back into the city, withdrew thence and gained a church within pistoll shot of St. Owen's gate, whence our musketers plaid on the walls, and exceedingly terrified those within. But the main rest of the businesse was the name of a conquering army, which Sir William Waller improved to the best advantage by all expedition and industry: and to help forward, Massie drew up two sakers in a strait line against Wigmarsh gate, not without extream hazard by shot from the walls; himselfe gave fire, and the first canon shot entred the gate, took an officer's head from his shoulders, and slew some few besides. More shots were made, each of which scoured the streets, and so daunted the enemy, that they presently sounded a parley, which was entertained by Sir William Waller, and hostages given on both sides; the parley lasted almost the whole day, whilst most of the common souldiers ranne over Wie bridge into Wales, only the commanders and gentlemen remained and were reported to be held in by the townsmen, to sweeten the surrender, and obtaine better quarter. Next morning they rendred: the chiefe prisoners here taken were the Lord Scudamore, Colonell Coningsby, Sir William Crofts, &c. few horse and private souldiers, but store of armes and ammunition. The town compounded, was secured from plunder, and after fourteen dayes deserted. Sir William Waller obtained many faire victories; but had no power to make them good, because his field was too large for that strength; and the state made an inconsiderable number of men the only stay of the remote parts. These could over-run the enemies' countrey, but get no ground, master no strong hold; nor reduce a people naturally malignant, that were dashed at present, but did flourish again in the reverse of the king's army. The next attempt was made upon Worcester, whither all the horse and the greatest part of the blue regiment were drawn. They at

Oxford were said to have yeelded that town for lost, and to give out that Sir William was gone to take possession of his purchase. For at that time treason was the pretended cause of every losse on both sides, especially if weak and unworthy. Both horse and foot came up before the city, where they lay a day and a night, effected nothing, and were drawn off at the noise of the Lord Capel's advance; at which instant Sir William Waller was taken off these parts, and ordered to march into the west, with all speed to prevent the joyning of Sir Ralph Hopton's forces with the rest of the king's army. Sir Robert Cook's regiment was called off from Tewksbury for the western expedition; and that town once more slighted.

Hitherto Lieutenant Colonell Massie governed the city of Gloucester by deputation from the Earle of Stanford, whose returne was not expected; wherefore the thoughts of the citizens began to enquire after a governour. They thought well of a man neare home, and cast their eye upon a knowne patriot. Neverthelesse more intelligent men upon the serious review of the citie's continuall hazard, found that the necessity of this place did require a tried souldier, and that such a one might possibly be found faithfull; but a timorous or unskilfull man must needs ruine all. Wherefore they reflected on Massie, whose good services gave them also a competent assurance of his fidelity; that by the happy choice of the citizens and the lord general's commission, he was appointed governour. To enable the city to defend itselfe, a foot regiment was raised by commission from Sir William Waller out of the town men, for the major part both officers and souldiers, under the command of Colonell Henry Stephens. The first intention of this regiment was to defend the city only within the walls, according to the infancy of warre; but the hard service of this place did suddenly require and exact the full duty of souldiers. At this instant the city was well becalmed, only there hapned one passage of inferi-

our nature, but full of the fortune of warre. The governour with a party of an hundred and twenty horse and dragoons, advanced towards Stow in the wold, to beat up the enemies' quarters; by break of day he fell into slaughter, took a lieutenant, twelve troopers, horse and armes, and thence marched to Odington, a mile beyond Stow, where he surprised a captaine of a troop with forty men and horse, and so made homewards, neglecting the residue of the enemy, who drew out of their quarters with all speed. The remainder of their regiment fell upon the reere of our men, neare unto slaughter with some slight execution, but were beaten back. The governour being confident he was able to fight with them upon any ground, made no haste to march off, till the enemy had received a supply of horse from Sudely castle, and again charged him at Andover's foord, whom our men received gallantly, and repulsed without any losse. The captaine that led the van was slain by the governour's hand, and the rest wheeled about; whereupon the governour dismounted the dragoons, and divided his men into three bodies, the horse to the right and left wing, in this posture resolving to march up to the enemy (who would gladly rid their hands of the businesse) but having advanced a little distance, and looking back to bring on his men, saw the greater part in a strange hurry, occasioned by the facing about of some cowardly spirits, and himselfe with those dismounted men desperately engaged; for awhile he shuffled amongst the enemies' troops, till observing himself eyed by some, he sprang forth, fired in their faces, and came last off the field upon the maine roade. He offended here, by affecting too much gallantry, and was deceived in his new raised men, who were not hardned by the sight of an enemy. Besides, no ordinary care was had of securing the prisoners, who were all recovered back. Four of ours were slaine, many wounded: Colonell Stephens, a lieutenant, with five and twenty private souldiers taken prisoners. The springing hopes of Colonell Stephens failed unfortunately, when his eager minde,

engaged him in the action without order, and against the will of the commander in chiefe; he had no command in the action, but hasted after as greedy of the service; he was led captive to Oxford, and a while after breathed his last in that poysonous ayre, where many gentlemen were observed in those dayes to expire.

Amidst these things Sir John Winter, a zealous papist, began to declare himselfe. A subtile wit, that pretended innocency till his houre was come, and had almost perswaded the world that he durst deny himselfe, and commit an unpardonable sinne against the catholike cause. His house in the forrest of Deane was at first neglected, when it was in the power of this garrison to ruine his designe. But under hand he prepared for defence, suddenly clapt in his owne confidents, and with a little labour made it inaccessible, but with apparent great losse, and maintained his den as the plague of the forrest, and a goad in the sides of this garrison. These things were acted about the time of that blow almost fatall to the parliament's cause, in the vanquishing of Sir William Waller's army at the Devices; which defeat cast these parts of the kingdome into a miserable plight, when the state had placed the whole game in the successe of this army, never providing a reserve. The king became master of the field, the parliament left without an army that could check the enemy, who came up to our gates, and by threats would seeme to shake the walls of the city. Many began to prepare for flight, whose presence no reall necessity, but the people's opinion did require. They at Bristoll disclosed their feares, and gave no good presages. And when that city was yeilded, Gloucester did stand alone without help and hope. The lord general's army pined away: Sir William Waller at London for a recruit: the Earle of Stamford shut up within the walls of Exeter: the king's country reached from the utmost Cornwall to the borders of Scotland, and he was able to divide his army, one part for Exeter, and the other for Gloucester.

That sudden surrender of Bristoll, which was almost beyond our feares, brought forth a dark gloomy day to the city of Gloucester. The mindes of people were filled with amazement, and the failing of such a promising government made most men infidels, or at least to question all things. But here was the greatest mischief of all: many were not wanting to debate upon the maine cause of the kingdom; malignant spirits took the advantage of our misery, and unstable minds, who beholding only the surface of things, and led by the common voice of their equals were flushed in prosperous times, now became crest-fallen, and questioned the passages of state; conceiving each miscarriage a fundamentall error, and accounting their present sufferings not for religion and liberty, but some scruples of state policy. The state of things required strong resolution; the usuall posture could not pretend to the safety of the place. The souldiers therefore acted with mindes more sturdy and vigorous as desperate concerning the enemy, but not in despaire of their owne party. The commanders reserved no place of retreat, and if causelesse jealousies over-clouded any, they put themselves upon a free declaration. The old and carefull souldiers who were unlucky in the censures of the people, upon the first arrivall of the sad newes from Bristoll, vented themselves in sharp and cutted speeches, which bursting from the fulnesse of the thoughts, did imprint and pierce, were received for good prognosticks, and repaired likewise that credit, which the presumption of a conceived opinion bore down; and an ordinary good behaviour could hardly raise up, but happily regained by one violent and severer passage. The officers were to give in a full resolve, that no place be left for an after dispute; wherefore they vowed never to see within the gates the face of a conquering enemy. But chiefly the hearts of the people were to be held up, wherefore the governour appeared in publicke, rode from place to place with a cheerfull aspect, and bearing before him no change in the sudden alteration of fortune. To them that enquired into his

very thoughts, he gave assurance of safety, concealing the danger, or lessening its esteem. Fear did not beget confusion, but things were transacted in a calm and constant order. The presages of misery were exquisitely shunned, and the least shew of distraction and weaknesse forbidden. Money, plate, valuable goods, or any kinde of riches were not suffered to passe the gates, but here to rest as in a safe treasury, that the people might resolve upon a happy deliverance or an utter destruction. Neverthelesse, whosoever was weak and faint-hearted, had leave to depart the city. Meane-while the enemy dealt underhand, and by the mediation of seeming friends, affectionately solicited a surrender, with terrible information of our manifold losses abroad, of the rage of the king's army, and inevitable desolation; and withall tendred the opportunity of an accommodation between his majesty and the citizens. The mouthes of the viler people were filled with curses against the authours of our engagements. We received strange intimations of dreadfull things concerning the state. The whole countrey forsook us, and employed some to represent their desires and thoughts of the businesse, who in the generall had so farre revolted from themselves, as to perswade us to make our peace with the enemy, and to befool and execrate our perseverance; for they conceived the standing out of Gloucester, however advantagious to the commonwealth, yet miserable for them; because by the falling down of a great army, they expected a destruction of corn and cattle, and if at last the king should not take in this place, to stoop perpetually under two burthens, and be cast into a remedillesse condition of misery and poverty. Whereas if the enemy should prevaile, they were sure to rest in the heart of the king's countrey, farre from spoile and plunder, and have as free and ample trade as in times of peace. The citizens examined their own strength and grounds of perseverance; a common councell was held, the officers being present, their late protestation brought to remembrance, by which

4

they were all obliged never to act or comply with the adverse faction, and upon that pretext joyntly refused the tender of peace. Neverthelesse a great number of the inhabitants were only not malignants, but born up by the zeale of the rest, and the souldier's power; and those stuck most to the businesse, who were held up by the deep sense of religion, or acknowledged a necessity to withstand a malicious and enraged enemy, whose implacable hatred urged them to offend against their own designs, and by horrid threatnings to make the attempt more desperate. A den of rebels was the common language: a few dayes' respite recovered the city, and reports of a sudden reliefe did reare up the spirits of the common people. No crosse, show, or doubtfull resolutions did hinder the businesse; all suspended their private cares, and the women and children acted their parts in making up the defects of the fortifications. The strength of Gloucester was no more than two regiments of foot, an hundred horse with the trained bands, and a few reformadoes; there were besides about an hundred horse and dragoons from Berkley castle, in the whole about fifteen hundred men: forty single barrells of gunpowder, with a slender artillery. The works of a large compasse, not halfe perfect; from the south-gate eastward almost to the north port, the city was defended with an ancient wall lined with earth to a reasonable height; thence to the north-gate, with a slender work upon a low ground, having the advantage of a stone barn that commanded severall wayes: upon the lower part of the city, from the north to the west-gate, (being a large tract of ground) there was no ancient defence, but a small work newly rayseed, with the advantage of marish grounds without, and a line drawn within from the inner north-gate under the colledge wall to the priory of St. Oswald's. From the west towards the south-gate along the river side, no more defence than the river itselfe, and the meadowes beyond leuell with the town: from the castle to the south-port, a firme and lofty work to command the

high ground in the suburbs. The ditches narrow, but watered round. In this posture did the city stand when the king's forces hovered over the hills, and now and then skirted upon the town, before a close siege was laid : upon the tenth of August, they came down like a torrent full of victory and revenge, with indignation that a forlorn city should stand before them. Nevertheless they would faine overcome without blood, and the losse of time, then pretious in their full career of victory. For which end his majesty came in person before it, that the terror of his presence might prevaile with some, and the person of the king amaze the simple, and seem to alter the case. Thus they began to work, because the mayor had answered a former summons from Prince Rupert, that according to his oath he kept the town in his majestie's behoof, and some whlsperers gave a malignant intimation that the king's presence would sway the people. And it was so, that the town was held for the use of his majesty, but according to the sense of the houses of parliament, and the citizens put no difference between a command in person or deputation, whereupon his majesty gave this honourable summons by two heraulds at armes.

CHARLES REX,

Out of our tender compassion to our city of Gloucester, and that it may not receive prejudice by our army, which we cannot prevent if we be compelled to assault it: we are personally come before it, to require the same, and are graciously pleased to let all the inhabitants of, and all other persons within that city, as well souldiers as others, know that if they shall immediately submit themselves, and deliver this city to us, we are contented freely and absolutely to pardon every one of them without exception, and doe assure them in the word of a king, that they nor any of them shall receive the least damage or prejudice by our army in their persons, or estates. But that we will appoint such a governor, and

a moderate garrison to reside there as shall be both for the ease and security of that city, and the whole county. But if they shall neglect this offer of grace, and favour, and compell us by the power of our army to reduce that place (which by the helpe of God we shall easily and shortly be able to doe) they must thanke themselves for all the calamities, and miseries that shall befall them. To this message we expect a cleare and positive answer within two houres after the publishing hereof? And by these presents doe give leave to any persons safely to repaire to, and returne from us, whom that city shall desire to imploy unto us in that businesse, and we do require all the officers and souldiers of our army, quietly to suffer them to passe accordingly.

The king by this time drew into the field before the towne, attended by Prince Charles, the Duke of Yorke, Prince Rupert, and Generall Ruthen, faced us with about six thousand horse and foote on that side, and two thousand horse on the other side. After some debate upon the message, an answer was drawn, consented unto, both by citizens and souldiers, and presented to his majesty by Serjeant Major Pudsey, and a citizen.

"We the inhabitants, magistrates, officers, and souldiers, within this garrison of Gloucester, unto his majestie's gracious message return this humble answer, that we do keep this city according to our oath and allegiance, to and for the use of his majesty and his royall posterity, and doe accordingly conceive our selves wholly bound to obey the commands of his majesty signified by both houses of parliament; and are resolved by God's help to keep this city accordingly."

His majesty with all mildnesse seemed to receive this answer, only to wonder at our confidence, and whence wee expected suc-

“
cour, adding these words, Waller is extinct, and Essex cannot come.” The enemy advanced forwards into the suburbs on the east side, where they lost a commander in the first skirmish, and the rest were fired out; for upon the returne of the messengers the suburbs on each part of the city were all in a flame, which did secure and more strongly engage us, and which the enemy beheld as the act of desperate rebels; for those dreadfull sights doe seeme to highten and bloud the minds of men. The next day we discovered that they had begun their entrenchments on the south and east parts, the night before in the shadow and shelter of the houses which the flames had not catched, within musket-shot of the walls. They in the trenches plyed their worke whilest the musketeers played hard on both sides. Yet our men from the walls could doe little to retard their pioners, but by severall sallies with small parties fell into their trenches, beate them out, gained some working-tooles, armes and prisoners, and retreated without losse. Our ordnance likewise from the east gate killed some few, and among the rest a lieutenant colonell, and captaine of the queen's black regiment; Sir Jacob Ashley was then shot in the arme, and upon severall approaches we beat off the enemy, killed and wounded many.

By that time the Welsh forces under the command of Sir William Vavasour, were advanced to the bishop's house, halfe a mile from the west-gate, one of our outguards by us intended to keep off the approach of the Welsh, but now deserted for want of men, and that nothing might be lost which we purposed to defend. Here they left a sufficient guard and passed over the river to joyne with the forces that newly arrived from Worcester: who made their leager on the north-west side of the city. Generall Ruthen placed his leager behind the priory of Lanthony on the south-side very neere, but sheltred from our shot by a rising ground. Sir Jacob Ashley with a strong party quartered in some part of the suburbs on the

*

east-side. The east and south ports were dammed up, and rammed with a thickness of earth cannon prooffe, and the walls on that side from port to port were lined to the battlements, since there wee thought to receive the maine shock.

Three dayes after the siege laid, an hundred and fifty musketeers commanded by Captaine Gray, sallied over the workes upon the Worcester forces, with whom the Weleh had not yet joyned, fell into their quarters, marched up to their maine guard, killed a captaine with eight or nine common souldiers, tooke five prisoners, divers armes, burnt their guard, and retreated without the losse of any; within a day after upon some suspition and kinde of intelligence that the enemies' ordnance lay undiscovered in some grounds neere the north-gate; Captaine Mallery was commanded forth with a hundred and fifty musketeers to surprise it, but finding none, retreated without losse, having killed some, taken a few prisoners and fired some of their quarters. Upon the sixteenth of August an other party of an hundred and fifty musketeers, commanded by Captaine Crispe sallied forth at the north-port, fell into their trenches under the town wall on the east-side, marched above halfe way through them, performed gallantly, killed above an hundred men as was confessed by some of the enemy, wounded many, beat them out of their workes, and by the helpe of our musketeers from the wall, retreated without the losse of any, only two wounded after a very hot skirmish, for the space of halfe an houre, the cannon and musquets on both sides playing most furiously. These executions put those within on a desperate straine, and heated their minds with bloud.

The enemy was indefatigable and swift in the entrenchments. The workes from the south and east gates, hasted to meete each other; their preparations seemed more tedious, yet effectuell and certaine and tended withall to save the lives of their men. Wherefore they chused not a sudden storme on the lower and

weaker parts of the city, but rather to prepare the assault on the strongest side, yet most easy to their intention. For there only could they rayse the workes without the annoyance of the water-springs, that issued in the lower grounds; there only could they make battery within pistoll shot of the walls, that wanted flankers; and when they had once entred a breach there, they were instantly possest of the highest part of the town. On this side therefore were their ordnance brought up, and first two culverin of sixteen pound bullet were planted on the east side, a little out of musket-shot, where they made some store of shot, but did no execution. Next they planted three pieces of ordnance of foureteene and five and twenty pound bullet upon their battery in a square redoubt on the south-side, and began to batter the corner point of the wall, and a brick house adjoyning, where one of our men was killed, without more harme. Then they played upon our ordnance mounted against their battery point blanck, and made some slight breach, which was quickly stopped up with wooll-packs, and cannon baskets. By this time they had drawne the trench neer the moate, where they made a kind of mine to drain it, and sunk much of the water: and attempted to cast faggots into the moate, but were beaten off by our musketiers. At severall times they shot large granadoes out of their mortar-pieces many fell into houses and brake, but did no harme, and one that fell in the street had the fuz quenched before it came to ground, was taken up whole and found to weigh three score pound.

After the Welch and Worcester forces came up, foure peece of ordnance were drawn a good distance before the place of their leager, and one planted against the Awnegate, and the sconces thereunto adjoyning. Wherefore a party of about foure hundred musketiers commanded by Major Pudsey and Captaine Gray assisted by Captaine Faulkner, and Captaine Massey sallied forth of the northgate. Meane while a lieutenant with fifty musketteers was

sent over the works to give them an alarm, whilst the greater party got behinde their cannon and breastworkes, fell upon their maine guard, slew many officers, two canoneers with about a hundred common souldiers mortally wounded, took a lieutenant with foure more prisoners, nayled their cannon, and retreated with the losse only of two slaine, and about foure taken prisoners.

The enemy having planted three pieces of ordnance against the southside, and now three more on the eastside, and two more near the eastgate within pistoll shot of the town wall, began a most furious battery upon the corner point, and made above an hundred and fifty great shot against it, whereby the stones were sorely battered, but the earth workes stood firme. By all this shot only two persons were hurt, for the battery was so neare, that if the bullet missed the wall, it flew quite over the town, or lighted at randome, yet in the intervalls of the great shot after each discharge our musketiers playd hard, and killed foure principall cannoneers, neither were the people daunted at the noyse of cannon, which by the slender execution, became so contemptible, that at that very time women and children wrought hard in lining the walls and repairing the breaches. The enemy continued the storme by sending granadoes which were guided by the hand of Providence into by-places, and sometimes falling upon the houses did rend and teare the buildings, when the people within were preserved.

After ten dayes' siege two severall parties were designed for the nayling of the enemies' cannon. These were commanded to fall into the trenches and march on till they met each other. The one party of about two hundred musketiers of the town regiment commanded by Captaine Stevenson and Captaine Moore, sallied forth at the northgate, to have fallen into their trenches at the east port, but by the mistake of their guide, over a marish ground and full of ditches, were brought round about to Sir Jacob Ashley's quarter; where most of them came not up; only forty musketiers encountred

with five colours of the enemy, slew divers of them, took two lieutenants prisoners, forced back the rest, and marching a little farther, faced and fired at eight colours more, and so retreated; in the retreat two troopes of the enemies' horse came on the reare, whom our men facing about and charging forced to fall back and made good their own retreat; in this distracted skirmish two of ours were killed, three hurt, and a sarjent taken prisoner. The other party of the Lord Stanford's regiment commanded by Captaine Blunt and Captaine White, sallied by boat down the river on the south part of the town towards the maine leagre, marched up to a square redoubt (our cannon in the meanwhile playing upon the houses in the suburbs) beat them thence, killed a major with some common souldiers, and advanced to meet the other party. But the design failing through the misguidance of the other party, they were called off, and by the help of our ordnance made a faire retreat without losse of any, only two wounded. The failing of the enterprize crossed a brave exploit and feasible, they might have scoured the trenches under the shelter of our walls: neither did the enemy take care to prevent them by turning the mouthes of any one piece of ordnance upon the entry of the entrenchment. Neverthelesse the crosse event did much amaze them, that a small party should runne up to their head-quarters, force their men, and recover back without a sensible losse. Certainly the care of a higher Providence preserved and brought off those many severall parties, when the vanquishing of any one of them must needs run the city upon extream hazard; for our whole strength remained upon the works day and night, except the reserve of a hundred and twenty men at the maine guard. One rare and slender rank were to receive the storme without seconds, yet the safety of the whole did require those frequent sallies, a desperate remedy to a despairing city: not only to cast back the enemies' preparations, but to amaze them, that the souldiers should be held up in such height of resolution,



and cause them to expect more hot service from within the works: our men likewise were to be kept in the heat of action to prevent the fainting of the spirits: their hands also imbrued in blood did the more enrage them. Nor by safer meanes could they overcome the terrour, which by the reputation of the king's army might possesse their minds: the enemy were kept waking by continuall alarums to waste and weary them: and it was the care of the governour to cause a perpetuall noise; that whensoever their cannon had been silent for awhile, one or two of our guns gave fire to disturbe the calm, and signifie to the country that we were yet alive; for the besiegers ever and anon scattered reports of the taking of the town, with a purpose to prevent our reliefe. All things within did presage a deliverance. The sadnesse of the times did not cloud the countenance of the people, they beheld their fortunes with a clear brow, and were deliberate and chearfull in the endeavours of safety. No great complainings were heard in our streets, no discontent seized on the souldiers, at other times prone to mutiny; men of suspected fidelity did not faile in action; every valuable person was active in his own place: the usuall outcries of women were not then heard, the weakenesse of whose sexe was not overcome by the terrible engines of warre. And our becalmed spirits did implore divine assistance without confusion. The governour personally performed, ready at every turning of affaires, and gracing the businesse with speech and gesture; upon the least intimation of diffidence he pretended rationall hopes of successe, adding withall that our late yeelding could not mollifie the king's army; and if in the close we must needs be lost, no surer meanes of safety than by the utmost gallantry to constraine honourable conditions.

The enemy still prepared for a generall storm, meanwhile seeking to waste our magazine, which they knew must needs suddenly fayl, expended their own store, and dayly acted to the terrour of the inhabitants; shooting granadoes, fire-balls, and great stones out of

their mortar-peeces, and had now planted a battery on the south-side westward, unto which the lower part of the town was open. Thence in one night they shot above twenty fiery melting hot iron bullets, some eighteen pound weight, others two and twenty pound weight, which were seen to fly through the ayre like the shooting of a starre. They passed through stables, and ricks of hay, where the fire by the swiftnesse of the motion did not catch, and falling on the tops of houses, presently melted the leads, and sunk through; but all the skill and industry of the enemy could not set one house on fire.

They still playd their great shot against the wals, and wrought hard in filling up the moat with faggots and earth at the place where they battered, where also they built a gallery over the head of the trench, the breadth of foure abreast; in the shelter whereof they had almost workt themselves over the moat. Then we found that they had sunk a mine under the east gate; whereupon the governour commanded a counter-mine in two places, but finding the springs, left off, conceiving for the same reason the endeavour of the enemy to no purpose. To discover or interrupt this work, a serjeant with five daring men were put forth at a port hole in the dungeon at the east gate, came close to the mouth of their mine, took off the board that covered it, and for a while viewed the miners. One of these cast in a hand-granado amongst them, whilst the foure musketiers played upon them as they ran forth, and with the noise of our men from the walls gave the whole leager a strong alarm, and crept in at the port-hole without harm. Wherefore discovering that the enemy notwithstanding the springs, went on with their mine, we renewed our countermine; for they had sunk a great depth under the moat, and extreamly toyled in drawing up the spring water, till at length they had gotten under the gate that our miners could heare them work under them, and did expect to spoyle them by pouring in water, or stealing out their powder,

For a remedy to this mischiefe, and withall the enemy having planted store of canon baskets within half musketshot of the east gate point blank, intending a battery there, upon the springing of their mine; we made a very strong work crosse the street with a large trench before it, and filled it with water, intending to raise it up to the eaves of the houses, and to plant some cannon there: we answered their severall approaches by so many counter works. A sconce was built upon a rising ground that looked into their trenches, where we could plant four piece of ordnance to cleare within the wals a ground called the Friar's orchard southward, and scoure their flank upon their entrance at the east gate, and so northward. Also an inner work was drawn from the south side along the middle of the orchard, and all passages stopt between that and the east port. And to hinder their gallery we began to undermine for a place to put forth a peece of ordnance at the bottom of the wall, to batter the flank thereof; which was perfected and a saker there placed. Commanded men were drawn out upon the walls, granadoes provided, and when the great gun played upon the gallery, the musketiers sent plenty of shot, and cast divers granadoes into their trenches; in the mean while (they firing their ordnance against the top of the wall) we cut off a maine beame of the gallery with our bolt shot. But the same day the enemy had sunk a piece against the port-hole of our mine, and forced us to withdraw the sakre, yet we cast them back three days work.

And because all this side of the town had no flankers, nothing did more offend the enemy in their entrenchments than an old barne at a corner point, near the north port, in which was mounted a peece that commanded three severall wayes, and obliquely looked into their trenches, and oft times did good execution upon the pioners. This was the chiefe strength of that side, conceived the weakest part of the town. Upon the key head an halfe moon was rayzed, with a breast-work upon Seavern side under the castle,

to defend an assault from those high grounds beyond the river, which was ever feared by those within.

His majesty constantly residing at a mile's distance, would not solemnly invite by publique summons, lest hee should detract from the honour of his enterprize: neverthelesse, those about him dealt underhand by sundry advertizements of the king's displeasure, threatnings, perswasions, and many intimations of possible grace and favour. Some of our neighbours in their own names desired admission to a conference, and perswaded the surrender of the city, in regard of the great power and terrible menacings of the enemy, with the small hopes and in a manner impossibility of reliefe; adding withall the heavy burthens under which the countrey groaned. The governour made answer, that we were sufficiently conscious of our own strength, and the ground of our resolution, and that we did not think our selves obliged to the enemy for the hopes and offers of favour. These manifold perswasions made the besieged more obstinate, and enabled them to understand themselves as a people worthy of entreaty, a prize worth the purchase, and in no wise lost or desperate, the enemies themselves being judges.

As the souldiers within were heated with their own performance, so the enemy without being wasted in a lingering design before the houre of service came, grew feeble in their own thoughts and to us contemptible. Our common souldiers took to themselves a liberty to revile, prevented and confounded the enemy with the self-same language in which they were wont to abuse and scorne our party; which contumely, though it begets a more deadly hatred and desire of revenge in generous mindes, at that time did deject exceedingly and debase the spirits of their private souldiers, who had never performed one gallant atchievement and to whom the sturdinesse of our men was well known. The slownesse of their design in that form of a leaguer, proceeded from the desire of saving their foot,

and the general's army was tired with long and continuall marches. The admirable care of Providence was beheld in the season of our reliefe, when all things were prepared by the enemy for a generall storme; our ammunition consumed, but three single barrels of powder left in our magazine, and not so much more elsewhere: in the little harm done by their cannon and mortar-pieces, that sent amongst us so many terrible messengers. Our lost men taken or slain, did not amount to the number of fifty; and of these but two officers were slain, Captain Marcus and the governour's ensign; yet we killed of the enemy (who never ventured an assault) above a thousand men, by the lowest confession. The king expended much in ammunition, engines, and keeping together the discontented souldiers, besides the losse of his pretious time in that full tyde of victory. Here was a bound set to the swelling of those proud waves and the rock that split that army; when the queen was said to be transported with passion because her counsell was not followed, who advised the king to wave Gloucester and advance for London, whilst the parliament had no army in the field, the number of malignants in the city did equall the rest, began to rayse tumults, and the actions of state were unresolved. This city diverted the enemie's thoughts from that rare opportunity, which not so conscious of the kingdom's weaknesse, held up beyond reason, and gave a breathing time to the state to effect its own reliefe. Great was the failing of the king's hopes in this defeat, who by the gaining of this town, would have held an undivided uninterrupted command, and the granary of the kingdome in the heart of his country, on the west bounded with the sea, cleare through the middle of the land to the northerne parts, where also the Earl of Newcastle's army prevailed and in breadth reaching from the utmost Wales to the London association, and backed with Ireland, with whom an accommodation was then preparing.

Nevertheless the raising of the siege was but an unperfest

deliverance. The successe of the general's army with the supply of our wants were to make it compleat. For the enemy continually lay at our doores, commerce was clean taken away, and we farre distant from the fountaine of future supplies; wherefore during the stay of his excellency, parties of horse were continually sent abroad to fetch in provisions out of the enemy's quarters, and malignants' estates. The granary was quickly filled. The generall left three culverins, forty single barrells of gunpowder, and set the garrison in order.

The London train-bands and auxiliaries supposing the work already done, and the date of their commission expired, earnestly contended homewards, yet must they break their way through the king's army, and give him some further blow to secure and perfect the reliefe of this garrison; for so confident were the enemy of their own strength, that many thought his majesty ill-advised in not fighting with the Earle of Essex neare Gloucester: wherefore the generall was to secure his retreat, to take heed lest he be penned up in these parts, and with that speed made after the king's army (which by this time had gotten some miles in the van of our army) that some horse and foot out of the remote quarters marched above thirty miles before they rested. They came up before Cirencester where the king had left a strong party. The forlorne hope entred the town whilst the rest surrounded it, killed the sentinell sleeping, marched up to the market place without opposition (the enemy supposing them Prince Maurice his forces, that night expected) till they entred the houses and surprized them in bed, took foure hundred men, and thirty cart-loades of bread, cheese, and other provisions, a great reliefe in a wasted countrey, and the only support of the souldiers against the battle at Newbery.

The successe of which battell did close up with honour that happy and gallant undertaking of the lord generall, and the citizens of London: as brave a service as these warres can shew forth,

enobled by its wonderfull rise, lively progresse, nimble expedition, admirable fortune and honourable conclusion. Notwithstanding his Excellency had hereby disabled and broken the king's army, and secured the garrison of Gloucester from a sudden reverse; yet his own army was sorely bruised, and retiring to London, left but a little burthen upon the enemy on that side. By which meanes they were free to molest these parts and this garrison left to bear the brunt, provide for itselfe, and run the danger though not of an other siege, yet of blocking up and ruine by the spoyle of our countrey, which that party decreed to destruction; and the enemy at the doore and the distance of our friends did threaten no lesse. Not a man could be left by the generall to encrease our strength, nor money to content the souldier; there was only an assurance of help from the parliament, when the arreares of officers and souldiers were large; the governour made certaine propositions to the parliament concerning the support of this place; that since at such a distance he could not expect a constant supply, they would send down at once ten thousand pounds and a thousand men, farre below the place's due; according to the termes of the souldiers' entertainment, might set things in a thriving way, and enable the souldier to act of themselves without those continuall cravings and out-cryes against the state. Upon which termes the activenesse of this government gave assurance of the framing of an army to master the countrey then enthralled to the enemy, yea, to lie upon the enemy's quarters, consume their store, distresse their cheife garrisons of Bristoll and Oxford and endanger the rest as Hereford and Worcester, and stop their supply of men and money. Such a strong beginning had been more than halfe way to the end of the work.

But the state seemed to walk in a frugall course and desire a daily dropping of reliefe, rather than to entrust much, which is not the way of great performance nor can bring to the end of the

design; when as this rationall adventure might give the encrease of an hundredfold: and upon the failing hereof the greatest mischief could bee no more than the losse of that expence. Wherefore they voted a supply and raised men and moneys in a languishing way, that those five hundred listed for Gloucester were reduced to a fifty, ere they could reach us, and the greatest part of the money squandered away without a sensible advantage to this garrison.

After Newbery fight Sir William Vavasour was sent to Hereford, with a strong party to raise forces in those parts with commission to command in chiefe in the countreys of Gloucester and Hereford, and a command from his majestie to distresse Gloucester on the Welch side, and to garrison Tewkesbury.

Colonell Massie was not satisfied in keeping his own garrison, but eager of continuall service, to destroy or disable the enemy, for which no other place in the kingdome was conceived capable of the like advantage: wherefore by himselfe urged, he set upon the parliament with importunate complaints that for lack of strength great opportunities of service to us and disservice to them were lost. And a greater mischief did exercise this government, the want of men and money, and ammunition to defend it selfe; upon which, extreme scarcity of provision was like to follow, and in these hopes did the enemy blesse themselves; so that the advantage and honour of maintaining the city against the violence of an army was like to vanish in the lingring death of the place. And the governor was about to embrace an other command in the generall's army, yet reserving a submission to the parliament's pleasure, who required him to continue his service in this government. This charge was surrounded with difficulties, and each day brought forth some new birth. When the enemy begirt us in their winter quarters, the hopes of our promised succours were past without the convoy of an army. Not one gentleman of the countrey durst be seen to assist us, no member of parliament did reside here to en-

courage the businesse. All things rested upon the governour's sole care both to store the garrison with provisions, and raise money out of that small pittance of the countrey out of the enemies hands. The discontent of the souldier was now heightned and ready to cause a disbanding. To make good the place was the parliament's command: and inevitable necessity was the cheifest law to support it. Wherefore apprehending more misery than in the late siege, the governor was constrained to lay some easie taxation on the countrey to supply the present exigence, whilst the enemies power extended on all sides almost to the gates of Gloucester. Hereupon daily complaints were brought before him, that the taxes were unequally rated by the officers of the severall parishes, that such as were broken by the enemy, were rated as high as if their estates were entire. The governour represented these things to the parliament, earnestly begged their direction in his intended course, which by them was not in one syllable contradicted: wherefore at a counsell of warre the condition of the countrey was debated upon, and an order made that some officers and citizens should be intreated as a committee to hear and rectifie the complaints concerning assessments, and to use that moderation which reason did require. Not long after a petition was presented to the governour in the name of the countrey, that one monthly rate without other charge, might be imposed upon them, likewise that the rate might be made according to equity, and the poore spared; that the money might bee paid in to the common treasurer, whence it should issue as necessity required, and that a choyce committee might be appointed to over-see all the money rated, received and disbursed. The governour to manifest his desire of the people's satisfaction, and that things might bee carryed in a just and equall way, ordered by the consent of a counsell of warre, that a committee of officers, citizens, and countrey gentlemen, should regulate the assessments of the countrey according to their desires. Some of which gentle-

men not long after were of the committee for these counties by order of parliament.

Moreover, this committee moved at a councill of warre for a further power to heare and determine such businesses as by the governour's speciall order should be referred unto them, to examine upon oath, and commit all such persons (officers and souldiers only excepted) as should offer contempt; and this they enforced with these reasons: 1. Because there was no committee of parliament then in being, nor would any adventure such an undertaking in an oppressed and distracted countrey; and the necessities of the garrison did admit of no delay. 2. That this committee consisting of souldiers, citizens and countrey gentlemen would give satisfaction both to the countrey men, who payd their money, when themselves were acquainted with its necessity and desposall; and to the souldiers, who being privy to the receipt of the money and the countrey's indigence, might be contented with a slender entertainment: that at once it seemed to prevent discontent in the countrey, and mutiny in the souldier. 3. That the petitions of the countrey pressed upon the governour in such multitudes, that a great part of his time which might be spent against the enemy to better purpose, was taken up herewith, or many persons must needs be exposed to injury and oppression. 4. Because all course of law from Westminster was then stopped, not a lawyer left in the countrey, no court of equity to relieve the oppressed, or curb the extremity of the law, whose present want was not so much in setting estates and determining right, as in providing for the support of the garrison, then like to be ruined; of which the king's partie had as great a confidence as before the siege. No landlord could receive his rent, no intercourse of trade between man and man, whereby to enable them to pay taxations. And for these reasons such an order by the councill of warre was then assented unto.

In this the people never groaned under the governour's power; their voluntary submission was a witness of his moderation. And this authority had more of entreaty than constraint, only the sword had some influence of feare upon the injurious; the proceedings of the town-court not suspended, but sometimes entreated to forbear upon equitable considerations. And when the governour began to observe some derogation from his intentions, by this committee, he instantly sent a prohibition. It was never his thought to rule by the sword, but in a desperate case by the same to cut out a way wherein the rules of law and justice might freely passe. He was ever unwilling to take the charge upon him, and by severall letters requested the parliament, that the burthen of government might be layd upon some other; or if that charge must rest upon him, that they would send down a committee, that might take off the former cares, and permit him to look to the well ordering of his forces for the safety of this place, and to enlarge his quarters, that the service here might not bee only to keep Gloucester, but weaken the enemy, and beget friends daily to the parliament.

Such was the face of government within the city, whilst the enemy acted his part without, and bore down by force on all sides. From Hereford Sir Williamavasour with about seven hundred horse and foot marched into Tewksbury, with a purpose to garrison that town. A wide and open place not easy to be held by us, who had neither competent strength nor time to fortify, the king's forces continually lying upon us. Sir William made shew of setting the garrison, styled himselfe governour of Tewksbury, invited the countrey with promises of moderation and candour in all his proceedings; yet these Welch forces had scarce taken up their quarters, but received an alarum from Gloucester, by a party that went up in a friggot: and the common souldiers partly discontented with their officers, who had often deceived that innocent people, and betrayed them to the sword; and partly repining for want of

pay, fell into a desperate mutiny, forced their commanders, chose rather to be kill'd than to fight, and constrained their flight out of the town, hasted over Upton bridge, and did scarce look back, till safe in their own countrey: and it was to be suspected that many late knocks had beaten out their spirits, but chiefly that they were afraid of this countrey ayre, in which they could never thrive. By this meanes the excrescence of Sir William Vavasour's government was pared off, and himself driven to retire into Hereford.

Nevertheless we are cooped up with the enemy's garrisons round about, and wholly divided from the rest of the parliament's army. Sudeley castle was maintained by the Lord Chandos, a great stop to our entercourse with Warwick, which was the only way of commerce with London, that a scout could not passe without extream hazard. Berkley castle was held for the king by a Scottish captain, and subdued the richest part of the county. In the heart of the forrest Sir John Winter strongly fortified and defended his own house: and now the enemy had put a garrison into Beverstone castle, resolving withall not to leave one strong house unguarded, both to enlarge their own quarters, and to stop our markets and contribution. Our governour began to look forth, and first for want of quarters was enforced to send abroad his own company, which were placed in a defenceable house at Frampton upon Severn. These were a stop to the incursions from Berkley, and furthered the safety of that side of the countrey. An hundred and fifty foot of Colonell Devereux his regiment garrisoned a strong house at Presbury, within foure miles of Sudeley castle. These sorely vexed the enemy in those parts, did a little open the passage towards Warwick, and the house proved a good resting place in the repasse. Another guard was set at Westbury on the edge of the forrest, to affront Sir John Winter, a most active enemy, and one chiefe agent of the popish faction. Sir John, assisted with the Lord Herbert's horse, threatned us out of the forrest, and had made

a passage over Seavern at Newnham, to afflict those parts beyond the river. Notwithstanding all this, our small party by continuall action upheld their repute. Some weeks after the raising of the siege, the governour marched with his two troops and two hundred musketers before Berkley castle. The musketers faced and kept in the enemy, whilst the horse fell into the countrey beyond to fetch in the persons of some principall malignants, but in stead of them met with the Lords Herbert's troops, and an hundred and fourty horse besides, which came to relieve the castle. Our horse with some few musketers fell upon them, put them to a retreat, and slew some few without any losse to our party, who drew off expecting the opportunity of a greater strength.

About this time Sir John Winter entred upon the government of Newnham; whereupon he took the courage to plunder the villages neare Gloucester: his horse came within three miles of the city, and drove away store of the countrey cattle. The governour receiving intelligence, drew forth his small number of horse not exceeding seventy, made after and pursued them to the entrance of their new garrison, where they had already secured their plunder: in the retreat five troops of the Lord Herbert's regiment fell on the reare; our men drew up in a narrow lane ready to receive the charge, fired upon them, and put them to a running retreat. An officer with twelve troopers made the pursuit, took one horse colours, and some prisoners, and killed a cornet, and quarter-master, which event made Sir John Winter for present quit that government with much distraction.

At that time there was no lofty stage of action, because the present enemy did yeeld no gallant opportunity. Sir John Winter was wise for himselfe, nimble in inferiour businesses, delighted rather in petty and cunning contrivance than open gallantry, referred all his industry to his own house, or the limits of the forrest, vexed his neighbours more than weakned his enemy, and advanced the catho-

like cause no other way than by the plague and ruine of the countrey.

On the other side of the city the enemy was imboldned to erect new governments at Tedbury and Wotton Underedge. These did invite the governour's march that way, who withall had his eye upon Beverstons castle newly garrison'd, and commanding the rich clothiers of Stroodwater: hither he advanced with a party of three hundred foot and four score horse. These horse sent before were so formidable to the enemy at Tedbury, that the governour Horatio Cary with his whole regiment were put to flight, and dissipated with the losse of fourteene of their men slaine and taken prisoners.

Colonell Massey brought up his men and two sakers against Beverston castle, where having surrounded it, hee planted his guns within pistoll shot of the gate, and gave fire severall times. Fifty musketiers ran up to the gate at noone-day and fixed a petarre, which neverthelesse failed in the execution. Those from within threw granadoes amongst our men, but hurt none, who although thereby forced from the gate, yet they ran up the second time, being open to the full shot of a secure enemy, and brought of the petarre with much gallantry. The design was not feazible for a quick dispatch; for the gate was barricado'd within, the night came on, and those remote parts did promise no security to so small a party; likewise the state of the city required them nearer home: wherefore after twelve houres the party was drawn off, and in the retreat advanced towards Wotton Underedge, where the enemy had placed a kind of temporary garrison with a regiment of horse; they prepared for the comming of our forces, drew up on a hill before the town to face them, and at night retreated to their garrison; where our men arrived somewhat late, and found the enemy all mounted, fell upon them and put them to flight, of whom about six were slaine, and twelve taken prisoners, the rest escaping to Bristoll.

The next day by an over-ruling hand of Providence, our party

was led back to Gloucester, contrary to the hope of Sir John Winter and his complices. These having intelligence of the governour's absence with a strong party, and supposing the garrison thereby weakened, sent to all the quarters of the forrest: Monmouth and Herefordshire, to draw together and advance for the surprisall of Gloucester. It was afterwards suspected a complotment, to be managed by the assistance of malignants in the city. Late at night the governour had notice of the enemy in the forrest. Thereupon he commanded Captain Crispe to draw fifty musketiers from the guards and march three miles that way, making good a house that stood on the passage. As yet there was no suspition of a plot, but before our party had passed a mile and halfe, they encountred the enemy who were drawn up horse and foot in a broad lane neare Highnam house, instantly fired upon them, slew a captaine, and some foure common souldiers. The enemy were amazed at the sudden and unexpected encounter, forced back with feare, and retreated to Huntly, where Sir John Winter had secured his own person: but distracted by the strange repulse, marched off in great confusion at the approach of fiftene horse that fell in amongst his whole brigade, slew seven or eight, and took ten prisoners.

This discomfited the enemy and dashed the designe; yet the Hereford and Monmouthshire forces kept their randevouz at Coford in the forrest, and still threatned the city. No meanes for the reducing of this place is left unattempted, and as this present treachery was the grand design and over-ruled all their proceedings, and prevented many mischievous acts of open hostility, which might easily have destroyed us; for divers malignant gentlemen of this county went about to cast this city into extreme poverty and exigence by the countrey's ruine: Wherefore conceiving the present enemies not sufficiently cruell, they importuned his majesty that Colonell Charles Gerrard might quarter upon us with his brigade, to

devour, spoyle and burn, besides the expectation of all the mischiefe the Lord Herbert and Vavasour can doe. But this malicious counsell and instigation though most opportune for the king's purpose, was afterwards crossed by their own party, waiting upon the successe of a close design.

About this time was the act of pacification made by the king with the Irish rebels, which began to undeceive the world, and wipe off the varnish of the former oathes and protestations. The world could not believe that any command or power could so soone allay and quell those Irish stormes, but that word which raised them up: then did the effect declare the cause of those rare and slow proclamations against that bloody rebellion, and strange intercepting of reliefe sent from the state to the distressed Protestants. The greatest admirer of the king's declarations could judge no lesse than that those rebells did better comply with his intentions than the parliament of England; since his majesty having two enemies, is resolved to make peace with one to crush the other; he will fall in with that party that carries least contradiction to his maine designe; and this was the rebell of Ireland; whose chiefe aime likewise his majesty must not abhorre: for there can bee no lasting compliance without a mutuall engagement. Besides, the heads of that rebellion were brought over not as accessaries, but principals in the king's warre, and admitted to the secret counsell. And to colour the pacification, the losse of that kingdome and all the sufferings of the English protestants were charged upon the parliament. The English forces in Ireland were possest with the opinion of neglect in the state, and were taken off the persuite of a just revenge upon those cursed rebels to warre against their native countrey, and teare the bowels of the mother that bare them, and therein act a part, and cast in their lot with the rebels themselves.

Some of these Irish forces landed at Bristoll, and thence fell down upon Gloucestershire: Colonell Min, and Sir William St.

ing succours, or if they did not come, speedily to compell us to yeeld up the city ; for it was reported with the enemy, and believed by many, that we suffered extreame penury.

And though provisions were not much wanting, being in a fat countrey, yet the reall exigences of the garrison were great; for lack of pay the discontents of the souldiers were desperate and endlesse. In most of the officers a generall neglect of duty, who for the least check would throw up their commissions, to the governour's great discontent and trouble. Many inferiour officers forsook us, and common souldiers ranne to other places that yielded a large and constant entertainment, and required lesse service ; whilst honest and gallant men that did not desert their colours, were exposed to misery and want ; yet could we not want men, who daily offered themselves to the service, had wee moneys to pay them. Neither had wee any power of men to raise moneys for the garrison's maintenance. Our out-guards, as Presbury. Wesbury, Essington, Frampton, Froster, set to preserve the countrey, and keep the markets open, did eat up the greater part of the contribution, and consume our men and ammunition, besides the daily sending out of parties. It was a kinde of shifting life : and wonderfull, that the officers' command should finde the least measure of obedience. Some officers did expend their own meanes to keep their companies entire ; the governour was necessitated at his own charge to billet above threescore souldiers, besides the charge of a troop. The countrey was impoverished, the commission of excise not yet settled, and brought in no considerable summe. The citizens were restrained of trade, and the wayes of commerce stopped up ; and therefore at present they were quite lost to the garrison. Besides the slownesse and low reports of our succours did exceedingly dis-hearten the people. Many countrey gentlemen who were not the confidants of the contrary faction, were about to comply with this government, especially upon the parliament's declaration of

pardon ; but the notice of those slender supplies, and the thought of the states' supposed neglect, turned them off, and made them more violent against us. For this lasting suspense and bondage under two parties did vex them : wherfore his majesty was again importuned, to destroy and fire the countrey, if he could not lodge his forces so neare as to block us up.

The garrison neverthelesse did not only defend its own territories, but made sundry adventures and inrodes upon the enemies' quarters, staved off, and kept them within their bounds. The governour had built a friggot for service upon the river, to secure the countrey near Gloucester, on that side Seavern, because the enemy commanded greatest part of the river, and landed at their pleasure upon our quarters, from Bristoll and Wales. This friggot was sent down Seavern manned with sea-men and a party of souldiers, for whatsoever attempt sudden opportunity should offer ; and arriving at Chepstow, our musketteers hasted ashore, and entred the town, where they surprized most of the officers of Colonell O'Neale's regiment, rayzed under the command of the Lord Herbert. These never dreamed of an enemy from Gloucester, in that corner of the land, at such a distance. And this was the advantage of the service, that by the surprisall of the officers, it prevented the raysing of that regiment of horse which shortly after would have plagued the countrey. Our men having secured their prisoners, and ready to make homewards, another prize fell into their hands, where they took a vessell laden from Bristoll with oyle, wine, sugar, and other commodities. These little services were answerable to the times, and upheld the esteem of the garrison in that low ebbe. This expedition gave an alarum to Bristoll, and all Wales, who to prevent the like inrode, sent up divers friggots to guard the river.

At this time Sir William Vavasour began to appeare from Tewksbury, and made an attempt upon Bodington house, a petty garrison of ours, only to preserve the countrey. Hither he came

up with five hundred foot and two peeces of ordnance, fired his gunnes against the house, and engaged himselfe in an assault. The place was maintayned by them within, till a small party drew from Gloucester, the report of which (at three miles distance) caused Colonell Vavasour to draw off and return back to Tewkesbury, with the losse of eight or ten men before the house. Neither did Vavasour seem to act with that violence, which the out-side of the enemy's design did look for: whether retarded by the dulnesse of nature, or the notice of some close contrivance. However, the slownesse and ill successe of his actions rendred him obnoxious to the jealousies of his own party; which suspition was easily encreased by the intercourse of civility between him and Colonell Massie, when the known fidelity and constant indeavours of the one could inable him without offence to his own side to disport with an enemy in such complements, as the other had not the liberty to use. Such neglected passages have a great weight in the ballance of reputation and honour: since the minde is not revealed by it selfe, and wise men as well as fooles oft-times have only the event to guide their judgements.

On the other side of the town, we had continuall skirmishes with Colonell Veale, newly made governour of Berkly castle, and assisted with the Lord Inchequeen's regiment of horse. This enemy was no way formidable nor mischievous in any thing save the plunder of the countrey, by whom hee was oft-times beaten back and kept in awe by the assistance of Frampton garrison. The church at Newnham was againe fortified and defended by Sir John Winter with a sufficient strength of men, and foure pieces of ordnance, whence hee might runne up to the gates of Gloucester, rob the countrey and take men's persons at pleasure, only we kept a guard at Arlingham to hinder his passage over Seavern.

Colonell Min lay strong at Newent, Highleaden, and Tainton: the governour could doe little on that side, only he placed a garri-

son at Hartpury court, both to preserve Cosselawne, and to endeavour the engagement of Colonell Min. Our garrison at Frampton was removed to Slimbridge within foure miles of Berkley; we had other guards likewise at Essington and Froster, to preserve and enable the people to contribution. Thus was the city pestered on every hand, and fetched its livelihood out of the fire, with continuall hazard, forcing the enemies quarters, and defending its own; parties were daily drawn out by the governour, who then could not aime at victory, nor expect any great performance, though the common people repined that he did not alwayes conquer, when it was conquest enough to keep the enemy in action, and prevent their extravagances, to beare up the hearts of our friends, and signifie to the world that we were yet alive. Though the governour was not invited abroad, yet he strove to make opportunities according to the stock of ammunition that was left him; that counsell might spring out of the midst of action. He drew out upon Tainton with two hundred muskietiers, and with a hundred horse faced the house, only to keep in or amaze them, but when the horse marched off, some of their troopes fell on the reare-guard and charged the governour, who re-encountred and charged home some distance before the rest of the troop, and by the breaking of the curb, his horse carryed him amongst the enemies troopes, with whom for a while he grappled, and was rescued by the gallantry of a common trooper, by which time our muskietiers were brought up, and beat them back without losse to us.

The governour choosed rather to make work for the enemy, and to seek him in his own quarters, than lie at home to expect the challenge: yet did he play a wary game, and though zealous of honour, yet more true to the maine chance and tender of the lives of men: wherefore hee advanced againe with foure hundred muskietiers and fifty horse; came before Tainton, and with a small party faced the house, having laid some ambuscados with a purpose to allure them

into the snare, and cut off their men as well to encourage the countrey as weaken the enemy, but they did not adventure out. When we drew thence, our men beheld a faire body of horse at Highleaden, whereupon a forlorn hope of our musketers with twenty horse advanced upon them, and found their horse and foot drawn out of Highleaden house: these were to joyn with Colonell Min, who at that instant was marched out of Newent, with a purpose to fall on Hartpury garrison. Here at the first some few of our horse gave the charge, hurried the enemy and beat up their ambuscadoes: then they drew out their whole garrison and fell on; their horse did not stand to it, but with their foot there was an hot skirmish almost an houre: and though our seconds were slow in coming up, yet did the forlorn hope drive them from hedge to hedge, and after awhile our body comming on beat them in, and pursued them up to the very house, took some few prisoners, and came off with the losse only of two men.

Such multitudes of the king's forces lay upon us to oppresse the countrey and intercept our reliefe, that they were extremely straitned of quarter, and enforced to look forth for livelihood. Whereupon two thousand horse and foot marched from Tewkesbury to Painsewick to gather contribution, and rob the countrey about Stroudwater: the governour drew out two hundred musketers with an hundred horse, and marched to the top of Bruckthorp hill expecting the enemy, whom he found divided into three bodies and himselfe born down by their multitude, for whilst two parties faced him, the third stole down an hollow lane, and had almost surrounded him unawares by the negligence of the scouts, so that our whole body was brought into great danger, driven to a sudden and confused retreat, and the governour himselfe left deeply engaged; yet most of our men got off, being preserved only by the gallantry of a few resolved men that stood in the breach; and of them Captaine George Massie striving to retard the pursuit,

grappled with three together hand to hand, received a sore wound in the head, and was happily rescued by a serjeant of the company; of ours, two lieutenants and sixteen private souldiers were taken prisoners, the rest in disorder ran down the steep through a rough and narrow lane, and recovered an house at the foot of the hill, where a party was left to make good the retreat, and the enemy durst not pursue, by which meanes all the bottome was preserved from spoyle; next day they retreated to Tewkesbury laden with plunder.

Suddenly after this repulse, we lost two small garrisons at Westbury and Huntly, by the treachery of Captaine Thomas Davis, who sold them at a rate to Sir John Winter. This Davis commanded the guard at Huntly, where himselfe by night some distance from the house attended the enemies' comming, went in before them as friends from Gloucester, gave them possession, and having accomplished that peece of treason, immediately marched to Wesbury where he was received for a friend, and led in his traine of cava-leers, that both places were surprized in two houres, and above eighty men and armes lost in that great exigence. This villaine was posted on the gallows in Gloucester, and the lord generall was desired that his name might stand upon the gibbet in all the parliament garrisons.

During these things, a treason of higher nature was plotted by the enemy, to a self-delusion in the close, a greater birth requiring more time to bring forth. It was first conceived the nineteenth of November, and for near ten weeks had the prime influence on their whole course in these parts; and is now ripe for action. All the force they can make from Oxford, and the Irish are drawn together. The Lord Herbert, Colonell Vavasour, and Sir John Winter lie upon us, and Prince Rupert himselfe lying at Newent, hoping to effect this great design. Fifteen colours of horse arrived at Cirencester, and five hundred horse and foot advanced to Saperton and

Musarden, within ten miles of this garrison. There were of the enemies' forces round about, near six or seven thousand.

The failing of their endeavours and hopes in the late siege, brought forth a despaire of reducing the city by storme, and put them upon the wayes of treachery, who therein illuded themselves, and were over-acted in their own counsels. One Edward Stanford an esquire, and a grand papist, assaulted the fidelity of Captain Backhouse once his friend and acquaintance. He presumed that former friendship might make way to admit the plot, and Backhouse's power and interest in the governour made it (in his conception) very feasible. Wherefore in a private letter he tendred the renewing of ancient love, not only to the procuring of the king's pardon, but a greater advancement and fortune than the condition of those whom he served, could rayse him to. This might be purchased by the delivering of Gloucester into their hands, which was not hard for him to perform considering the nature of his employment. And the honesty of the enterprize was grounded on the old proverb, *fallere fallentem non est fraus*. An hasty and abrupt temptation and the tempter's irrationall confidence did befool him in the first onset, who knew not either to propose or expect such grounds of assurance as the thing did require; but set upon a knowing man, without the knowledge of any imbred inclination to treason or present provocation. Except a strange levity, a minde set on mischief, the conscience of delinquency, or desire of revenge, vain glory, or riches, are the sole aimes of a traytor, and the hopes of either must appear large and certain; but here an attempt is made on such a one who neither by feare was compeld to provide for himselfe, nor enraged against his own party, but acknowledged a present felicity in the work in hand: as though it were possible to perswade a man wittingly to contrive his own overthrow.

The letters were no sooner received, but communicated to the governour, who advised to embrace the businesse, and hold a cor-

respondence with that party, practizing that rule by themselves propounded, for these reasons: First, It was a delight and glory to take them in that snare which themselves had layd; and the advantage was great. 2. That this treason (already secured) might prevent other conspiracies against the city, so long as they had faire hopes of prevailing by this; 1st the contrivance of a second should confound the disposition of the first. 3. That the countrey under the command of this garrison, which upon the petition of the malignant gentry was devoted to destruction, might be preserved, and spared by the enemy, in hope to enjoy the benefit thereof themselves; for the embracing of this plot did not draw on the enemy, but held his hand, and suspended the execution of his fury. 4. To spin out the plot, and feed their expectation till the countrey had vented in the markets their spare provisions of corn and cattle. 5. That the enemy possest and taken up with the gayning of the city, might give the parliament's forces in other parts of the kingdome a greater freedome to execute their designes. 6. That a flattering promise might allay their fury till the winter were past, or our reliefe come, and we be able to feed them with harder meat; and that themselves might taste the cursed fruits of treason, to a selfe-shame and confusion. The design was communicated to Captain William Singleton alderman, and Captain Read.

For these and the like reasons, Backhouse undertook the businesse, and returned an answer in a liberrall garb, protesting that he honoured his majesty with his soule, and was ready to perform all reall service. He seemed withall to promote the plot by requiring sworn secrecy, and agreeing upon a trusty messenger: and that he might seem more deeply to relish the matter, catcht hold on the promise of reward, and required some unquestionable assurance, that he might not play an after-game poorely. Thus the fraud is returned upon them by one that strives to maintayn the repute of integrity, conceiving it no transgression of military honour, to deceive them into a snare by verball equivocation, as well as by a

doubtfull action, the common way of the stratagems of warre. This confident reply and the palpable discovery of a sudden change, did not render him suspected, but beyond all reason gave the complotters great contentment, who did not enquire into the conviction and change of his thoughts by due degrees. Stanford desired him forthwith to expresse his conditions, propose the way, and descend unto the particulars of the service, assented to constant intercourse, and assured him that none but the Lord Digby should be privy to the design. Captain Backhouse drew the modell of the plot in this following letter to Mr. Stanford.

SIR,

You desire my conceit in proposall of particular propositions, and of my reward : to both which I shall thus propose unto you to present to more mature judgements : whether I may not by drawing out my troop in an evening (as I can doe at any time) meet with your forces, and bring them in at the gate on the sudden in a moon-shine night, and so master the first guard, which may easily be done and not discerned till too late ; my troop being above three score, who may be all in the reare, and at your mercy, though I my selfe shall lead in the force, which cannot give the alarme in the night so soon as to prevent the designe. Whether if I perswade the governour with a strong party of horse and foot upon some designe to lie out all night eight or ten miles distant from the garrison (as I know I can doe) and I my selfe stay at home, in whose absence you may safely advance in the evening to the town's side, when I can come out to you, and so bring you in under colour of our owne forces. Whether if I finde out a place slenderly guarded, and somewhat easie to come in at, I may draw off the sentinels upon some pretence, as I can do, being known unto them all, and there direct your entrance. Whether if I send for hay, and give you notice of the very time of its comming in, which must be in the night, I may not after the carts bring in some men as carters, who

may have snaphance muskets in the carts, and some dragoons to fall in in the reare of the carts, who may master the first guards, and possesse the ordnance there, and so let in both horse and dragoons who with such ordnance may march through all the streets in the town. These severall wayes I propose for the present, but I conceive that those who have been versed in the taking of towns may make more choice of propositions, any of which if I apprehend it feazible, I shall gladly undertake, or render a reason of my dislike. As for my reward I am right sensible of how great concernment the businesse is to your side, and although it be utterly against my spirit to indent before hand, especially with such gallant and noble personages; but the straits I have beene put into for lack of money, (having received no pay for my selfe from those whom I serve) and my estate and charge bids me look to that. I shall expect two thousand pound to bee secured, two or three hundred whereof I shall desire you as my friend to procure in hand, that I may bee enabled to beare up my port and credit, especially among the common souldiers and under-officers of the garrison, to whom I must be open handed, and engage affection, that they may be ready at my call. Secondly, to engage mine owne troop, and to binde such unto me with a silver cord, as I shall finde fittest for my purpose; and withall plentifully to reward the entercoursers between you and me, that they may execute our commands with all celerity and trust. This I leave to your consideration and mannage, and hope that ere long we shall meet to discourse it, when all the world shall not know.

R. B.

These propositions are sent to Oxford, entertained by the king's cabinet-councell, the Lord Digby becomes the great undertaker, and ratifies the proposall of Captaine Backhouse in the following letter:

Sir, You having so farre declared your desires to serve his majesty unto my very good friend Master Stanford, I thinke it fit you should now receive some more authentick assurance of his majestie's gracious acceptance thereof, than perhaps you will think his bare assurance to be. Therefore I doe here solemnely engage my word unto you both as a minister of state, and a gentleman, that if you shall performe faithfully what you promise there, you shall punctually receive immediately after, such a pardon as your selfe shall desire, and the summe of two thousand pounds. As for the three hundred you desire in present, such a confidence I will have in your word, that as soon as ever I shall have received your answer to this under your hand, it shall be forthwith paid into whatsoever place you shall appoint, or to what person. As for the particular waies of effecting our designe, those you propose are very rationall, but the choice, and disposition thereof must be between you, and those that are to execute it, with whom if it were possible you should procure a meeting at some unsuspected place. I doe propose unto you the choyce of severall men, and whom of them you shall like best, and thinke fittest by reason of the place where his command is, to him alone, and to no other the businesse shall be imparted, whether Sir William Vavasour commander in chiefe of the forces now in Gloucestershire, or Colonell Myn, commander of a brigade of the English that come out of Ireland, or Colonell Washington who is at Evesham; or lastly, whether the governour of Berkley-castle. As soon as you shall send me an answer you shall receive satisfaction, from him who hopes you will so behave your selfe as to make me,

Your assured friend,

G. D.

Here this degenerate lord sels his honour and betrayes the esteeme of gallantry, by promoting and engaging himselfe to re-



ward the vilest treason, and to insinuate himself into the close workings thereof, when many brave spirits out of their abundant justice have disdained the proffer of so base a service. And herein did hee derogate from the repute of an able statesman in relying upon the doubtfull expressions of an unknowne person, and whose condition could not invite any of the least ground of belief.

Hereupon a correspondency was held with the Lord Digby; unto whom Backhouse made his reply, that his lordship's directions suted with his owne former proposals made unto Master Stanford, to wit, that the commander of the forces to be imployed herein must be conscious of the designe; and as touching the choice of a chiefe actor on their part, he conceived Sir William Vavasour the fittest man, because he was neere the businesse, his men lying at Ledbury, when the rest were more remote and of inconsiderable strength: as also because he had the best advantage to make his approach undiscovered, there being no suburbs nor house neere the city from his quarters, nor any out-guard to give the alarm. And for himselfe, upon a few daies' notice he would comply with their expectation, as the actors should agree upon all circumstances.

Upon this they returned large expressions of reward, and honour, but the present payment of the three hundred pounds was waved by Stanford, as much as possible, upon pretence of the danger of mis-fezance in the maine plot. Backhouse would not admit the excuse, importuned the payment, as well to have something in hand, as to let them know the great wheele that turned him about, that the palpable shew of corruption might make them more confident. Neither could they well keepe backe the earnest of this guerdon, lest they should render themselves capable of his dislike or jealousie, or seem to suspect his trust, whose adventure (if reall) in every line was sufficient to ruine him, and he left to bewaile his owne misfortune: wherefore it was resolved, that this Stanford and

Captaine Backhouse should debate upon the businesse by word of mouth; they met accordingly in Coslawne at an houre appointed, without armes or attendants, where Backhouse received two hundred pounds in hand, with a promise from Stanford to discharge a bond of fifty pounds, and was not once urged in the whole conference to an asseveration of fidelity by protestation or oath. He received likewise the contrivance of the plot laid by Master Stanford, Sir William Vavasour, and others that were lately come to Tewkesbury, which ranne thus: that Colonell Massie should be drawne out of the garrison with a strong party towards Berkley-castle, having assurance that the castle should be rendered, which was really intended by them, that the gaining of Gloucester might be the more facile. In the absence of the governour Captaine Backhouse was to open the gate, and deliver the word. Thus was the plot proposed and approved by Backhouse, but with additionall advise, that their forces might with all speed relinquish Tewkesbury, because he should never perswade the governour to draw forth such a party, whilst they lay so strong upon us. This also was assented unto by the complotters, being secure of their agent, and blinded with extreame desire and confidence. And had not the proposall of the enemy been by themselves deserted, we had possest Berkley-castle, and placed a garrison in Tewkesbury. Yet so farre did they prosecute the businesse, that Sir William Vavasour sent to require the governour of Berkley to draw out his whole garrison (which was refused, without the king's, or Prince Rupert's speciall command) himselfe also commanded a great part of his foot to Parshow, professed his endeavours to march with the residue, and all the horse; but that his majestie's commissioners were so averse as by no meanes to consent or permit, unlesse they might know and approve the designe, whom he professed to leave unsatisfied, lest he might doe Backhouse a disservice, and prevent or disturbe the motion. Notwithstanding Backhouse knew well enough that the councill of



warre at Tewkesbury, and the whole court at Oxford are full of this complement; and so close was the businesse carried that the London Mercury had blazoned him for a traytor. Wherefore upon this pretence they runne backe to one of the former propositions, to wit, that he would draw forth his owne troope, with one more, which should be put in the reare of their horse, and himselfe lead the forlorne hope into the towne. But he exquisitely declined this way, pretending himselfe not a little dashed at the disturbance of the first intention, which in his owne thoughts ranne so feazeble, and alledged the governour's watchfulnesse in observing the garrison of Tewkesbury, that he had given private commands to the officers both of horse and foot to be instantly ready upon the first advance of their forces, and kept abroad night and day good parties of horse to bring intelligence. So that he could not joyne with them, without suspition or discovery: and as he should be glad to confirme their opinion of his reall performance, for whom he did thus hazzard his life and fortune, so should he be infinitely unwilling to put them upon any enterprize which to themselves might prove prejudiciall: he minded them withall that the true frame of the plot was the life of the action. That one misfeizance in a businesse of this nature was never to be repaired, but crossed the perfection of such an enterprize, wherein he protested himselfe happy if he might sacrifice himselfe to accomplish the same according to his desires. In the close hee gave his opinion, that the governour's absence was the chiefe requisite to prepare the businesse, that his presence was not consistent with the safety of their side, especially if the alarm be taken at the first entrance. Wherefore he was once more confident to urge the relinquishing of Tewksbury, and upon the removall promised to possesse the governour with a private intelligence of the surrender of Berkley, and perswade him to imbrace the supposed opportunity, whilst himselfe should remaine

at home with the command of the horse left for scouts, and act the businesse with more ease and safety.

This motion effected its intended purpose to bring them on at the west port, to our best advantage against them, and Sir William Vavasour seemed to incline, but craved a little patience till the contributions were brought in to satisfie the souldiers. Master Stanford required a particular information of the state of the garrison, and received an account of the severall ports, forts, great guns, draw-bridges, provisions and ammunition. This was taken for a pregnant testimony of Backhouse his fidelity, and made them the more bold to come on, who were gulled with such a slender notice of triviall things, that the meanest boy which passed through the streets might give as great satisfaction; but whatsoever was of concernment he represented to the best advantage of the garrison.

After much variety of entercourse, Sir William Vavasour urged the execution, in regard the parliament's army grew so strong, that what they attempted was to be done out of hand. The plot was thus disposed by Captaine Backhouse, as well to secure his owne person within the gates, as to render the designe more probable. That whereas being commander of the horse he could require the keys of the city for the sending forth of scouts, he proposed this way to their liking; that the very night of their approach he might provide scouts out of his owne troope who should not be ready till the businesse were acted. Meane while himselfe would take the keyes, repaire to the west gate, and pretend to stay for their comming, and set the guard which is usually slender to drinke in an ale-house: in which time they might advance, finde no living soule but himselfe at the gate, or a few drunken men, and pretend withall to be our owne men from Churcham, where we had a guard of horse and foot, which if they did not disturbe would continue there awhile, and further the performance.

Thus the safety of the countrey, and our small garrisons was still interwoven in each part of the plot: and they deceived with so great a semblance of reason, that they could not suspect, though in every motion hee constantly waved selfe-engagement, and personall danger. The maine care of the businesse is to draw them on to a selfe-destruction: and the last modell complies with their fancy in each particle, and to their second thoughts likewise appeares still more rationall. On the fifteenth of February the set time is come, nine of the clocke at night is the houre appointed, the guards are to be drawn off from the further bridge, and the sentinells to be taken in. Prince Rupert is to advance with fifteen hundred horse and foot, and it would be very satisfactory if Captaine Backhouse met them with his own troop pretending to beat up a horse quarters, but this they urge not if it be found inconvenient. In the evening a messenger is dispatched from Gloucester to the enemies' quarters, with the watch word for their assurance and some private directions for their march up the town; while himselfe waited at the gate, which he undertook to set open, if they came by nine of the clock, or within half an houre after.

After the messenger's dispatch, the ports were shut up round the city, carefull sentinells set, the governour called a councell of war, acquainted the officers with the plot, gave order that as well citizeps as souldiers should continue that night in armes: drew to the west gate three peeces of ordnance, and a strong guard of musketiers well provided with granadoes, and commanded foure stout men in a boate under Ouer's bridge halfe a mile distant from the gate to lie under the maine arch, with direction that upon the firing of the first ordnance they should cut a cable rope, which being done the bridge would fall into the river. By which meanes they had all been killed, drowned or taken, being cooped up in an island open to our shot without possible meanes of escape. In this preparation and posture we continued all night, watching the time to have

delivered ourselves from the future mischief of such bloud thirsty enemies. They advanced with their whole body of horse and foot, but before they came within a mile and a halfe of the city it was open day, when having lost the time by the slownesse of their march, they durst not come on but instantly retreated to Newent, from thence Captaine Backhouse was informed by letters of the reason of their faylings, which induced us to believe that the enemy did not yet know that their designe was destroyed. Wherefore we indeavoured secrecy, and the next day suffered no man to passe the ports, desired to salve the matter and bring them on once more, but the whole frame quickly fell asunder, though the languishing enemy gave some cold entertainment to a few patching letters, because they were ashamed to acknowledge such a strong delusion.

As they had all justly perished in their own hellish mischief, so are they deservedly branded with notorious folly in the whole mannage: and the chiefe undertakers might have learned not to indulge their hopes of faire conclusions by their own subtil cogitation, and the shew of a neate contrivance, when nothing beneath a like mutual engagement, and strong necessity doth deserve assurance and confidence. Neverthelesse the pregnant hopes of this imaginary treason, as it brought forth a lie to the contrivers thereof, so it wrought much good for this garrison, and the common service of the state. The imbracing of the motion held up the desires of the enemy, and made them lesse active elsewhere. It preserved the country till our succours came which were every day expected. Neither was this plot the cause that the power of the enemy did beare hard on the countrey (for here was the confluence of their winter quarters) but since we must beare their burden, it made it the lesse grievous. It was impossible to keep out an enemy, but all the skill was to allay his fury and hinder the acting of mischief: which was carried on with violence by the malignant gentry, and that party that were not privy to or disliked the plot;

insomuch that Sir William Vavasour was complained of, reviled and cursed: and at once lost the opportunity of action and advancement in the king's service.

The enemy swarmed in every corner, except the county of the city and Whitstone hundred, that each day creates new troubles, and the governour constrained on one side or other, continually to draw out strong parties, to defend our selves, maintaine our markets and incourage that part of the country which is yet clear; all advantages were taken to ingage the people, and herein did the governor's industry put forth it selfe in setting the country in a posture of defence, when the command of the city did not reach above three miles some wayes, and not above seaven miles on the best side. At severall rendezvouzes published the nationall covenant and declaration of both kingdomes expressing their mutuall care of repaying our breaches and perseverance in their maine undertaking, which gave great satisfaction to such as were damaged in this cause, and confirmed unto them the vigor and strength of the parliament. By which meanes the nearer parts became wholly ours, not only yeilding a supply of maintenance, but engaging themselves on their own and our defence. And some of them that did not seem to confide in the state were drawne in being first enraged by the enemies' cruelty, which discontent and desire of revenge the governour cherished, and raised to an open declaration, and unawares of the multitude put them beyond the hopes of a faire retreat. So that these men observed the enemy upon every motion, sent alarms to the city, and in a great part took off the feare of a sudden surprizall.

Amidst these things the expectation of the London supply, and the dayly hopes of money strongly upheld the common souldiers by a meere delusion: its delay became a greater advantage, since its reall strength had before bin crumbled to dust. No part of the kingdome was capable of better service by a considerable number,

yet a meane and slender reliefe did not only not shake off the burthen, but disgrace the businesse, and contract and sinke the mindes of men when hope doth enlarge and beare up.

The governour therefore advised the stay of the convoy, and was willing to expect such a party as might inable him to beate off the enemy fifteen miles round about. Want of ammunition was the greatest exigence, and the preserving thereof; till a supply came was the maine hinderance of all designes? Neverthelese we had perpetuall bickerings, that the enemy might not grow upon us and our dayly nimble performances were unto them as a continuall dropping. Amongst others a party of horse and dragooners issued forth as far as Marshfield, fell upon a troope of horse quartered there and brought thence a lieutenant, cornet, and quartermaster, with a few common prisoners, and such horse and armes as the troop did yeild. Whilst Colonell Veale's foot, and the Lord Incheequeene's horse lay in and about Berkely, and sorely oppressed the country, we fell into a horse quarter of Incheequeene's regiment, and took a major and two captaines there, three lieutenants, two cornets with two colours, and other inferior officers and souldiers, to the number of three and twenty, all this while the strength of the king's army is lodged between us and Warwick, to intercept our relief and in thought have already divided the spoyle.

Sir William Vavasour willing to act something in the latter end of the day, to repaire his credit in the king's army, desired a greater strength with a sufficient artillery to distresse and straiten Gloucester, and having obtained two culverins from Oxford, with a proportion of powder, he advanced with a strong brigade towards Painswick with unusuall preparations and expectation. Their march afflicted the country, and indangered our out-garrisons. The enemy were confident to the last that extremety would compell us to yeild up all to their mercy. Sir William Vavasour entred Painswicke with as gallant horse and foot as the king's army did yeild. Here

the governour had placed a guard in a house neer the church, into which the church also was taken in by a breast work of earth. The intention of the guard was to command contribution, and keepe off a plundering party; and order was given to the lieutenant which commanded to maintaine it against a lesser party, but if the maine body and artillery advanced upon them, to relinquish it and retreate down the hill to Bruckthorp, (where the governour had set a guard to prevent the enemies' falling downe into the bottome) for which purpose they were assisted with a troop of horse, to make good such a retreate if need were. But the lieutenant more confident of the place, and not understanding the strength of the army, and not willing to draw off before the last minute, was inforced by the enemy to engage himselfe, and many willing people of the neighbourhood in that weak hold, and upon the first onset deserted the house being the stronger part, and betook himselfe to the church, which wanting flankers the enemy had quickly gained by firing the doores and casting in hand-granadoes, some few were slaine in defending the place, and the rest taken prisoners. We lost three inferior officers, seaven and thirty common souldiers, and many country men; at that season the governour had commanded to Stroud, another guard of fifty muskietiers to support and strengthen the place in its own defence. But ammunition was their only cry, which struck us dead, and constrained the governour to withdraw that party to the garrison at Essington; for our magazine did then yeild no more than six single barrells of powder, by which meanes he was wholly disabled to encounter the enemy; only to preserve the bottome, he drew forth the greatest part of both regiments with their colours display'd to flourish at a distance, and summoned the volunteers of the country whom himselfe had engaged in a posture of defence. These were to increase the appearance of strength by day, and at night to guard the severall passages. So that the enemy durst not adventure below the hills,

nor seek us in our advantages, nor was it safe for us, who wanted horse, to set upon them in those large and open places; either party kept their own ground. They wasted the hill countries, whilst we secured the vale: and the souldiers sustained hard duty in marching to and fro to give the country satisfaction, where the enemy prevailed they plundered to the bare walls, and this was the accomplishment of the great service, so long expected from Sir William Vavasour.

This brigade, upon the defeate of Sir Ralph Hopton's army, by Sir William Waller at Charrington Down, was commanded hence and instantly marched for Cirencester and so to Oxford, our horse made after them but could not recover the reare, only they lighted upon some straglers, and in the whole businesse we killed and took near fifty men. This diversion relieved Gloucester which else had bin blocked up to the gates, and cast into as great necessity as ever. In this pinch we received twelve horse loades of ammunition strangely conveyed between the enemies' garisons, only by the carriers and a foot post, when their designed convoy that set forth a little after and missed them, gave them for lost and returned to Warwicke; the residue of the relief was stolne by parcells through the enemies' quarters, for though their greater body was drawn off, yet were we still vexed with their garisons. Not long after there arrived another portion and three troopes of horse to make up the governour's regiment. At length came Lieutenant Colonell Ferrar that had the command of these succours, with a little long expected pay for the garrison. As for the foote souldiers that came with him out of London, in regard they came severall wayes and at severall times in a lingering march with want of pay, and some taken prisoners, about fifty came to Gloucester, and of the rest, no good account could be given.

When Vavasour was called off, the enemy revived and grew bold under a more active leader Colonell Nicholas Min, who commanded

the Irish brigade. In the first entrance hee began to lash out, and made assayes of action, cut down the bridge at Masemore, alarmed the city from the Winniard hill, and took divers of our men that issued out upon a sally over the river in a boate.

At this present there came dayly cries for the reliefe of Brampton castle in the remote parts of Herefordshire, which held out a long time in the midst of the enemies' countrey to the expense of much time and blood. And their succour was the more importuned by the rage of the enemy, which had lately acted their cruelties upon fourty prisoners of the same command taken by Colonell Woodhouse in Hopton castle, which were basely murdered after the surrender. Colonell Massie had no forces under his command to undertake a march through the midst of the enemy, when they pressed hard on our own borders, and the brigade of horse assigned for the convoy, and commanded by Commissary General Bher were unwilling to undertake the service. Yet while these horse remained here, the governour desired to set them a worke that they might not act only to the spoyle of the country. Wherefore they joyned with a party of our foot, and made an attempt upon Newent, Colonell Min's garrison, but were called off in the midst of the service by a speciall order from the lieutenant generall.

The enemy have lost the hopes of their winter action, and this garrison made the best of a bad game in continuall petty services and small parties, yet beyond the strength of the place, not to conquer, but live, nor to destroy the king's forces but to stave off or delude them. But to enable Colonell Massie to march with a better strength, Colonell Purefoy with his regiment of horse about the first of April 1644, was by the committee of both kingdomes, commanded into these parts, and the maine designe was to remove or take in the garrisons that lay round the city. These horse having brought but a slender part of the ammunition, and none of the armes that were sent from London were remanded to War-

wicke, for the convoy of match and powder : the governour resolving not to undertake a march or action of time without a proportion of powder, both for the field and garrison. Upon their second arrivall these horse with a party of foure hundred foot were drawne out with two small pieces of ordnance, and advanced into the enemies' quarters, first with a purpose to seeke out Colonell Min, who was lodged in the nearer parts. But upon the report of our march he fell back from Newent and hastned to Rosse, where he began to fortify the church with his own and Sir John Winter's regiments. The governour made forwards into Herefordshire, and kept his head quarters at Ledbury to appeare unto the enemy, and in their own country provoke them to action, and in the meane while to fetch in monies for the supply of the souldier, and to ease our neighbourhood, which till then did beare the whole burden. Our horse that lay neer upon their garrisons had some encounters, but with no considerable party. From Ledbury an hundred and fifty musketiers with the whole strength of horse were drawn towards Hereford to command the country, and face the garrison which feared our approach, and for that cause fired a lone house neer the city, but none did adventure to sally forth or fall on the reare in our retreat, so we marched through the greatest part of the county, but the grand malignants were fled with the best of their substance. The governour resolved to attempt the lesser garrisons, but the noyse of our march had reached Prince Rupert, who thereupon was come to Evesham with as great a strength of horse and drageones as he could draw together with a purpose to fall over Upton-bridge, and get between Gloucester, and our forces, whilst Colonell Min and Sir John Winter held us in play in these parts. Wherefore being advertised of the prince's march, and suspecting his intention, he drew back the party as well to refresh and preserve his men as to make the enemy secure.

: But within foure daies the like number were againe drawne out



towards the forrest side to attempt and act something upon Myn's forces, and first they came up upon Westbury, once our owne garrison, but betrayed into the hands of Sir John Winter. Here the enemy held the church, and a strong house adjoyning. The governour observing a place not flanked, fell up that way with the ferlorne hope, and secured them from the danger of shot. The men got stooles and ladders to the windowes, where they stood safe, cast in granadoes and fired them out of the church. Having gained the church, he quickly beat them out of their workes and possest himselfe of the house, where he tooke about foure score prisoners, without the losse of a man. The enemy had an other guard at Little-Deane, whither the governour commanded a party of horse to give them alarms whilst he fell upon Westbury. These horses found the enemy stragling in the towne, and upon the discovery of their approach shuffling towards the garrison, which the troopers observing, alighted and ran together with them into the house, where they tooke about twenty men. Neere unto which guard Lieutenant Colonell Congrave governour of Newnham and one Capitaine Wigmore with a few private souldiers were surrounded in some houses by the residue of our horse. These had accepted quarter, ready to render themselves when one of their company from the house kils a trooper, which so enraged the rest, that they broke in upon them and put them all to the sword: in which accident this passage was not to be forgotten that expressed in one place an extreame contrariety in the spirits of men under the stroke of death: Congrave died with these words, "Lord receive my soule;" and Wigmore cryed nothing but "Dam me more, dam me more;" desperately requiring the last stroke, as enraged at divine revenge.

Colonell Massie pursued the successe (whilst his owne men were full of life and hope, that the confidence of the enemy might be dashed by a quicke surprisall.) And the very next day came before Newnham, where a strong party of Sir John Winter's forces kept gar-

rison in the church, and the fort adjoyning, of considerable strength, who at that instant where much daunted and distracted by the losse of Congrave their governour. Our men were possest of the towne without opposition, and recovered the houses by which they got neere the workes. The governour commanded a blind of faggots to be made athwart the street, drew up two pieces of ordnance within pistoll shot: and observing a place not well flanker'd where he might lead up his men to the best advantage, himselfe marched before them, and found that part of the worke fortified with double pallisadoes: (the souldiers being provided with sawes to cut them down,) and having drawn these close within a dead angle, and secure from their shot, and drawing the rest of his force for a storme, the enemy forthwith desires parley, and to speake with the governour, which he refused, and commanded a sudden surrender. In this interim some of the enemy jumpt over the workes, and so our men broke in upon the rest, who ranne from the out-worke into the church, hoping to cleare the mount which we had gained. But our men were too nimble, who had no sooner entred the mount, but rushed upon them before they could reach home, and tumbled into the church all together. Then they cryed for quarter, when in the very point of victory a disaster was like to befall us, a barrell of gunpowder was fired in the church, undoubtedly of set purpose, and was conceived to be done by one Tipper a most virulent papist, and Sir John Winter's servant, despairing withall of his redemption being a prisoner before, and having falsified his engagements. This powder blast blew many out of the church, and sorely singed a greater number, but killed none. The souldiers enraged fell upon them, and in the heate of blood, slew neere twenty, and amongst others this Tipper. All the rest had quarter for their lives (save one Captaine Butler an Irish rebell, who was knocked down by a common souldier) and an hundred prisoners taken. The service was performed without the losse of a man on our side.



After this dispatch the governour marched to Lidney house, with purpose to attempt according to what he should finde meet, and in the first place summoned the same to a surrender, which being refused, and he finding the house exceedingly fortified, and no lesse provided with victuall and force, engaged not upon it: and understanding that Colonell Myn with a considerable strength of horse and foot, assisted by the Lord Herbert's forces, and Sir John Winter, was come as far as Coford; he was enforced with more expedition to draw off, for the gaining of the hill towards them, there expecting the enemies' advance till towards evening, when he marched off his wearied men to Gloucester, first having fired Sir John Winter's iron-mills and furnaces, the maine strength of his estate and garrison.

After these things many gentlemen of the county began to looke towards the parliament, and tender their obedience, desiring protections from this government, to secure themselves from spoyle, and the souldiers' violence. Neverthelesse as the personall estates of all knowne delinquents within the reach of this command were seized, and the profits of their lands sequestred, so these men were not to be ignorant or insensible of the value of their peace. Concerning some the governour desired the direction of the houses, yet granted protections with strict provisoes only to preserve their persons from the violence, and their estates from the plunder of the common souldier, for the advantage of the publique, till a full conviction, or the pleasure of the houses were by themselves or their committee made known. And this he did according to the parliament's undeniable justice, and the example of other generall officers. As for the moderate offenders, unlesse the state of things did require or permit their utter destruction, he had no other way but to endeavour to make them our friends and confidents, and since it was resolved they must live amongst us, hee desired by love and gentle dealing to hold the way secure and open, that they

might imbrace the condition without discontent or feare, and for these protections hee reserved nothing to himselfe but caused the moneys to be paid in to the publique treasurer for the use of the garrison.

Neither was he sluggish in the spring of action, but immediately fell upon another designe, the surprisall of Tewkesbury, by an unexpected onset. For the enemy by the number of their men, and the naturall strength of the place, with the workes well begun, were sufficiently provided to receive an expected and open storme, and the governour shun'd all desperate hazzards, because he did not march with supernumerary forces, but the maine strength of Gloucester. Wherefore to deceive the enemy the foot were drawne forth at the west gate, bearing the shew of an advance into Herefordshire, and the horse kept their rendezvouz, and looked the same way. But in the evening the horse came backe and marched through Gloucester towards Tewkesbury, having first sent a guard to Upton-bridge: while the foot came on beyond Severne. The designe had taken effect, had not the foot by their slow march or mis-guidance passed the houre, which was breake of day, for they came not before the towne till an houre after sunne rising, when we were found not fit to assault a waking and prepared enemy. To withdraw neverthelesse, did seeme but a feeble businesse for such a faire body of horse and foot displayed before the towne, and carried before it the appearance of a baffle: yet the governour, though naturally jealous of honour, could digest such mis-fezance, when the safety of his owne men required, knowing that the opportunity of service would in good time cancell a mis-grounded ignominy, and in his whole course, whensoever the present exigence did not urge a greater hazzard, neglected the hopes of those victories that could not be gained without the weakning of that party on which the maine rest did lie.

This party was presently sent over the river, and marched towards

Rosse to prevent the joyning of Colonell Myn (now made commander in chiefe in the roome of Sir William Vavasour) with Sir John Winter, and the Welch forces, as also to raise moneys for the garrison out of the remoter parts, to enlarge our owne quarters, engage the countrey with us, or to lie ready for all occasions of service. There our horse and foot arrived, with two pieces of ordnance, and found Wilton-bridge guarded by Captaine Cassie, and thirty musketiers from Gudridge-castle; a party of our horse advanced upon them, forced the river, and got beyond them; after some dispute beat off the guard, wounded and tooke the captaine, slew many of his men, and tooke the rest in the chase almost up to the castle. Our forces rested here a few daies, and summoned the countrey to appeare, it being the governour's constant endeavour to adde daily friends unto the parliament, and to put the countrey into such a posture, that upon all alarms they might gather to an head for their owne defence, and hereupon many came in and declared themselves, by taking the nationall covenant. Whilst the engagement of the countrey was thus prosecuted, some emergent occasions drew the governour to Gloucester, where he found a prisoner Captaine Oglethorpe governour of Beverston-castle, a man rendred odious to the countrey by strange oppressions and tyranny, and who lost himselfe basely being taken by some of our scouts in a private house courting his mistresse, and when once taken, so high and sterne before, but now as vile and abject. By which meanes the governour was made sensible of the weakenesse of the castle, but much divided in his owne thoughts, whether to leave the countrey that came on so fairely to a selfe-engagement, and neglect the contribution already levied, but not payd in, or desert the hopes of a gallant service: till at last considering the great command of the castle, that the gaining of it would free the clothiers of Stroudwater from the bondage and terroure of that government, and might prove a great detriment and annoyance to the enemy, in stopping or dis-

turbing their passage from Oxford to Bristoll, he turned his thoughts to the businesse, put on and resolved to try for it. Wherefore he drew from Rosse without delay, and commanded his foot over Severne at Newnham passage, whilst the horse marched through Gloucester: the next day he came before Beverston, and demanded the castle in the name of the king and parliament.

The lieutenant that commanded, at the first returne sent an answer of compliyanse, farre from the language of a souldier, and without one confident expression. They quickly came to a parley, and rendered upon conditions that both officers and common souldiers leaving their armes, ammunition, bagge and baggage, should freely passe to whatsoever garrison of the king's themselves desired, only foure officers had the priviledge to take each man his horse. So that without losse or danger we were possest of Beverston-castle, to the great content and satisfaction of the countrey round about. It was lost unworthily on the enemies' part, who might have held it with ease. Of so great simplicity was he conscious that commanded the garrison, as to aske the place whither our forces intend the next march, expressing his doubts of Malmesbury, and feare of being taken the second time. Neverthelesse they required a conduct thitherward and were guarded along by two troops of horse, and that very day our forces fell before it.

Whilst the horse faced the towne Colonell Massie sent in the summons, but this enemy put on the appearance of bravery fired upon the horse, and Colonell Henry Howard governour of the garrison sent backe a resolute answer. Thereupon our foot and artillery were brought up from Tedbury, and within two houres drawne into the suburbs and lower part of the towne. The foot broke their way through the houses till they came almost up to the workes, and the only place of entrance into the towne, which is built upon the levell of a rocke. Colonell Massie caused a blinde to be made crosse the street to bring up the ordnance, within

carbine shot: when on the sudden the fancie of an alarm seized upon our men in the heate of the businesse, that the enemy were sallying out upon them, which was nothing so. This unexpected accident stricke those men that at other times would brave it in the face of an enemy, with such distraction and feare, that they all fled, and left their cannon in the open street. This meere conceit was like to overturne all: but they within observed not. After a while the souldiers recovered themselves, regained and kept their ground, and the governour resolved to storme the towne in three places at once. The severall parties were drawne out to the places of assault, but this designe miscarried through the mis-understanding of the signall. The parties returne unto the governour, who resolved to make the assault at breake of day in one place where himselfe kept the only passage into the town, having no draw-bridge at the entrance, but only a turn-pike, whereas the other parts were almost inaccessible, guarded by a steepe descent, and double channell round about. The houses within pistoll shot of the workes were our maine advantage, by which meanes our men were brought safe under the shelter of their workes. And the governour observing the late effects of a panick feare amongst his owne men, gave the charge that they should fall on all together with a sudden and confused noise, to amaze the enemy, and disturbe the command of the officers. The forlorne hope advanced, seconded with a good reserve; all put on together, came up to the turn-pike, and threw in granadoes, the enemy made many shot at randome, in the disadvantage of a rainy night, and their muskets lying wet on the workes. So that our men came all in a croude to the narrow passage, and thronged in, and not a man slaine or wounded in the storme. One only was killed the night before in helping to make the blinde. Colonell Howard was taken at the workes after three shots received in severall parts of his garment, each of which missed his body. An hundred musketiers were taken prisoners, many

having escaped, besides those of Beverston-castle, who came hither for refuge the day before. This service was performed gallantly by our men, after three daies' continuall march. Upon the first entrance Colonell Massie preserved the town from plunder, nor at any time did he suffer his souldiers to ransacke any place that he took by storme, giving this reason, that he could judge no part of England an enemies countrey, nor an English town capable of devastation by English souldiers. After a little stay to settle the garrison, and countrey, and to command in some moneys for the satisfaction of the souldiers, and present supply of the brigade, he returned to Gloucester; and the Warwickshire horse were called off into their owne countrey.

After few daies the governour having breathed himselfe and his men, resolved to attempt the taking of Tewkesbury, a bad neighbour to our head garrison, and where he had suffered the repulse twice before. He was able to draw forth an hundred and twenty horse, and about thirty dragoones, with three hundred foot. For his strength was no more than the standing forces of the city, a great part of which were now swallowed up by the garrisons lately taken in. The horse and dragoones commanded by Major Hammond advanced some few houres before the foot and artillery, and were to alarm the enemy till the foot came up. They made a halt a mile from the town, and drew out a pretty strong forlorne-hope, conceiving they might possibly surprize them, if they had not as yet tooke the alarm, and first three men were sent before to espy if the draw-bridge were down, and six more behind went undiscovered; next unto these marched the forlorne hope, and the maine body in the reare. In this posture they advanced up to the town, where they found the bridge down, the guards slender, the enemy without intelligence, and supinely negligent. On went the first party, killed the sentinels, a pikeman and a musketier without match, and made good the bridge: the forlorne-hope rushed in,

and after them a full body of horse and dragoones, fell upon the guards, came up to the main-guard before the alarm was taken, overturned their ordnance, and charged through the streets as farre as the bridge Worcester way, where they tooke Major Myn the governour of the towne. The enemy threw down their armes, many escaped by flight, and many were taken prisoners: Colonell Godfrey was slain in the first charge, as also Colonel Vavasour's quartermaster-generall, and a lieutenant, all papists, besides a sergeant, with about six common souldiers. Our officers and souldiers supposing themselves wholly victorious, dismounted and went into the houses, some in the vanity of their humour, others for plunder, whilst all sleighted their owne guards, and the making good of the bridge at which they entered, and neglected the taking and disarming of the main-guard, which lay in the heart of the towne, and cleared every street. Whereupon those at the main-guard observing the horse not seconded with foot, took courage to charge some of our horse now in confusion, and many of the enemy out of the houses ran to the guard, and so strengthened it, that they issued out upon our men, put them to a retreat, beat them out of the towne, and took some few prisoners. But before they were beaten out they had cut down two draw-bridges, and secured the governour Major Myn, who was passed over Severne with a small party that tooke him beyond the town. By this time Colonell Massie was come up with a few horse halfe a mile in the van of the foot, which hasted after to make an assault in this instant of time. But the bridge towards Gloucester was againe drawn up and the workes manned on that side; here the governour placed his company of dragoones, and gave order to fire upon them, whilst he drew his men round the towne, it being now darke night; but before he could reach the farther end, where he entered about midnight the enemy were fled towards Worcester, being daunted at the first assault made by the horse, observing withall our foot now brought

up, their owne governour lost, their officers slaine, and most of the common souldiers already runne away. The townesmen through feare durst not give the least intelligence of what had hapned. By which meanes they were past the recovery of our horse already tyred, besides the night and darke weather hindred the pursuit. Only we tooke some scattering foot, to the number of foure and twenty, with a lieutenant. Upon our entrance we found eighteen barrels of powder, left by their haste, an hundred and twenty skeyns of match, two hundred new pikes, foure and thirty large hand-granadoes, good store of musket-shot, and two brasse drakes. Most of their muskets were thrown about in the fields, ditches, and rivers, many of which were afterwards found, but the place itselfe was of greatest consequence, and worthy of the service, being now a strong frontier-town securing that side of the county, and commanding a good part of Worcestershire: and in this nicke of time extreemly crosse to the intentions of the king's army. The enemy confest themselves to be neer seven hundred strong, when our whole body could not reach that number. That very day Colonell Myn was to march from Hereford to ayd this town: but prevented by our possession.

These things were acted here while the Earle of Essex and Sir William Waller lay neere Oxford with both their armys, and compelled his majesty to withdraw himselfe from his strongest hold. The king having shifted between them both by a close and nimble conveyance, and being on a swift march over Cotswood hills had this towne of Tewkesbury in his thoughts for his owne passe, and a stop to the pursuing army, not understanding his losse till within a daie's march of the place. The intelligence of this surprisall, and that Upton-bridge was made unpassable, perplexed the king, and turned aside the course of his flight towards Evesham: where he quartered for a night, and rose thence in great distraction, and caused all the bridges in those parts to be broken down after him,



to hinder Sir William Waller in the pursuit, whom he expected in the reare every hower. In such a hurry, confusion and feare did the enemy run, that a smaller party of horse only with the report of the foot coming after, in a constant and close pursuit might have consumed and dissipated the whole army: which neverthelesse remained a body with life in itselfe, and quickly grew up to the perfection of parts.

The governour had reduced these parts into a reasonable condition of ease, and security, made a convenient passe for the parliament's forces through the heart of the king's country, and blocked up the course of the enemy almost on every side, unlesse the maine army did march. Malmesbury and Beverston-castle lie in the roade from Oxford to Bristoll, and inforce the lesser parties to fetch a compasse by Worcester and Hereford, thence round about into Wales, and at last to passe the river of Severne below Berkely castle.

When the king had winded himselfe out of the snare, Sir William Waller could not well follow the chase with his foot and a traine of artillery, though the horse might performe gallantly to the ruine of those who resolved rather to flie before them than fight upon any tearmes. Wherefore he made some pause by the way with a purpose to march his great ordnance to Gloucester, and appointed Colonell Massie to meet him before Sudeley, where he performed an acceptable service to this country. The governour forthwith faced the castle, beat in the enemy, and took twenty horses from under the castle walls, expecting the arrivall of Sir William Waller: who came up within few houres with a strong party of horse.

The enemy within discharged their ordnance, and fired their out-houses like men resolved upon extremities rather than to yield up or lose the garison. In the evening Sir William Waller summoned the governour of the castle: and it fell out that the very name of his army and presence strooke them to the surrender of that hold

that might have expended the lives of many, and much time then pretious in that great advantage on the king's distressed army: yet they refused to render at the first summons. The battery was planted within halfe musket shot. But the great pieces did little execution upon the soft and yielding stone, nor could the castle be taken by battery: but one shot by chance took off the head of their cannoneer, and exceedingly daunted the common souldier: and the governour Sir William Morton did in his owne thoughts incline to a surrender, whether out of a naturall feare or free choice. He was knowne to be active and violent in the king's service, of an high spirit and bold, bearing before him the semblance of valour and supposed by an high degree. of enimity. most obnoxious to the justice of the parliament, one that had the repute of a knowing man, able in the profession of the law, and versed in the wayes and actions of men. He was likewise more strongly linked unto that cause by the late honour of knighthood, which by the state is held no better than a note of infamy, to stigmatize those persons that have been eminent in the disservice of the common-wealth. Notwithstanding this, being lost and desperate in the opinion of the parliament, he gave up that strong hold and himselfe into their hands, having not provided for the indempnity of his own person; when by his own party, likewise he must needs be branded with treachery or cowardize, and so lost on all hands. So that no faction seemes to be assured of its principall confidents, and that no resolved nature or judgment can secure the strongest enterprize to a wise and honourable conclusion. After the surrender Sir William advanced thence to seek out the king's army, and left the castle to be kept by the Gloucester forces.

By this time the enemy had no footing in the county save Berkely-castle and Lidney house; and as this government had by maine force gained every step of its command, so no lesse skill and vertue is required to maintaine the victories; we have the possession of

Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Sudley, Newnham, Beverston, and Slimbridge, all to be defended and maintained at so great distances only by two regiments of foot. For Malmesbury was kept by Colonell Deveraux his regiment, who was appointed governour under the command of Colonell Massie, unto whom the disposition and settlement of that garrison was intrusted by the parliament. For want of money the city regiments were weake and uncertaine in duty and service, and the souldiers ranne dayly to other garrisons, where they found always constant pay and lesse hardship: but this governour could find none so rationall as to clap them in irons, or give them back to his justice. For this cause he was perplexed in each designe, uncertaine of the atchievement, and could not waite for a regular disposition, and traine of circumstances: but nimble in the secret and sudden motions of the time and season: and sometime resolving upon the sole guide of Providence, but in this never running a greater hazard than the shame of a non-performance. These many garrisons having taken up the whole strength; for want of a marching brigade, we were deprived of the fruit of our labours in the supplies of monies to be commanded out of the enemies' quarters, and disabled to relieve the remote parts that were by this time united under the power of this government. So that the first fruits were nipt in the bud, and we remaine miserable after so great enlargements, being inforced to cry to the parliament for help, which we should have held a disparagement, had we received a stock to improve to a larger support, and livelyhood. Wherefore the house of commons taking notice of the many good services of Colonell Massie, made an order for the recrute of his regiment of horse and foot in the first place, and to make up a competent brigade, Colonell Thomas Stephens had commission for a regiment of horse, and Colonell Edward Harley for a regiment of foot. In which businesse the governour advised, not to raise men and horse at London, whither the refuse of the army, runnegadoes, and such

as disliked the conditions of their former entertainment were wont to repaire, but only to procure monies to be sent into the country, where horses might be rayed at a cheaper rate, and able men were easy to be found, and chiefly where we might robbe the enemy of their maine strength, from whom great multitudes were ready to flow in upon the hopes of entertainment. And before this time since the late siege at least a thousand of the enemy, that here tendred themselves to the service, went from us for lack of pay. This was a speedy course and effectuall, which might carry on the worke whilst we were in a thriving way.

At that time the affaires of the garrison were a little enterwoven with some passages of the greater army, Sir William Waller was led into the northern parts, in the pursuit of his majesty, straining to reach or get beyond him. But the king doubled in the chace, hasted back by Worcester towards Oxford, and left Sir William a few dayes' march in the rear, who neverthelesse made after with all speed, but was constrained to rest at Gloucester to refresh his weary souldiers. And purposing to fall upon the king's army, importuned the governor to lend his assistance, which was extracted out of the extreme penury of these parts, only for a quick dispatch. Two hundred and seventy muskettiers with a company of dragoons were sent from Gloucester, and a hundred muskottiers from Malmsbury which did not a little necessitate the place, and stop the actions of this command which had so many garrisons to make good, and defend the countrey from the neighbouring enemy that began to threaten from every quarter.

At this time there happened a dispute between the king's army and Sir William Waller at a bridge neer Banbury: where some few were slain, and taken on both sides, but on ours the chief miscarriage was the losse of some ordnance. After this brush the king marched off into the borders of Worcestershire, and Sir William Waller towards Buckingham, to joyn with Collonel Browne. Our countrey

is in danger of ruine by the falling down of the king's army, whose main body lay for awhile about Breedon three miles from Tewkesbury: where his majestie being informed of the weaknesse of the place, drew neer with a purpose to storme it, advanced the ordnance within a mile, and sent out parties to skirmish. Collonel Massie upon the first intelligence clapt into the town two hundred muskettiers, for an additionall strength, and to incourage those within: himself in the mean while with a hundred and fifty muskettiers in Coslawne waited to encounter with an other party of the Worcester forces, whom he staved off with the losse of five or six men neer Upton bridge, and passed over Seavern to Tewksbury. Upon notice hereof, the enemy drew thence, and retreated towards Parshowe, and Evosham. There the king pretended to passe over the river into Herefordshire and Wales, and gave command that all the bridges should be made up, but his designe lay westward. Wherefore he made up the hils, marched the first day in the view of Shudely castle over the downes, and came that night to Cubberly seven miles from Gloucester, and from thence marched the next day by Beverstone castle to Sodbury. They went on like a flying army, surprised the country, but they only touched and away; and our weak troops drove in the stragling plunderers. For the governor commanded a party of horse to follow the reare of the enemy, whilst the rest were imployed in a necessary defence in sundry places. These did seem to give them a gentle convoy over the hill countrey towards Bristoll; and though the van of their horse were too nimble for us, and drove great store of the garrison cattell, that lay in their way, yet the countrey-men were saved from any great matter of losse, and the parties of horse brought into our garrison between fifty and sixty prisoners, officers and souldiers; and though they could not retard the march, yet made them passe forward with much wariness and feare.

In the mean while Collonel Min, together with Sir John Win-

ter's forces take the advantage of our weaknes to spoil and destroy our friends on the forrest side, Sir William Russell and the governor of Worcester make incursions on that side. And the garison oppressed with many out-guards, and multitudes of prisoners within, had much ado to preserve the neighbours from ruine. Collonel Min advanced from Rosse, where he quartered his regiment, within half a mile of the city, drove away the countrey cattell, and took the persons of many. And the forces of Berkley castle got a sufficient part in the generall mischief. The governor looks round about him, and though he cannot hope to lay them flat, and subdue their spirits, yet he can check their insolence, and make them stand on their guard. He commanded a party of horse and dragoons towards Berkley, who fell upon the guard of the town, beat them into the castle, slew eight or ten, took prisoners Captain Sandys, with a lieutenant, ensigne, sargeant, and seven common souldiers, whence likewise they brought away fourty or fifty arms, and took from out of the park under the castle wall about fiftie horses with other cattell. An other party was commanded within foure miles of Worcester, and surprised in their quarters Sir Humphrey Tracy, Lieutenant Collonel Hely, and Captain Savage, and brought them prisoners to Gloucester.

By this time an increase is added to the garrison forces by the arrival of Collonel Stephens with three troops of horse, and two troops of Collonel Harlye's regiment, which did inable the governor once more to appear in the field: and draw out against Collonel Min, a serious and active enemy, and a perpetuall terror to the countrey, whose ruine was again contrived, and resolved upon. And for this designe strong preparations were made by the enemy round about. The governor had some discovery out of their own quarters, and upon advertisement that some forces out of Hereford and Wales went over the river at Aust passage, advanced with his horse towards Berkley castle, and thence to the passage,

where they missed not half an houre of the surprisall of the Lord Herbert. The notice of the march of our horse into the remote parts of the county hastned Min's expedition for Gloucestershire. And our intelligence abroad gave a timely advertisement of the work in hand, which a little after was fully confirmed by letters taken out of Collonel Min's pocket, to wit, that Hereford and Worcestershire were to joyn their forces about Cosselawne, and with an over-powering army to march up to the gates of Gloucester, to the utter devastation of the parts adjacent with fire and plunder, and to burn up the corn on the ground, it being then neer harvest. Hereupon the governor marched back with his troops to Gloucester, from whence he commanded two hundred and twenty muskettiers, and ordered an hundred muskettiers from Tewksbury to meet him on the march, to prevent this great noised army.

Whilist the orders for the march were giving forth to the officers of horse and foot, there fell out a sad accident between Major Gray, and Major Hammond, which was like to slash the whole action. The heat of a quarrell then brake forth by occasion of a verball contestation at a counsell of warre the same day, when both had orders to march, and were commanded to their particular charges. Major Gray began to question Hammond for his hasty language, and to require satisfaction. This challenge at the present was refused or sleighted, wherefore impatient of the supposed injury, and full of revenge, he smote him on the face with his fist: upon this to swords they went in the street, and after a little clashing, Gray received his death's wound by a thrust in the neck, and expired in the place. This miserable accident was like to beget a greater mischief among the souldiers, who being in arms, and ready to advance, came back with full streame of violent resolution for the present revenge of Gray's blood: that the whole city and garrison was not farre from an uproar. It rested on the governor's sole care to allay that violence of the souldier, who used his best

art, and industry to appease them, whilst the officers indulging their own discontent at the losse of their major, fell quite off the hinges: after an houre's dispute and intreaty, the tumult was in some measure qualified, that the most were perswaded to march, as it was high time, when the enemy came on within three miles of the city with a resolution if not to lay waste by fire (as they threatned) yet to plunder and take away the persons of men, their goods and cattell. The businesse was put forwards, but with little help from the discontented officers. Late in the afternoon our party began to advance, and at High Leaden passage got over the brook. The enemy were quartered in Hartpury field, and commanded to lie close. Our men came up to a bridge within a quarter of a mile of them in the dark night, gave them an alarme, and took ten prisoners, and an other party of our horse that quartered neer the Lawne took divers that were sent that way to plunder. But their main body evaded us, and with great speed marched that night to Redmarley, and we after a tedious wandring to find them out came to Eldersfield two miles from their quarters, where we rested two or three houres to refresh ourselves and horses.

At break of day we prepared to advance upon the enemy, when the beating of their drums minded us of an early march; and by six of the clock we came up to their rendezvous; their horse consisted of an hundred and sixty, and their foot of eight hundred and fifty; and of them six hundred and fourty muskettiers by their own confession: all drawn up into battallions, and the hedges lined with muskettiers. To beat them out of their advantages the governor divided the foot into two bodies, and drew out the horse into single troops, because the frequent inclosures would not make roome for a larger forme (the enemy in the mean while plying us with small shot) and having disposed of his own troop, with the hundred muskettiers from Tewkesbury newly come in, and many of the cuntry inhabitants armed with muskets, and good resolutions to

one part of the town, he drew the Gloucester muskettiers about an hundred and sixty (for the rest remained at home ready to raise a mutiny for the misfortune of Graye's death) and the greatest part of the horse to an other place of best advantage. Himself advanced with this party, and led the van, which consisted of three troops: these were seconded with three other troops left to the command of Captain Backhowse. Some of the foot were placed in each flank of the horse, and one single troop with the rest of the foot brought up the reare. They were drawn out into this posture, marched up to the face of the enemy, the governour in the van, next unto him Collonel Harley in the head of his troop, gallantly, and in good order, gave the charge, beat them from their ambuscadoes, put their horse to flight, and in the instant of time got into the van of their foot, cut down, and took them prisoners, that few escaped our hands. The horse and foot, both officers and souldiers, plaid their parts with resolution and gallantry. The enemy was left to our execution, and their whole body broken and shattered, many wounded and slain, but more taken. Major Generall Min was slain on the place with an hundred and seventy. Among the officers, Leiftenant Collonel Passy then mortally wounded, Major Buller, seven captains, four leiftenants, five ensignes, twelve sergeants, and neer three hundred common souldiers were taken prisoners. Some troops advanced in the pursuit five miles from the place of the fight; but upon the view of a strong party from Worcester that came to joyn with Collonel Min, they were enforced to leave the pursuit, and prepare for a second encounter. And a strange hand of Providence kept asunder the Hereford and Worcester forces, whose joyning would have proved unto us an inevitable destruction. For Leiftenant Collonel Passie, who commanded this fresh partie of an hundred and fiftie horse, and five hundred foot, just upon the beginning of the fight was riding up to Min's brigade to bring news of their arrivall, but happily intercepted, and wounded

was taken up in the way besides the intention of the designe, and though the losse of six or eight men by their own folly gave Collonel Veale occasion of boasting, yet for all the pretended great service in maintaining the place that was never attempted, he was immediately after cashered that government by the prince's order. But before Collonel Massie drew thence, he caused the boats to be fired at Aust passage: and intending to passe over Seaverne at Frampton to meet Prince Rupert's forces, received an alarme that they were already in Cosse Lawne, whereupon our marching brigade hasted to Gloucester, where they found that many of those troops under the command of Sir Marmaduke Langdale were newly come into Herefordshire, and that a party of them joyning with Collonel Lingen's horse had advanced within six miles of the city to spoil and plunder those parishes that were joyned in one association to a mutuall defence, and the aid of this government.

The governor persued his designe, drew forth towards the Lawne, and stopped their course on that side Seaverne. Whereupon they took their course through Worcester, where they obtained an additionall strength from Collonel Sandys his horse, and Sir William Russel's horse and foot, with all the foot that Dudly castle and those parts could afford them. And now conceiving themselves able both in power and advantage of the march, having (as they supposed) left Collonel Massie beyond Seaverne, and too farre in the reare to reach them, resolved to break forth, hoping both to passe clear, and relieve Banbury in the way. But the governor being certified of their march, forthwith conveyed his men over Seaverne at Tewkesbury, and recovered the hils as farre as Stanway, and got before them, in the meane while gave notice to the major of the Earle of Denbigh's horse, that lay neer Tewkesbury in Worcestershire, who the same day brought up two hundred horse to joyn with our party on the hils. Neverthelesse the governor understanding nothing, but that the enemy was marched to Strat-

ford upon Avon, and so beyond his reach, sent back the foot almost tyred with tedious and continuall marches, and with his horse resolved to joyn with Collonel Fines at Banbury. But he found at the return of the scouts, that about five hundred horse neer at that instant got over the river on this side Evesham, and made their approach neer his quarters, and that a party of foot were left at the bridge to make good the repasse; one half of the forces in the mean while lying at Evesham, and the other neer Parshowe. Our men appearing on the hils, the enemy took the alarme, retreated suddenly, and for a while lodged themselves beyond Worcester. Their number was computed by such as beheld them to be about five and twenty hundred horse, ill armed, and the surviving part of the ruines of the northern army. Again to prevent their incursions into the remote parts of the county beyond Seaverne, a competent strength of horse and foot were commanded over, and withall to attend the enemy's motion.

In the midst of this and other designes of consequence at that time depending, the governor with all the officers of horse and foot were much distressed for lack of that support, which the necessity of the service did require, and the extreme want of the common troopers drove them daily away. Every performance in the whole course of this government was filled with much distempers: and though the exigence of the souldier hath been great in many places, yet the gleanings of other brigades have been better than our vintage. No officer had any portion in the contribution money: no pay for the troops for many months together, no allowance for scout, spie, or intelligencer, who observe only the liberall and open handed, nor the hopes of reward to incourage the souldier's gallantry: that the indeavours of the governor in keeping together, and increasing the forces were nigh lost. Neither was any means allotted to the supply of the necessary attendants and officers of a marching brigade. And in the heat of service the nature and terms of the

governor's command were disputed, and it was very questionable whether to provide for the attendants of a march: that only a proportion seemed to be cared for, that might live within the walls of Gloucester, and nothing to further such action that might restrain, and lessen the strength of the enemy, preserve the countrey, and passe withall to the relief of remote garrisons. Neverthelesse the establishment of such a power was required in these parts as might check the enemy in all his marches and recruits: and this strength far greater than the stint of that constant number which the garrisons took up.

In this extremity the governor was constrained to act, and marched on in the pursuit of the enemy, who kept randevous neer Hereford with fourty two troops of horse, resolving to passe the Severne at Aust, not daring to adventure over the hill countrey. And to guard the passage, Prince Rupert sent into the forrest a commanded party of five hundred horse and foot. These began to fortifie Beachly for a lasting guard, a place of extreme difficult approach, being a gut of land running out between Seaverne and Wye, and the only commodious passage, from Wales to Bristoll, and the western parts, being the maine entercourse of the king's army, and a strong reserve for the last exigence. It was high time therefore to crush this designe, and nip the bud of so great hopes. The governor advanced upon them some foure dayes after they began their fortifications, and had drawn the trench half way from the banks of one river to the other, when the other part was well guarded with an high quick-set hedge (which they lined with muskettiers) and a ditch within with a faire meadow beyond, wherein they had made a re-intrenchment. The strength consisted neer of six hundred horse and foot, which at the first coming on lighted upon a partie of horse from Chepstow, took some, and drove the rest into the river: then faced the enemy within musket shot that evening, and so continued the next morning, waiting the opportunitie

of an assault, for at high water the place was inaccessible, by reason of their ships which guarded each river with ordnance, lying leuell with the banks, and clearing the face of the approach from Wye to Seaverne. Wherefore the governor taking the advantage of lowe water drew forth a party for the on-set. These were brought neer the place of entrance, where the enemy intended a draw-bridge, with order to storme the works which as yet were not finished. Out of the forlorn hope the governor had selected ten musketiers to creep along the hedges, and thence to fall into the very breach. These gave the first alarme, and caused the enemy (according to the meaning of the plot) to spend their first shot in vain. And when the first volly was given, ere they could recharge their muskets, the governor gave the signall by the discharge of a pistoll: on went the forlorn-hope, and the reserve following, the trumpets sounding, and the drums beating, run up the works, rushed in among them, and fell upon the hack, when the whole and each part of the action was carried on without interruption, and the souldiers went up in such a regular march, and so great solemnity, that it seemed more like the pomp of a triumph then the confused face of a fight. Of the enemy some were killed, and the rest taken prisoners, besides some few that recovered the boats, and many of them that took the water were drowned. And to grace the service, it was performed in the full view of a multitude on Chepstow side, whilst the great guns plaid from each river which cast beneath the banks by the lowe ebbe did no execution, but by their noise, and semblance of terror, both raised the souldier, and conduced to the majesty of the victory.

This good successe, and the season held forth a fair opportunitie to compasse an other designe at that time in agitation. Some overtures were made by Lieutenant Collonel Kyrle of the delivering of Monmouth into our hands. Many did urge the present acceptance of the plot, and an hasty performance, and were discontented in that which they called slacknesse in the governour: when as

neither the method of the plot was propounded in the generall (the circumstances being left free) nor the present state of things gave leave to manage the businesse, when the following army of Prince Rupert was to be intercepted, a work of greater concernment, and more beseeming a publick spirit than this latter: but at that time it was the usuall mistake of particular associations to confine every enterprise to their own counties, and divide the common-wealth into so many petty kingdoms. And in this did Collonel Massie deny himself, in spending the latter part of the summer in prosecuting a lesse plausible and appearing service, though of larger concernment. But having now pursued the prince's horse into Wales, and destroyed the enemies' project in fortifying Beachly, he quartered with his horse and foot near Monmouth on the forrest side; and receiving an answer to a message lately sent to Lieutenant Collonel Kyrle, propounded unto him, and followed this way: That he would feigne a post from Gloucester side to desire a sudden return with his forces thitherward, to secure that part of the countrey from the enemy, which was already fallen out from Bristol, and Berkley: and this message was to come to his hands at Mr. Hall's house of High Meadow, a grand papist, where it would take wings for its dispatch to Monmouth, by which means Kyrle commanding the horse might easily draw forth some troop to follow the rear of our party. Hereupon the governor feigned a sudden retreat to Gloucester, and having marched back three miles, lodged his forces in a thicket of the forrest: and sending his scouts abroad, prevented the enemies' discovery. In the mean while the intelligence reaches Monmouth, and Lieftenant Collonel Kyrle draws out, whom the governour surprised at midnight in High Meadow house, with his troop of thirty horse: and with as little noise as possible advanced thence to Monmouth. Neverthelesse it was not so deep a silence but the alarme was given by the cornet of the troop, who escaped the surprisall, and the attempt made the



more difficile, if not desperate. The town took the alarme, stood upon their guard, expecting an enemy. Notwithstanding this, Kyrle with an hundred select horse arrived at the town's end, confidently came up to the draw-bridge, pretended a return with many prisoners taken, perswaded the guards, and prevailed with Collonel Holthy the governor of the town by the officers of the guard, to let down the draw-bridge, which was done but with much jealousie, and a strong guard, and the bridge presently drawn up again: insomuch that the first party were like to be held prisoners in the town. Our forlorn hope saw that it was time to lay about them, they declare themselves, over-power the guard, and make good the bridge: and in this there wanted not those that kept a strict watch over Kyrle's deportment, who acted his part with dexterity and valour. Our body of horse and foot were at hand, had a large entrance, subdued the town in a moment, and spared the blood of the surprised souldiers. But the dark and rainy night fitted the governour of Monmouth with the major part of the garrison for an escape over the dry graft. We took one major, three captains, and divers inferior officers, threescore common souldiers, five barrels of powder, and some arms: but the town itself was the best prize, being the key of South Wales, and the only safe entercourse for the king's army between the West Wales, and the northern parts.

The taking of Monmouth gave a fearful alarme to the whole countrey, especially to the Earl of Worcester at Ragland castle, who raised the countrey, and called in Prince Rupert's horse to their assistance. The Ragland papists made the poore Welch believe that we came to put man, woman, and child to the sword, and filled their fancies with as many strange conceits of the round-heads, as the poore Spaniards had of the English after their revolt from Rome, it being easie to perswade an irrational and stupid people. Forthwith they appear in arms against us. Wherefore

two dayes after our entrance, the governor sent out a small party of muskettiers, commanded by Captain Rochford, to quash the rising of the countrey. Our men find out the randevous, with a kind of guard defended by Captain Gainsford, with his ragged regiment. These upon the first onset were all put to flight, ran an hundred wayes like a barbarous people, were pursued by our horse, about twenty knocked on the head and sixteen taken prisoners. To revenge this losse, Sir William Blaxton with his brigade of horse, joyna with the countrey train-bands, and the forces from Ragland, and Chepstow, making (according to the best relations), five hundred horse, and twelve hundred foot. Of this preparation we were not advertised, till they fell upon one of our horse quarters in a strong house neer Monmouth, where we lodged two troops, and by good hap ten muskettiers to secure the quarters. The house was made good by the resolution of Captain Bayly, and Leiftenant Page, till the major of the horse had drawn up the troops, and faced the enemy, whilst the governor commanded out of Monmouth a hundred and fifty muskettiers. But before our foot could reach the house, their horse drew thence, encountred with a party of ours, and being recharged by Major Backhowse, were beaten back to the foot. By this time our muskettiers were brought up, and in the first charge put the enemy to a confused running retreat, slew seventy, and wounded many, took threescore prisoners. Of the officers, a major of horse, and two captains were slain, one taken, and Sir William Blaxton shof in the thigh. But the pursuit had an early stop by a small river which the enemy passed, and plucked up the bridge: or their foot had been wholly routed and taken. The prisoners that were of the countrey people the governor entreated kindly, and after a few dayes sent them home by parcels, and each man with a little note or letter directed to his master, or the severall parishes, to signifie that the intention of the parliament, and the present government, was not to destroy, or enslave their persons,



or take away their livelihoods ; but to preserve their lives and fortunes, to open the course of justice, and free them of their heavy burthens under the forces of Rupert, a Germane prince. At the free discharge of the captives, they began to resent the governor's humanity, as before, by the slaughter of their men they had felt the force of arms. And the dispersed papers did in part undeceive the people, and dislodge their fears ; our horse marching peaceably, and doing no spoil or violence.

After the appeasing of the countrey tumults, the indeavours of the governor were to reduce that people to a willing, and cordiall obedience. He dispatched many letters of invitation to the gentlemen of the countrey, and gave assurance to the best affected of his purpose to defend and make good the town. But all were silent, and not two valuable persons did own the businesse. On the other side, they did not stir a foot at the summons of the Earl of Worcester : and in confidence of the justice of this party they frequented our markets ; whereas at our first approach they drove away all their cattell, into the remote parts of the county : yet most of the gentlemen fled from their houses. The greatest part of Prince Rupert's forces lie stil under our arrest in Wales, where they decrease and drop away, discontent and burden the countrey, between whom there arise perpetuall quarrels. And the truth is, even those people whose affections comply with the king's designe, could never correspond with the souldier of that faction, with whom there is no dealing for very friends. Insomuch that the generall hatred of the souldier might drive in to the parliament, a moderate enemy, and such as breathe a more cool spirit of malignity, when the state shall reach out the hand to clear the way, and make good the engagement.

Collonel Massie seems now to have spread the branches of his government beyond the sap and strength of the root, and the extreme parts grow burdensome to the main body. He had neither

horse nor foot to maintain what was gotten, considering the strivings of the enemy to repossesse themselves of Monmouth. For which end the whole power of South Wales that is fit for the march under the command of Collonel Gerrard are come as far as Abergenny, Uske, and Ragland. Sir John Winter must bring forth his master-peece to the world, and once more assisted with four hundred from Bristoll, purchased at a high rate, and added to a hundred of his own men, with all the aid Prince Rupert can send, undertakes to fortifie Beachly. The noised strength of the enemy round about did contribute to the designe with all fiercenesse, since the want of a guard upon this passage did render all South Wales of little value. And it highly concerned us to indeavour the preventing this project, which threatned the ruine of the forrest, the intercepting of the passage between Gloucester and Monmouth, and to render that garrison in great part useless. The governor had a hard game to play, alwayes put upon desperate hazards without a sufficiencie to accomplish or make good. For the case was questionable whether to desert Monmouth, or seek to maintain it, having no competent number for a town yet unfortified, generally malignant, in an enemies' countrey, at a great distance, and with a difficult passe : but that the wonderfull successe of Beachly twice fortunate determined the doubt. The businesse was not capable of deliberation, nothing but a quick dispatch had the shew of safety. Gerrard was to be kept from joyning his forces with these in the forrest, who when once fortified were not to be beaten out having all the advantages of sea and land. And although his forces hovered about the countrey, pretending to fall upon Monmouth, yet about midnight, October 13, one hundred muskettiers were drawn thence with eight troops of our poore horse unto Cluréwall, expecting there to meet the Newnham foot drawn off for this designe, the garrison supplied in the interim by the countrey voluntiers. In the close of the next evening they approached neer the enemy, where no good presage



did favour the busines. The horse failed six houres of the time appointed, whom the constant want of pay, and hands bound up from plunder, made irregular, and disabled the commander in chief to reward or punish. Himself must manage the designe not by advice only, but personall action, and act a part in the duty of each inferior officer. That night we beat up their ambuscades, forced them within their works, and by frequent alarms kept them waking, yet as much as possible from working. The next morning at break of day was the time reserved for a storme: but the foot were all stragling, and could not be gathered up, insomuch that the governor's own troop with no more than fourscore muskettiers made the onset, and by God's help performed gallantly. They found the enemy well prepared, the works followed with dexterity and diligence, with much art and cost on pallisadoes, and breast-works, and the most defective places from Wye to Seaverne defended with a tall quick-set hedge, and a ditch within, the pinnaces riding in each river with ordnance to play upon us, and the line so strongly guarded with hammer guns, and murtherers placed on the flanks at either end, that it seemed impossible to storme the same by day without apparent great losse; yet was the governour to wait for lowe water, that the guns from the ships might not reach us, which happily fell out at the opening of the day; yet were we in the reach of the ordnance planted on the Welch shore, and equall to our height. He laid hold on the instant of season, with a small party in a silent march came close to the works; whereupon after the taking of the alarme, when the enemy had spent many shot, our men forced two or three pallisadoes, that some of the foot and the forlorn hope of horse brake in: but finding themselves at a stand between the pallisadoes and the quick-set hedge lined with muskettiers, began to face about when there was no looking back, nor passing forwards, by reason of the continuall shot. In this party was the governor engaged, who now became the leader of the

forlorn-hope, and with not a little difficulty forced his own horse over the hedge, fell in among them, was recharged furiously, his head-piece knocked off with the but-end of a musket, and strangely preserved, till three or foure foot and some horse brake over the hedge after him, then there came up a full body of horse and foot, and by maine force bore down before them a resolved and prepared enemy, slew thirty, and tooke prisoners a lieutenant colonell, one major, two captaines, three lieutenants, three ensignes, with other officers, and common souldiers, to the number of two hundred and twenty. They forced Sir John Winter downe the clift into the river, where a little boate lay to receive him, and convey him thence into the ships, riding within musket shot of the shore, with many musqueteers and great shot. Many tooke the water, some whereof were drowned, and others saved themselves by recovering the boates. Prince Rupert the patron of this designe, was expected there the next high water, being then upon the river, but extreemely prevented and crossed in the height of his desire and confidence.

It was a brave, exployte and true victory upon such an eminent disadvantage over a formidable enemy. They were stronger within the fortifications than sixe times the same number in the open field. The storme that hovered was blowne over, and we calme, and secure in the possession of Monmouth. But as for this necke of land so fortunate and famous to the government of Gloucester for two remarkable victories: though Sir John Winter and the Welch forces had their eye continually upon it, yet the neglect of the place was no oversight in our garrison, but caused by the incapacity of the place itselfe, it being impossible to be held by us till we were masters at sea, because at every floud the ships on the Seaverne lay leuell with the highest ground. Wherefore it was resolved by a councell of warre that the buildings should be demolished, and all trees and hedges cut downe. The taking and securing of Monmouth was a faire beginning, and almost the possession

of halfe Wales. But as yet the county became unserviceable to us, and we made loosers by enlarging our bounds.

The substance of Gloucestershire was expended in maintaining the garrison foote, and the horse left wholly unfurnished, yet bounde up from plunder and rapine; neither did we finde that assistance in the county as was expected and promised: considering which, with our meane forces and slender pay, no progresse could be made in gaining the countrey, but the time was spent in light skirmishes, and surprizals betweene petty parties on both sides; and we sustained some losse by Colonel Broughton's captaine lieutenant who with fifty souldiers undertooke to garrison a house neare Godridge castle, neither obvious to releife, nor caring to fortify or store the place with victualls. This was done in the governour's absence without order, disavowed by all, and owned only by the captaine himselfe: whose plea was, that he had no support for his men, and was enforced to get his living there. But within a few dayes his house was fired upon him, and he and all his carried prisoners to Hereford before releife could reach them.

Notwithstanding our necessitous condition, the parliament were informed of great multitudes, and a burden of supernumerary officers and souldiers, and seemed to require out of the superfluity of those parts an assistance more ample than the maine strength of the place. It was hard to take a just and full view at such a distance; and peradventure perpetuall action and the great things effected here, might multiply the numbers of the garrison, and represent things in the largest forme. But the voyce of the people gave out that we were kept low by the malice of misinformations: and that the souldiers' cry could not be heard, because they were apt to be thought ever craving and querulous. Wherefore at that season there came some particular commands from the powers above, which did not correspond with the state of our affaires, or the ground of the enjoyed service. November the tenth Colonel

Massie received instructions from the committee of both kingdomes to march with all the strength he could make, into the borders of Oxfordshire to prevent the joyning of the Welsh forces under the conduct of Colonell Gerrard with the rest of the king's army, or to take advantage of the enemy, or joyne with the parliament's army as occasion did offer. This command found him overwhelmed with manifold imployments, and in that instant of time some Monmouthshire gentlemen tendred their assistance to the taking in of Chepstow castle, which the governour was ready to embrace, (that Wales might fall under the power of the parliament) but with much warinesse, having many irons in the fire. Neverthelesse lying under a greater weight of envie, he resolved to obey the former orders against the progresse and reason of his affaires; wherefore he called off his owne regiment of horse from about Monmouth, where the enemy's vigilancie was not little, and the malignity of the towne wondrous great; with the regiment of horse, he hasted towards Evesham, where the enemy had arrived before, whose march he could not interrupt or retard since they were eight for one. But before this march having drawne a small party out of Monmouth, he commanded from Gloucester his own company, and another company of the same regiment to the security of that garrison, and committed the charge of the towne in his absence to Major Throgmorton, then serjeant major to Colonell Harley, who by order of parliament was designed to that government, but with no power to command out a partye upon any designe, having no thought that the forces left there were fit to be employed upon any service, more than the defence of that place: besides, he had waved the offers of Chepstow till he might gaine an assurance of making good so much ground in an enemies' country: for it was alwayes his desire in ingaging any people to those masters whom he served, to foresee a possibility of continuing that engagement, lest hee might doe them a greater disservice by dashing the

resolution of others, who intended the same course, and by grasping beyond his reach take off their inclinations who might be gained in due time. Notwithstanding the governor's expresse order, at the earnest solicitation and promises of some well-affected in the country, and the vehemencie of others, who thirsted after the glory of some atchievement in the governor's absence, the major yeilded for the drawing out of a party for Chepstow, and stretched his power beyond the knowne discipline of warre, fearing either the brand of cowardise, or the censure of a man unwilling to doe his country service, though he declared his judgment against it. Wherefore he advanced towards Chepstow with three hundred commanded men: having some conceived assurance of gaining the castle by surrender or onslat. The newes is conveyed forthwith to the enemy, who draw together all the strength they can make, of horse and foote from Ragland, Abergeveny, Hereford, and Godridge, and November the nineteenth about breake of day, came neere the towne, and lay undiscovered behind a rising ground, at a quarter of a mile's distance, never thinking to make an attempt, much lesse to surprise it; but as the governor's inavoydable absence, and the impertinent enterprize of Monmouth garrison did cause their approach, there being not above a hundred and fifty left there; so the negligence of the captaine to whom the keyes were intrusted in the major's absence, gave up the towne into their hands. So remisse were the slender guards, that the treually was beaten and none tooke the alarme. The enemy observed it, and tooke the courage to attempt the surprisall, came upon the higher side of the towne, that looked towards Hereford, having only a sloping banke cast up to a reasonable height, with a dry graft of no depth; insomuch that the guards and sentinells being all asleepe, or supinely negligent, above forty men presently climbed over, and fell downe to the next port, where they found no more than sixe men, who fled from the guard upon their comming on; with that one takes an iron barre,

breakes the chaine, forces the gate, and sets it open to the whole body of horse, who rid up the towne with full career, seased upon the maine guard before one man could be ready to give fire, and tooke the rest in their beds; it was done in a moment, where wee lost Colonell Broughton, foure captaines, lieutenants and ensignes, some of the committee, together with common souldiers, in all, about one hundred and threescore prisoners, two sakers, besides a drake, and nine hammer guns taken at Beachly, with ammunition and provision, and at least foure hundred muskets.

The newes of the taking of Monmouth reached Colonell Massie neer Burford, prosecuting the commands of the committee of both kingdomes, and there abiding to meete the Lord Grandeston, with the Worcester forces who endeavour for Oxford; hence he makes haste to the reliefe of the party sent out against Chepstow, and to bring off the rest that remaine upon their guards in that county: and at Gloucester understood that the party sent for Chepstow were safely landed, on this side Wye, having effected nothing of their designe; the governor met them in the forrest, and thence marched to Rosse, where he hoped to have passed the bridge, to the releefe of Pembridge castle, which was made an out-guard to the garrison of Monmouth, but found the bridge broken downe, and the river made unpassable by the sinking of boates on the other side, and a guard of horse to defend it. Here we had some disputes with the enemy for two dayes: but those in the castle having no meanes of a longer subsistence, were inforced to surrender upon quarter, and the freedome of their persons, most of the common souldiers revolted, being formerly of the king's army, and our prisoners.

The base neglect of the officers had not the least share in the unfortunate losse of Monmouth, and daily wants increased the neglect, and weakened the governour's hand in inflicting condigne punishment. And as the parliament's service was by many degrees

cast backe by this misfortune: so the forrest in speciall was hereby sorely plagued being left open to the spoyle of the enemy, against whom they were preingaged by Colonell Massie, and of late had declared themselves more freely. And though the generall multitude seemed to be brought in by the hatred of Sir John Winter, whose name and faction the people did abhorre; yet at that time the tye of affection and necessity drew them to a strong combination. To provide for their safety was the governour's maine care, wherefore instead of one good baracadoe, the towne of Monmouth, sundry garrisons are erected in the forrest, for want of an ample strong-hold, and these expended greater portions of men and ammunition, though the limits of the government were much contracted. The garrison of High Meadow did affront Monmouth, and furthered the preservation of that aide: Ruerdeane was a stoppe to the plunderers from Hereford; and those at Lidney were kept in by another party at Nast. These lesser places distracted the governour on every side, willing but not able to preserve all them that desired to live under his protection.

Some weekes before, the governour had commafided a party to Yate-Court within ten miles of Bristoll, to secure the neighbourhood being a well affected people: but in this distraction he resolved to call off those men, who peradventure might maintaine themselves in a kinde of imprisonment: but in no wise preserve a countrey that was then filled with the king's forces, so neere Bristoll, and farre from releife, especially in the winter. Nor at that season could they draw off without a stronger guard and convoy. To this end the governour marched to Kingscoate with three hundred horse and dragoones, intending to send a party to bring off that garrison: but receeiving advertisement of a regiment of horse, quartered that night in Sodbury, he fell downe thither, where he found an enemy there arrived to the assistance of Colonell Gerrard against Yate-House; here he resolved to undertake them that night, and had no sooner

appeared at the towne's end, but the first guard fledde, and our men marched into the town one by one, because of the enemy's baracadoes, went up to the maine guard consisting of forty horse, who being surprized and daunted at the sudden entrance of our men and not confiding in their owne strength, quitted the place, and left the rest in their quarters, most of which escaped on foote by the backe side of the towne. We tooke fourescore horses, many armes, twenty prisoners, and of them two captaines, and the next morning brought off the forlorne garrison.

In the depth of winter, when each parcell of the parliament's army had retired into London, or the securer parts of that association, and the king's forces were dispersed into the severall quarters: Cirencester and the hill country of Gloucestershire, was assigned to Sir Jacob Ashley, having the command of three brigades of foote, and assisted with the Queene's, Prince Rupert's, Prince Maurice's, and the Lord Wilmot's regiments of horse with others. His designe was to destroy the countrey, and live upon the ruines thereof: whose incursions on that side, and the Bristoll forces about Berkeley, with the Worcester, Hereford, and Monmouth forces on the other side, act something daily to the spoyle of a miserable country, which is left as the kingdome's forlorne hope, and croucheth daily betweene two burdens. The distressed neighbourhoode did seeme to challenge those severall armyes then in being, which lay rusting in their quarters, to keepe the associated countyes where no feare was, when they might prevent the ruine of their friends, and starve the enemy who live upon our fatnesse; when they might hinder the king's recruits, disturbe their winter calmes, and make them fight for the possession and enjoyment of their owne territories. But in the deepe silence of that part of the kingdome, these parts are borne downe by the maine bulke of the king's army, without the least inablement at present, or the hopes of future releife.

The enemy's whole burden rests upon this government. Colo-

nell Massie placed a guard at Lypiatt, commanded a party of horse and dragoones to Stroude a place most exposed to spoyle: and set guardes of horse at severall places of advantage. These guardes affronted Sir Jacob Ashley in the stoppe of contribution and plunder, the indignation whereof drew him out of Cirencester with foure regiments of horse to Hampton roade, where he divided his men, and sent them out three severall wayes to surprize our horse in their quarters, and plunder the countrey. Each party fayled of the designe, through the favour of Providence to that well affected people. At each guardes some few that tooke the alarme did end counter and stave off the enemye's first violence, till the rest of a few slender troopes were drawne up, and encouraged by the governour's fortunate arrivall from Gloucester at that instant, charge and overcame a farre greater power, which were also engaged to fight by their heavy plunder, and difficult returne. In the whole about eight or nine slaine, and twenty of the best men of the queen's and prince's regiment taken prisoners, and of these one captaine, and cornet. The successe did revive and engage the countrey.

Yet after a few dayes Sir Jacob Ashley marched out of Cirencester with a greater power of horse and foote, and assaulted the guard at Lypiatt in the absence of the captaine that commanded there, with instructions from the governour to draw off, if at any time an army fell downe. But the house being unfortified was soone taken, and uncapable of defence, where we lost a lieutenant, and fifty private souldiers. At which very time we had lodged three hundred foote within Muserden House sent thither the day before, with orders to defend it as a garrison, who had no knowledge of the enemy's approach till they came within halfe a mile. They remained in the house according to command, but in no defensible posture, nevertheless expecting the onset every moment. The surprisall of these men was prevented by a mere accident of the governour's arrivall,

who faced the great body with no more than sixty horse, till the foote were drawne off the hills.

That the strength of the king's army should lie upon us, was not strange, but that no care was had of a competent provision for a deserving country, was beyond the conceit of them that beheld our misery. The enemy were strong in horse, and our few divided into so many parcells and swallowed up in the petty guards, that no sooner could we drawe to the rescue of one side, but the forces on the other hand fell on to the ruine of the poore people. The governor knowes no remedy but by daily shifting motions, and becomes an ubiquitary: he can attempt no designe, but first in his owne person faceth the enemy on the contrary side, and fills them with the alarme of his presence; Sir Jacob Ashley sends warrants for contributions to the gates of Gloucester: the forces from Hereford were marched forth to Canon-Froome towards Lidbury; whereupon the governor advanced with a party of horse and foote as farre as Bosbury waiting for action, but staid only for a night, having placed guards towards Worcester and Hereford in the most passible wayes for the enemy's approach, and fell into one of their quarters, tooke a captaine and his cornet, with some common troopers, and fiftene horses; the enemy falling downe from Cirencester suddenly fetches home this party.

Whiles these things happened, the governour received a command from the committee of both kingdoms to attempt Campden House, newly garrisoned by the king's forces, under Sir Henry Bard; and the horse of Warwicke, and Coventry, by command of the same committee were to aide and receive orders from him in the prosecution of this designe; Colonell Massie tooke courage to resolve them of the incapacitie of that service for the present, since it could not be done without greater losse to the state than the fortune of the action could countervail; for it was a worke of continuance that required our whole strength; and that side of the

country from which we drew must be given up to destruction, and the enemy waited no greater advantage than to fasten the governor upon a tedious enterprize: besides, the intendment was unvailed in all those parts that were required to send aide, and before the orders of the grand committee came to his hand, the London Mercuries had proclaimed it to the world.

The Earl of Worcester, the Lord Herbert, and their agent, Sir John Winter, bestirre themselves to patch up the lingering life of the garrison at Lidney, and have procured from Prince Maurice at Worcester a regiment of horse and dragoones, by whose assistance he was confident to have beaten up our small guards in the forrest; and enlarge his owne quarters; to bring the forrest once more under his power to the destruction of the people, and the great advantage of the king's army, and Bristoll in speciall, furnishing them with iron, wood and coales. The reminding of so great a mischief to the parliament's service made the governour carefull to prevent him, and with an answerable number of horse and foote advanced into the forrest towards Lidney, where Sir John and his party got in before him. But after a few small skirmishes, to no valuable losse on either side; the governour set guards upon all the passages, and imprisoned the enemy in their own strong hold, and again drew off the maine body in the view of the garrison. The enemy observing his march, and supposing the expedition for Gloucester, sallied out upon Sully-House at a mile's distance, and a temporary garrison for the blocking up of Lidney. In the instant of time the governour returnes to this guard, and understanding by the scouts their neere approach, drew out a forlorne hope, faced and charged them, retreated a little, and faced them againe with the exchange of few shot, till the enemy were brought up so high that they discovered our body. Hereupon they make a sudden retreat, our forlorne hope fall on, and the body followes, turned their horse to flight, who forsooke the foote, and left most of them to

our mercy. Here wee tooke one captaine, with five and twenty common souldiers, having slaine a captaine, two lieutenants, and twenty sixe souldiers. The whole action upon those forces from Worcester was performed only with the losse of twenty horses, and a few men surprised in their quarters, which neverthelesse cost the enemy the life of a major. The passages from Lidney are all guarded by our horse to starve those within, and preserve the forrest from their plunder.

The governour having his hands and thoughts filled with these distractions, was yet more perplexed by a fresh and unknowne engagement of Colonell Stephens in Wiltshire. It happened that about this time the enemy had garrisoned an old, but repaired castle at the Devizes. And to prevent the spoyle of the country neere Malmesbury, Colonell Devereux had erected a garrison at Rouden House between the Devizes and Malmesbury; and before it was settled or well furnished with ammunition and provision, it was set upon, and sorely straitened: Colonell Stephens being newly made governour of Beverston castle, was desired to give aide to the reliefe of the house, and sets upon the service without Colonell Massie's order, or knowledge in those his manifold preingagements; wherefore hee advanced to succour the besieged with three troopes of his owne regiment, and some Malmesbury foote, and though he failed of a party of horse to be sent from Colonell Devereux, undertooke the businesse, broke through the enemy with much difficulty and hazard, and relieved the house with provision and powder, but failed in the concluding part; for when he might with farre lesse difficulty have forced the way back through a troubled enemy, he alighted unwarely and went into the house to refresh himselfe, thereby giving the besiegers time to rally, and to cast up a breastworke before the passage, that hee, with the rest, being foure hundred horse and foote, were all cooped together, and the poore besieged are most desperately straitened by this kinde of reliefe.



They without are five hundred strong; the newes runnes to Gloucester and calls for helpe, which had not needed, had Colonell Stephens imparted the businesse to the governour, as he ought, and waited to have set the country in a posture on all sides to face the enemy, whose inrodes in the meane while were expected from each quarter. They were already drawne out of Cirencester, Farfard and Leeblade, and kept their randevouz on the hills by Cirencester. From Hereford they stirre with a great strength on that side, and in the forrest, those that are penned up in Lidney strive to breake prison.

Notwithstanding this at our first alarme, the governour sent his owne captaine lieutenant, and threescore of the choise horse well appointed, and all that could be spared, unlesse he would ruine the forrest: and now the worke of releeving this place is made more difficult, the enemy round about being drawne together with a purpose to swallow them up, or more gladly to fight with Colonell Massie at such advantage on the hills and farre from home; yet the best face is put on a bad matter, the threescore horse were to joyne with an hundred horse and dragoones from Malmesbury to breake through the enemy, and these added to the foure hundred and thirty within the house, were conceived able to force a passage through the midst of the first five hundred. But now a greater power are come up to the house, at least three thousand men: Sir Jacob Ashley did contribute much to the strength of the besiegers by draining his quarters at Cirencester, whom the governour could not prevent, nor follow, except with the losse of his interest in the forrest; only he raised the country about Stroudwater, and to face the garrison of Cirencester; our horse advanced up to the first guard, and slew the sentinell, hoping by this alarme to draw backe the residue from Rowden House: and though the weather dispersed and drove backe the country forces, yet such hopes did revive the businesse, that two rainy nights might be an opportune and active

season for Colonell Stephens to breake through, and than which no greater could be expected. Our second party of horse went on for Malmesbury to relevee the besieged at Rowden, and by the way releevd Beverston Castle with ammunition, but came too late for the maine designe; for the more potent enemy had so strongly guarded the passages, that the releefe of the house became desperate, and they within presently surrendred upon quarter for their lives.

The regiments of horse are much broken, and reduced to an inconsiderable number; the enemy growes strong, and a streame of ill successe flowes in upon us. Colonell Hopton, for whom the governour procured a commission, upon his promise of raising foure hundred horse and armes upon his owne purse, without the helpe of the state or country, having got together about threescore horse, and forty foote, presumed with these men to garrison Castle-ditch neere Ledbury in Herefordshire, having neither order nor directions from the governour, who conceived the house not to be defended, and required him to desist the enterprize; the order is neglected: but not many dayes after, a party drawne out of Hereford, had not lain before it foure and twenty houres, but he, with his forty foot, and twenty horse were taken, and carried prisoners to Hereford, ere the governour could come with releefe, who lighted neverthelesse upon a few straglers in the reare, and tooke thirteene prisoners.

Meane while Sir John Winter's releife lyes under the arrest, yet so as we would gladly ridde our hands: for the guards set round his house to the safety of the forrest, did alwayes distract our designes. These horse are impatient of a longer imprisonment, and after a sore distresse breake their way through our quarters into the utmost parts of the forrest towards Chepstow, and joyne with a partie of foote from Chepstow landed at Lancaught, where they intended to fortify and to make good the passe over Wye: by which meanes

they might issue out of Wales at their pleasure. The place contains foure hundred acres, having a very straight entrance. Here-upon our severall guards drew together and summoned the countrey to aide and came up to the enemy, who were divided in opinion; one part held it meete to make good the passage, the rest perswaded to draw out into the field and fight. These latter prevailed, and for awhile both parties faced each other. Our men drew out a forlorne hope of foote, the place so requiring, next unto these a forlorne hope of horse, and the rest were appointed for a reserve. Their horse violently charged our forlorne hope of foote, who were ready to give backe when our horse came in opportunely and played their parts, whereat the foote tooke courage, and fell on all together, and with one charge turned the enemy to flight, that they killed few on the place, but drove them up to the river side, and fell upon the hacke in the pursuite, and so cooped them up that few escaped their hands. About fourescore were slaine of whom were Colonell Gamme, and Colonell Vangerris; of the residue some adventured the river to recover the frigate: many were drowned, of whom Colonell Poore governour of Berkeley Castle; but Sir John Winter and his brother with some few besides escaped only of an hundred men from Chepstow, and an hundred and fourescore horse and dragoones from Lidney House. The remainder fell into our hands, an hundred and twenty taken prisoners, of whom two lieutenant colonells, foure captaines, and divers inferiour officers. This was the last blow of three which Sir John Winter received one in the necke of another.

These things happened about the time of the taking of Shrewesbury, which called off the king's forces from these parts: Sir Jacob Ashly marched from Cirencester, and Prince Rupert out of Herefordshire to releive his brother Maurice neere Chester. The governour was imployed in observing the enemy's motion, but with a strength every day more slender, having lost most part of his own

troope with some peeces of others by another miscarriage in fetching our armes and ammunition from Warwicke, and in the conveying of some clothiers' packes of great value, which were taken betweene Campden and Banbury through the misguidance of the officer that commanded.

Neverthelesse he advanced into the neerer parts of Herefordshire with two hundred horse and five hundred foote, to startle the enemy or make some diversion, supposing they bent their course to the reliefe of West Chester. Here he found great multitudes of the countrey people appearing in armes, but standing on their owne guard, and declaring themselves for neither side. It was hoped neverthelesse they might be made of good use, and the best affected of them gave Colonell Massie that satisfaction as was meete, by whom he understood the condition of their engagements. The governour of Hereford sending for hay and contribution to his garrison, was so farre denied by the countrey that it came to blowes. The people rising to resist, some few men, and as it was reported women and children were slaine, and some carried prisoners to Hereford: also some of the Hereford forces were taken by the countrey men. The next day the alarum went throughout that side of the county, and some parts of Worcestershire. The people gather into a body, and march to Hereford. Here they stayed some dayes with a resolution to have certaine articles granted by the governour of that garrison. The summe of their demaunds were to this effect, that such of theirs as were held prisoners there, should be delivered forthwith; that satisfaction be given to the country for the losse they sustained by plunder, as also to the wives and children of those that were slaine: that the countrey might be freed from contribution and all manner of payment to the souldier; that since the present forces of Hereford were not able to defend the county, they forthwith quit the garrison, and leave it to be kept by the countrey, who are able to defend the same, and

the whole county with lesse charge. These and the like triviall passages did they discover to the world, as it is wont to happen in such popular commotions. In the meane while severall posts were dispatched to Colonell Massie at Ledbury, and letters returned from him to them, and in particular to some gentlemen, the cheifest and best affected. These letters received by the country people, tooke well with some; but the generall vote was that they needed not his helpe to gaine Hereford, which they conceived would be delivered up by the citizens, whom they knew to be of one minde with them. Other messengers came from them with intreaties to march up to Hereford, promising concurrence in assaulting the towne: others would have him fall upon another garrison at Canon-Froome. The governour made answer to the severall messages, that he desired to conferre with some of their best intrusted gentlemen and yeomen, expecting meete security that either by protestation or taking the nationall covenant they give him an assurance of their standing with the parliament, requiring them to cast off the enemy, and receive orders from him, to act nothing of themselves without the consent and approbation of parliament, without which engagement he could not joyne or act with them. To this they replied that they held it a thing of evill consequence, and dangerous to declare themselves, and they knew their ability of themselves to performe what they had resolved, intreating him to march backe with his men, giving assurance that they were our freinds, but could not declare for either side: this act of theirs being a just defence against the unjust proceedings of the committee and souldiers of Hereford, and to secure the countrey from contribution and quarter. The governour makes answer to this resolve, that the course they had taken was neither safe nor legall; for if in this confused manner they should gaine Hereford, it would doe them little service: unlesse they were able to keepe it from the king's army, and be able of themselves to beate them wholly from that side Seaverne, that

no incursion could be made on their countrey from any part: that they would distresse themselves without releife, because their illegall way would not be owned by the parliament's forces: for though they have undertaken the preservation of the kingdome, yet they can give no protection to any that will not joyne with them in that way which the representative body of the kingdome thinks fit. For a third party cannot be in England. And therefore they have no way of safety or justification in this action, but a speedy declaration for the parliament, from whom they would finde security and protection and after assurance of fidelity, a setting of the countrey to their owne likings. He gave them likewise to understand, that the charge of the parliament in maintaining the souldiers, and of the countrey in contribution, did thence arise; that the people being disingaged in person might looke to their husbandry; declaring withall that the disunion of the country not understanding their interest in the parliament was the sole cause of the entertayning of souldiers. For had the whole kingdome rose in time and expressed themselves of this opinion, that they would stand up as one man against the popish partie, and enemy of their countrey: the worke had beene long since done. But their drawing backe put the parliament upon this way of raysing armes upon their stocke and expence, or the kingdome must needs fall. He minded them likewise that if they lost this opportunity of closing with the parliament, nothing but destruction would follow; that if they closed with Hereford, and composed the difference, this compliance might last till Prince Rupert's returne, and then they must looke to pay for this rebellion: but if they purpose at last to fall in with Rupert, it would hasten their bondage, yet give them no security.

This kinde of entercourse passed betweene Colonell Massie and the countrey people; meane while he drew backe to Rosse, waiting the event of this commotion, but not engaging himselfe amidst a promiscuous and doubtfull multitude. He represented likewise to

the committee of both kingdomes, what advantage the gaining, and disadvantage the losse of this opportunity might be to the whole worke: that their expressions of their esteeme of himselfe, and his gentle dealing with them were great: that the weaknesse of his forces, cheifely of horse, was the maine businesse that caused the major part to decline his invitation: importuning them if they desired to gaine this partie, as also a leading party to the whole kingdome, to send a considerable strength of horse; and if the forces saide to be intended, had come to him, when fiftene thousand appeared in armes before Hereford, and of them sixe thousand musqueteers, and some well mounted, he had gained a full testimony of compliance with the parliament, and drawne them with ease to aide him against Prince Rupert's army, when they were in the moode, so farre incensed and iraged. And to compleate the designe, a recruite for the regiments of horse was necessary, and that the auxiliaries should bring along their meanes of entertainment; for the sending of strength without money did more wound than heale us; for the souldiers challenge their pay or plunder; and as it was hatefull to the governour, so the state of the countrey would not permit him to spend his time in gathering contribution. But for want of a just and due supply, these men were lost to us and to themselves also, concluding a peace with the governour of Hereford, and obnoxious and open to the king's army.

Hereupon Colonell Massie marched from Rosse, and passed the Seaverne towards Berkely, proposing to joyne with Sir William Waller, who was noysed to be come into the borders of this countrey, when the day before some of the Berkely forces had issued out towards our garrison at Slimbridge: but ere they could retreat to the castle, the garison forces fell upon them, slewe twelve, whereof one captain, an Irish rebell, and tooke twenty five prisoners, whereof two were captaines and one lieutenant. The governour with his party advanced thence towards Chipping-Sodbury,

where Colonell Strange with a party of horse began to fortify: but upon the notice of our advance retreated to Berkely.

No sooner had the Herefordshire men disbanded, and returned to their owne houses, but Prince Rupert falls backe out of Shropshire, and comes upon them with his whole army. The noise of his arrivall doth hasten the governour's returne to Gloucester: who drew thence two hundred horse, and five hundred foote into the borders of Herefordshire, where many of the countrey people resorted unto him, some with fire weapons, some with others: but the want of strength, especially of horse, render'd him of little capacity to preserve them. The people having good desires, but daunted with the greatnesse of the enemy, and the slendernesse of our forces, were wholly lost. Sir William Waller was importuned to draw this way, or to send a strong party which might prove of the greatest advantage to the kingdome, when the prince's designe was to lye on that countrey to recruite his army with men horses and money, for the spring action, and the approach of the parliament's army; and would not only bring in the countrey, and make them firme to their service, but disappoint if not destroy Prince Rupert's army, at that time the greatest in the kingdome, being a confluence of the forces of Prince Rupert, Prince Maurice, Colonell Gerard, Lord Hastings, Lord Ashly, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale. These men beare all before them, take men's persons, spoyle their estates, disarm the countrey, reape the benefit of the late insurrection, and extract money by force and terrour from the poore people: whose destruction as well as their late rising in armes is wholly lost to the parliament, and serve only to make up the enemies' recruite. The princes impresse men in great abundance in Hereford, Monmouth, Worcestershire, raise great summes of money, get good store of armes: necessity in part casting them upon such ways of violence; and coercive power. And though the prest men were of suspected fidelity, and lesse value, and had often deceived them in the heate

of battell: yet they conduced to the sudden forming of an army when the king's affairs grew desperate, and thrust in with the old volunteers made up the bulke of a great body. Thus both the strength and the ruines of the countrey are left to the enemy, when by the aide of twelve hundred horse in the beginning of this insurrection, the hopes of the businesse might without vanity promise the parliament many thousand fighting men of all sorts besides those already in pay.

Sir John Winter, the plague of the forrest, once more importuned the releife of Lidney House, and obtaines from the prince about two thousand horse, and fiftene hundred foot, who breake in to destroy the countrey and disarm the inhabitants. The governour with what strength he can make marched to Wesbury and quartered within a mile and a halfe of the enemy, and gave order to the guards that beset Lidney, that the foote be drawne off to the garrison of Nast, and High Meadow, and the horse repaire to the randevouze, which was done without losse, when the forrest was full of the enemy. He preserved likewise the lower parts neere the river, but for want of horse wherein the enemy did abound, could not without extreame hazard and losse advance to the further parts, where they kept the randevouze, and which they laide wast, plundering the houses, to the bare walls, driving all the cattell, siezing upon the persons of men, and sending them captives to Monmouth, and Chepstow, except such as escaped to us by flight, (as many did with their armes) and some few that saved themselves in woods and minepitts. The enemy did not adventure into the lower and neerer places where our foot lay ready and resolved to undertake theirs if they came on. Our neighbouring parts of Hereford and Worcestershire, runne the like fortune with these in the forrest, and looke blacke upon this garrison which was not able to preserve them. The king's forces returned the second time into the forrest, and took the gleanings of the former harvest: yet the

neerer parts are still preserved. The enemy raised themselves to a great power, already reputed sixe thousand horse and foote, and seeme to endeavour northward, wherefore the governour intending to helpe the countrey, by driving up the reare of their march, or to put in for any service, advanced to Lidbury with foure hundred horse and five hundred foot, his whole marching strength, notwithstanding the addition of two hundred and fifty horse from Northampton and Warwicke, and with this party attended the enemye's motion. Hither Prince Rupert advanced with the best part of his army, of whose approach neither spye nor scout from the out-guards made the least discovery, till they came within halfe a mile of the towne, horse and foote, to surprize or at least to surround us. The governour instantly commanded the horse to mount, and drew up the foote, though not in so good order as he might, by reason of the sudden alarme; and suspecting what he afterwards founde, that the prince would endeavour to compasse him in, he marched off the foot with all due speed that the enemye's right or left wing might not get before us, which they endeavored by sending one party to the town's end to keep us in action there, whilst two other parties fetched a compasse upon either hand. In the meane while he brought up those few horse, that were not upon the out-guards to charge the enemy at their first entrance, and placed an ambuscado of twenty musqueteeres to make good the retreat. But the businesse was acted so that the governour in person with the field officers and captaines were enforced to entertaine the enemy with severall charges, and beare their brunt alone, till the foote had ridde some ground before them. In this part of the skirmish their losse was the greatest for number, of ours only Major Backehouse mortally wounded, the governour, whom the prince aimed to charge, had his horse wounded under him by two severall shots. Our men drew off as was meete, and made good the retreat three or foure miles to the enemye's losse, till they came

up to a place of shelter, when hasting to get before the right wing of the enemy's horse, they were put into some confusion. And the horse having no great desire to fight, neglected the advantage of the place, to stop the pursuit though the governour endeavoured what he could to engage them. That the enemy fell in among the reare guard of the foote, where he lost neare two hundred men taken prisoners: many country men being taken in to make up the number. This businesse cost them the lives of some gallant officers, and the prince missed his aime of surprizing Colonell Massie, but the governour supposed the stay of the prince's march an advantage to the service.

Neverthelesse the army continued some dayes after, betweene Hereford and Worcester recruiting dayly, and seeme to put much confidence in the country, whom they cause, not only to abjure the parliament, but binde over to themselves by solemne oath, swearing in the presence of God; that they beleeve no power of pope or parliament can depose the king, and absolve them from their naturall obedience to his royall person and successors, that the two houses of parliament without the king's consent, have no power to make lawes, or to bind or oblige the subjects by their ordinances, that they beleeve the Earl of Essex, and Manochester, and Sir Thomas Fairfaxe, Sir William Waller, Colonell Massie, together with all such as have already, or shall hereafter take up armes by authority, or commission from the members of parliament at Westminster, pretending to fight for king and parliament, doe thereby become actuall rebells, and such ought with all their adherents and partakers, to be presented and brought to condigne punishment: that they will never beare armes in their quarrell, but will, if they be thereto called, assist their soveraine and his armies in the defence of his royall person, crowne, and dignity, against all contrary forces to the utmost of their skill and power, and with the hazard of their

lives and fortunes; that they will not discover the secrecies of his majestie's army unto the rebells, nor hold any correspondence with them; and all designes of theirs against the king's army, for the surprizing or delivering up of the cities of Hereford or Worcester, or any other of his majestie's forts, they shall truly discover to those whom it shall concern, so soone as it comes to their knowledge. That his majestie's taking up armes for the causes by himselfe so often declared in print is justly necessary. That they shall endeavour all they can to hinder popular tumults, risings, rendezvous, meetings, confederacies, and associations of the people, townes, hundreds, and countries, which are not warranted to assemble by his majestie's expresse commission, or by power derived from him by vertue of his commissions, and in the sense he meanes it, and that they detest from their heart that seditious and traiterous late invented nationall covenant, and protest never to take it. All these particulars they vow and protest sincerely to observe without equivocation or mentall reservation. This protestation was strictly enjoyned by the princes, to be taken by all without exception, in the counties of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Brecknocke, Radnor, Hereford, and Worcester. Neverthelesse this constrained act could not knit the hearts of a male-contented country to the love of that side, nor could the state permit the enemy's exaction and violence by this vow eternally to binde up the people from well-doing.

The prince's army is the maine rest of the king's affaires which they strengthen daily by impressing the countrey, taking in lesser brigades, and draining the garrisons, and a part of Goring's army passed over the Seaverne from Bristoll into Wales, and so to Rupert at Hereford. After a little stay to perfect the recruite the enemy drew thence, the infantry and artillery lay betweene Worcester and Beaudly commanded by Sir Jacob Ashley, whilst Rupert and Maurice with the horse and some select foote fetch off

the king from Oxford, assisted also with Goring's horse and dragoones, who left his majesty at Stow and marched backe over the hills into the west through our borders.

The governour received another dropping by the addition of two troops from Newport-Pagnell, the auxiliaries were in all three hundred and forty: his owne so few, weake, and ill armed, that he could scarce muster a hundred fighting horse: and those much discontented, observing the rest in good equipage, but themselves in the constant action of souldiers naked and miserable. These are employed in attending the enemy's march, to preserve the countrey what they may; yet they disturbe it with frequent alarmes, and sometimes beate up the lesser parties, and upon sundry attempts tooke one colonell, divers captaines, with inferiour officers and souldiers.

Sir John Winter despairing of longer subsistance and lively-hood, deserted and fired his house at Lidney, having first spoyled the forrest and so before hand with revenge. By this time the counties round about are cleared of the king's army, and Colonell Massie received a larger supply of horse from the remainder of Colonell Bher and D'Albeir's regiments commanded by Major Bul-ler: and thereby inabled to undertake some important service. Evesham was beheld as the most opportune and of greatest concernment in distressing Worcester, and establishing the committee by order of parliament for that county. Wherefore the governour drew before it with five hundred foote from Gloucester, and two hundred from Warwicke, who belonged to the Worcester committee, with a strong able brigade of horse, and in the name of the king and parliament summoned Colonell Robert Legge, governour of the towne, to make a speedy surrender of the garrison with all persons, armes, ammunition and provision, which he there held against the justice of them both, or upon refusall to expect such justice as fire and sword would inflict. And to this he expected a

speedy answer. Colonell Legge sent backe the summons with this answer: You are hereby answered in the name of his majesty, that this garrison which I am intrusted to keep, I will defend so long as I can with the men, armes, and ammunion therein, being nothing terrified by your summons. I perceave you are a stranger to our strength and resolution, further treaties will be troublesome.

Upon this returne the governour prepared the designe, and ordered to each officer his charge in the storme. The assault was to be made on each part of the towne. The side that lookes towards Worcester was to be stormod in five places with one place at the bridge on the other side of the river. The commanded parties of the foote were led on by the severall captaines, and seconded by the horse devided into three bodies. After the disposition of the designe, and the night spent in alarmes, the signall was given a little after breake of day, when both horse and foote fell on together with life and heate in a furious assault, broke up the pallisadoes, filled the grafts with faggots, and other preparations, made sundry passages, recovered the workes, and stood firme on the parapet, whilst the musqueteers from within played furiously. The foot having recovered the shelter of the ditch beate off the enemy, got up by scaling ladders, stood on the breast workes, and some entred but were againe driven up by the horse to the top of the workes, where they stood firme and fired, but after a while ready to be beaten off by the violent charge of the enemy's horse, till a party of our horse on that side drawing up close, and having a small breach made for their entrance, fell in and beate off the enemy from that bulwarke; whilst another party made an entrance neare the bridge. And now they tumble over the works on all sides: and charge up both horse and foote with equall gallantry, bore downe the enemy and mastered the garrison. The conflict was hot and difficult for almost an houre, and maintained by the enemy with much resolution. The lives of

the officers and souldiers were wonderfully preserved in that violent storme, when each man was exposed to the hazard of the most daring enemy. Of the officers two only wounded, and ten private souldiers slaine, and twelve of the enemy. The prisoners taken in the garrison were five hundred and fifty on the list, of whom two colonells, one major, thirteene captaines, with other officers and gentlemen reformadoes to the number of seventy. Many gentlemen and officers that charged with the governour, acted their parts with courage, and spurd on the valour of the souldiers. The reserve of foot devided into three bodies, to second the assaylants, performed as became resolved men, and the whole action was compleate according to the idea and platforme of the designe. The evening before to keep off an approaching enemy from Worcester, about a hundred horse were drawne out, and kept guard five miles from Evesham, faced a party of horse from Worcester, whose hasty and distracted retreat gave such an alarme to the whole city, that they fired foure peece of ordnance before day, and alarmed the countrey round about, when the conquest was already secured, and the parliament masters of Evesham.

This performance was the concluding honour of Colonell Massie's government, after his remove from the present command was resolved by both houses of parliament, when the desires of promoting the publike service made him to hazard the fame of his former achievements by the doubtfull issue of the last action.

Some dayes before hee had an honourable invitation from the western gentlemen, and the same day that he entred Evesham, received a commission from the lords and commons to leade an army in the west: the parliament's command found the governour absolutely free in affection and choice, willing to comply with their pleasures, neither longing to stay, nor eager of a change, but in any place ready to spend his blood in the kingdome's cause, if he might not spend it in vaine. Neverthelesse the city and county of Glou-

cester did much resent it, and something repine that their governour should be snatched from such a people as had done much, and suffered much in their fidelity and resolution without precedent, (considering the many assaults) that had sacrificed their lives and fortunes in preserving this city and the kingdome therein, that had borne so much in the firing of the suburbs, in the burning of many houses neere the towne, some by the enemie's malice, and some by themselves for safety, and the pressures of the country under both armies. They cast up the consequence and concernment of the place, being the center, garden and granary of the kingdome, the blocke-house to the river of Severne, and a barre to all passages betweene Worcester, Bristoll, and the sea, the stop of entercourse betweene Oxford and Wales, the key to open the passage upon the Welsh and their frontiers, and the locke and barre to keepe out their incursions: the only refuge and safety for the parliament party and friends in that part of the kingdome, and the enemie's sole hinderance from the command of the whole west. Besides this, they had strong desires of retaining their governour having so long experience of his judgement to foresee dangers, and care to prevent them, of his readinesse to issue out for offence and defence upon each incursion, of his indefatigable industry in taking the advantage of all opportunities to weaken the enemy, and happy successe in all enterprizes, of his disposition and comportment, by which he cherished the well-affected, satisfied and confirmed the indifferent, reduced the very malignant: and by himselfe engaged the country to armes, and governed the souldiers from mutiny, rapine, and plunder, or other violence in the garrison or country. To all which they added an unavoidable prejudice against any stranger, though in himselfe able and faithfull, considering the many by-past plots, and the enemie's implacable malice who breath out threatnings daily. Such was the sense of the people universally. And the major and aldermen with the whole city *nemine contradicente* did so farre

honour themselves in vindicating Colonell Massie, as to petition both houses of parliament for his continuance in the government, representing in expresse termes his noble disposition, constant and unwearied paines, blest by God with extraordinary successe, and his maine influence on the hearts of the people in generall, most of them being by him ingaged in armes for the parliament, and upon the whole souldiery, who were kept together to serve in this countrie, chiefly by the love and respect they beare to him. And this they acknowledged not with an intention of prescribing rules to the state, but out of their care and zeale to the common cause. They likewise importuned the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-councell of London, upon the mutuall bonds of former engagement, in defending and raising the late siege of Gloucester, to represent unto the parliament the sense of their feares, and the countrie's distraction at the removall of Colonell Massie: complaining of the sinister ends of some few persons who brought in a crosse petition, with articles in the name of the county of Gloucester, which no part of the county did ever acknowledge, and of which no corner thereof was conscious.

The house of commons would not accept the charge against Colonell Massie, and that they might deale in the businesse without partiality, refused also the countrie's petition. Neverthelesse the speaker was directed in the name of the house, by way of answer to their requests, to let them know, that they were very sensible of the dangers that might attend an alteration in that kinde, but that the governour provided to succeed might speedily give such assurance against such dangers, that there will be no cause for them to continue, much lesse to encrease their feares. That the house was confident that their constant readinesse to comply with the publike, would also in this particular of Colonell Massie's removall make them rest content in the resolution of the parliament in that matter. Though Gloucester be a place they prize, and care for as much as any in

the kingdome, yet for the present it was thought of greater necessitie to imploy him in that command of the westerne forces, and they cannot doubt of the concurrence and submission of those well-affected parts in whatsoever is judged to be of publike advantage.

Hereupon it was ordered the third of June, 1645, by the lords and commons, that master Luke Nurse, mayor of Gloucester, Alderman Singleton, and Colonell Blunt, or any two of them, shall have the command of the garrison of Gloucester, and of the forces and garrison in Gloucestershire, in as ample manner as Colonell Massie had, till the appointed governour come downe to his charge there, or the houses take other order.

Colonell Massie in the meane while labours to disingage the affections of the countrey, and to take off discontents and mutiny, and beseeches the parliament to send downe the succeeding governour that he might seeke to interest him in the hearts of the people, whom he never desired to indeare unto himselfe, but to those masters whom he served, which was a full testimony of a true servant to the state, upon the sole termes of conscience and honour.

FINIS.

Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis:

A

COLLECTION OF SCARCE AND CURIOUS TRACTS,

RELATING TO THE

COUNTY AND CITY

OF

G L O U C E S T E R ;

ILLUSTRATIVE OF, AND PUBLISHED DURING

THE CIVIL WAR ;

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL REMARKS.

PART THE SECOND.

WASHBOURN AND SON, GLOUCESTER ;

AND

CHARLES BALDWIN, NEWGATE-STREET, LONDON.

MDCCCXIII.



A
TRUE RELATION
OF THE
LATE ATTEMPT MADE UPON THE TOWN
OF
C I C E T E R,
IN THE
COUNTY OF GLOUC',
THE
SEVENTH DAY OF JANUARY, 1642,
BY THE
LORD MARQUESSE HARTFORD,
LORD GENERAL OF THE CAVALIERS OF THE WESTERN PARTS,
ASSISTED BY
PRINCE ROBERT, PRINCE MAURICE, THE EARL OF CARNARVON,
THE LORD CHANDOIS, AND DIVERS OTHERS:
TOGETHER WITH THE
ANSWER OF JO: GEORGES, ESQ.
(AN INHABITANT THERE, AND ONE OF THE BURGESSES OF THE
PARLIAMENT FOR THE SAID TOWN),
TO THE
SEVERALL MESSAGES SENT TO THEM BY THAT
LO: GENERALL, AND PRINCE ROBERT;
AS IT WAS SENT IN A LETTER TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE, THE LORD VISCOUNT
SAY AND SEALE,
LORD LIEUTENANT OF THAT COUNTY.

PUBLISHED CHIEFLY THAT GOD MAY BE GLORIFIED, FOR THEIR HAPPY
DELIVERANCE, AND TO PREVENT ALL FALSE AND SCANDALOUS
REPORTS THEREOF.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR I. T. 1642.
(JAN: 19.)



RIGHT HONORABLE,

OUR distractions have bin so many and multiplying so fast upon us by reason of alarums from all parts almost round about us, (and more particularly by the late distempers in our neighbour county of Wiltshire, by Sir Edward Baynton's strange proceedings there, whereof (we hope) by our letter to your lordship, both houses of parliament have ere this received an exact advertisement) that wee could not with such expedition as we intended, present them with a true narrative of the late attempt made upon the town of Cicester, by a strong party of ours and their enemies, with the successe thereof, which was as followeth :

The Lord Marquesse Hartford with his Welch regiments, and Sir John Beaumont with his forces, came up to the town of Stowe le Old in this county, upon Saturday the last of December (as our intelligence informed us) and quartered there, and in the parts adjacent till Tuesday following; from whence they marched to Burford, where it seems his lordship met with but coarse and scanty entertainment for himself and his men and thereupon (as we are told by Mr. John Villiers, one of his captains of a company of dragoons, now our prisoner here) his lordship repaired presently to Oxford to the king, and there advis'd him, that unlesse his majestie might suddenly have contribution and quarter for his army in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire (which he affirm'd would never be had, till this town of Ciceter were taken) they could not long subsist. The stores of all places (where they were masters) being neer spent and exhausted; and offered with much confidence to take the town, if he might bee assisted with some horse and dragoons, whereupon as he desired, a commission was granted to him and Prince Rupert,

with two regiments of horse; and one of dragoons, and Prince Maurice with all his horse and dragoons sent to aid him.

In pursuance whereof, his lordship with his army (as some of his own reported) to the number of six thousand horse and foot marcht hither and upon Saturday the seventh of this instant month about noon, drew up his forces almost round about the town, and when they made their first stand, they made a pause for above two hours in which time they only sent scouts to view our guards, and then summoned those in the town, by a trumpet, in the name of the Marquisse Hartford lord generall of those forces to deliver up the town and their arms to his Excellence upon promise of his majestie's free pardon for all by-gone offences, with assurance of safety to their persons and estates, which if it were refused, no mercie might be expected; before the first was dispatch't, a second came in the name of Prince Rupert, with the same message in effect, adding only, that they came to vindicate and maintain the king's rights and prerogative: the answer returned to both was the same, and in substance thus: We do heartily acknowledge and professe ourselves to be his majestie's loyall and faithfull subjects, and shall be ever as ready with our lives and fortunes to maintain his just right and prerogatives as they were, or the best of his majestie's subjects; and as we are so we ought likewise to enjoy his majestie's peace and the just rights and liberties of the subjects of England, according to the laws of the land: in defence whereof, and the true protestant religion only, we stand to our arms, and are resolved, with God's assistance, to defend them with our estates and lives: this answer being returned, the enemy kept their stand on all sides, until it began to grow dark; and then it pleased God of his meer mercie so to discourage their bad resolutions and intentions, that they all retreated to their night quarters, in the villages round about the town, where they soon eat up all provision of victuall, and consumed and made great waste of hay and corn: the next morning

they only shewed themselves again to the town, and so departed without making one shot at it: the lord generall, with his Welchmen, went to Burford, Prince Maurice with his to Torrington: they took with them all the horses they could lay hands on in all places where they past, threatning a sudden return to this town with increase of force, and with as much fury and revenge, as they could send to it with the best canon they could bring, and now having made your lordship a true relation of their attempt and design against this town, which we humbly desire may likewise be imparted to both Houses, we cannot but inform your lordship, that we credibly hear, (upon Prince Rupert's return to Oxford) some of their best ordinance were mounted the next day, and great forces preparing to make a sudden onset upon this town; the losse whereof, with the men and arms now in it, (as the lord marquesse hath well observed) will at least prove the ruine of the whole county, which we shall not be able longer to defend without better assistance from the parliament forces, whereof, as yet, we have not had there above two hundred and fifty horse and foot, wherefore we hope, and humbly intreat your lordship, that by good mediation for us, his excellencie the Earl of Essex may be directed by order of both Houses to send a considerable strength of horse to remain in this countie, for defence thereof till further order, whereby you will adde much to your former honorable favour, which already obliged us to be ever

Your lordship's humble Servants.

FINIS.

A
PARTICULAR RELATION
OF
THE ACTION BEFORE
CYRENCETER

(OR
CYCESTER) IN GLOCESTERSHIRE.
TAKEN IN ON CANDLEMAS DAY, 1642,

BY
PART OF HIS MAJESTIE'S ARMY
UNDER THE CONDUCT OF
HIS HIGHNESSE PRINCE RVPERT,
PRINCE PALATINE OF THE RHINE, DUKE OF BAVARIA, &c. AND GENERALL OF
HIS MAJESTIE'S CAVALLERY IN THIS PRESENT EXPEDITION.

Written by an Eye-witnesse.

PRINTED IN THE YEARE,
1642.



AN
ACCOUNT
OF
THE ACTION BEFORE CYRENCESTER
OR
CICESTER IN GLOCESTERSHIRE.

REBELLION, how ever it comes off, yet it ever begins with conquest. That, I mean, of the rebells over their own consciences. The designe will never advance kindly, till that beforehand be subdued to so stupid and tame a temper, as to boggle or take check at the horror of no scruples ; but to accept of whatever desperate or wild scruples. The scripture calls it witchcraft: for with such murmurs and whispers as witches use, (murmurs against the present government, and whispers of unreasonable and inconsistent hopes in the projected reformation) it becharmes and besots their understanding. And that so universally and so deeply, as seldome can any other reason undeceive them, but the affliction of another conquest. The experience of Cyrencester, hath prov'd this observation true: who blinded and confident in the beginning of the battell saw not it's own error, till it's own flames show'd it.

So God dispos'd it, that on Saturday January 21, 1642, Prince Rupert's highnesse, with a faier part of his majestie's army, began his march from Oxford. Of horse he led along five regiments, besides his own troope of life-guards: the rest being footmen and dragooners. Fower small drakes or field-peecees were drawn

along, for securing of the march. The designe was, to relieve Colonell Hastings, besieged at his own house at Ashby de la Zouch in Leicestershire. For this purpose, the march was directed thorow Northamptonshire: but hearing, by the way, how the valiant colonell had made the Lord Gray to forsake the siege: the prince then altogether diverted his thoughts and march towards Cyrencester. His majesty was then sent unto for more forces, and some peeces of battery; and till those could be brought up, his highnesse, by easy marches, passed through Warwickshire, into Glocestershire: upon Munday, January 30, passing along by Sudlye castle belonging to the Lord Chandois. This being, the Satterday night before, possessed by some part of the rebells of Cyrencester; the prince well knowing the fortune of that castle to depend upon that towne, resolved to pursue his first purpose, and to leave the castle to come in afterwards. Therefore on Munday morning, having only sent his own regiment with Lieutenant Colonell O Neale, and a strong party of dragoons to keep watch on the Cyrencester side; at night when the grosse of the army was marcht up, the parties were all drawn off, and altogether for that night inquartered in the open fields by Halling, some two miles from the castle.

Upon Thursday morning February the second, came in more dragoons, with another regiment of horse, under Colonell Slater: as also two demi-cannons for battery, shooting eighteen pound bullet, and a mortar-piece to shoot granadoes; all these at the rendezvous short of Cyrencester, were presented unto the prince by Colonell Henry Wentworth: and the men, in the following fight, divided among the other regiments. Hereupon, his highnesse riding before to take view of the neerer part of the town, left Lieutenant Colonell Lunsford with his dragoons, to attack it on that north quarter. His seconds was my Lord of Carnarvan's regiment of horse: and within one hundred and fifty paces of the Spittle-gate, did Mounsier la Roche plant his mortar-piece.

The prince (after some shots of cannon made at him) now returning to his troopes, and prayers now ended through all the regiments, led on beyond the towne, arranging his battaglions in the Barton-field at the west end of Cyrencester. Upon which, before we fall on, it is necessary to describe the posts and works in sight, that were to be first fallen upon.

It is a town of many streets; and two thousand communicants: and (as seems) by that party, esteemed the very key of Gloucestershire on that quarter: so that much of their rest being set upon it, they had used all industry for the fortifying it: which also (for a village) was very strong in it's naturall scituation. It is more than halfe incompassed with water, a great part with a high wall; the rest by strong works secured. The gardens and backsides be divided by many low dry stone walls, as good as brest workes; and one so serving for retreats unto the other, that had the defendants courage to maintain a second, after they were put to retreat out of the first, we must have disputed every wall and garden with them. The streets were barricadoed up with chaines, harrowes, and waggons of bavins or rise-bushes. Each end of the high street, leading through the towne, was secured against horse with strong slaght-boomes, which our men call turnepikes. Two cavalliers or batteries they had, one at the south-west corner, on Mr. Poole's garden mount, and on it two iron sakers to command the field the prince drew up in, and to scowre the entrance into the towne. An other in George's backside at the south-east corner, upon Crekelade way, and on it an iron minion peece. In Sir William Masters' garden a brass saker, opposed against our mortar, and L. Colonell Lunsford's quarter. In the market place, an iron saker, and these five were all their ordnance. The sakers shot six pound ball, and the minion fower. The chief commanders, were Mr. John Fettiplace a country gentleman, colonell and governor; and Carre a Scotchman lieutenant-colonell, the man they most relied upon; and who assured them

the day before, he would keep the towne against twenty thousand men. Captain Buck (a busie mercer of Hampton-rode) had a coward's wit with him : and that morning shifted himselfe out of the towne, under pretence to fetch in more forces. The towne (as appears by the slain and prisoners) had some two thousand men in it, namely of townesmen, train-bands, and blew-coats of my Lord Stamford's regiment : halfe of which regiment were gone to Sudlye castle before ; with most of their horse and dragoons.

The chief posts or works (in sight) our men were to give on upon, were Mr. Poole's mount, with the high garden wall, reaching from the lane to the mount southward. Then on the other side the lane, was Giffard's house (the Barton house) and a square high garden wall lyned with muskettiers, with other works.

Lastly, on the left hand of this by Gloucester street end, over a voyd ground, some sixe or eight score between, were two water milles, with great and many works and walls among. By this runns the river and other waters. There stood a colours. On the other side the towne and river, my lord of Carnarvan and L. Colonell Lunsford, had the spittle-gate to attack, defended by high walls and works, and houses, whose eaves were lined with musquetiers, and the brasse saker to play upon them. On George's mount, was Captain Seimor, with his companie. Thus was Cyrencester fortified : now see how (maugre all this), by God's blessing, it was taken.

The prince in the Barton-field aforesaid, drawing up his battagions, commended the right side or wing, to my Lord Wentworth, sergeant major generall of the dragoons. The left wing the prince himself took, committing the battell or middle-ward to Lieutenant Generall Wilmot. Under my Lord Wentworth, were his own dragoons, my Lord of Northampton's, Sir Edmund Duncomb's, and Lieutenant-Colonell Drurye's. These were seconded by Sir Thomas Byron, with the Prince of Wales his horse regiment. In the left wing was Colonell Usser with his own, and some four

hundred of those commanded men, that morning brought in by Colonell Henry Wentworth. He was seconded by Prince Rupert's own regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonell O Neale; and the faire and strong troop of his highnesse life-guards, commanded by Sir Richard Crane. In the battell was Colonell Lewis Kirke, with five hundred commanded men: being seconded by his highnesse Prince Maurice's regiment. The reserve was committed to Sir John Byron: who with his horse regiment was to guard the reere, and to send out scoutes and patroles, that none in time of fight might fall upon us.

The word was Queen Mary: which given, the order of the assault was thus. First were thirty musquetries drawn out of Colonell Kirk's men, for a forlorne hope: led by Lieutenant St. Johns, who performed his part bravely. These were commanded by Lieutenant Generall Wilmot, who marcht along by them, to direct them where and how to fall on. Being almost at the first hedge and close, before and betwixt Giffard's and Poole's garden walles, the lieutenant generall sent a minister back to the prince to advance the cannon, for (saies he) we are already almost in the hedge. At that hedge and the low wall beyond it, was the skirmish began: St. Johns giving faire fier, to beat the enemies out of it. There was he shot in the legge with a slug bullet, and not able to advance farther, bad his men goe on couragiously. To second these thirty, Colonell Kirke by and by sent Captain Min and sixty musquetiers more; with a lieutenant and sergeant. After this, the whole regiment came down the hill, to attack their design'd post: which was Gifford's Barton house and garden wall. This battell was led by Lieutenant Generall Wilmot: who (by all men's confession) behav'd himselfe so gallantly; with such judgement commanding, and by so much valor leading thorow the thickest of the danger; that the victory is much beholding to him. Now the rest of Kirke's regiment, under Lieutenant Colonell Layton, Serjeant Major Windebank,

Captain Wivell, Captain Gerard, Captain Radcliffe, and others, coming forwards, after some hot volleys beat the enemy from the hedge to the garden wall aforesaid. Upon which our men running under the wall, and some setting their backs close to it, flung stones over their heads into it. By this time were Colonell Usser and my Lord Wentworth come in to this work from their severall posts (as in their order we shall see) so that the enemy beaten out of the howse, works, and wall, retired, with more hast than order, thorow Cicely hill to their first turnepike; ours pursuing the retreat upon them, in blood and execution. In this service, Lieutenant Colonell Layton, Serjeant Major Windebank, Captain Radcliff, and Captain Gerard, were taken good notice of: both before the enemy's retreat, and after it. Lieutenant Colonell Layton's horse was shot thorow the neck, and Major Windebank's horse killed under him within the towne. Captain Gerard brought up a stand of pikes: and Captain Radcliff, the reere, with good courage. Other captains wonn their due honours, though I have no particular, but only generall relations of them.

Colonell Usser by the prince commanded to second Colonell Kirk, had four hundred commanded men with him, besides those of his own regiment. He drawing his pikes into a body, in the middle; flankt them on both hands with the two divisions of musquetiers of his own regiment. The commanded musquetiers, he in severall divisions sent down for the seconding of those that were already skirmishing in the hedges. After which, with his body of pikes, and the two divisions of his own regiment, he fell on both sides of Giffard's house; which (indeed) his order was to fire. The pikes marching forwards to the lane, by turning aside a waggon of rise-bushes, cleared the avenue, and so entered; but the colonell perceiving the garden wall (within which the enemy's muskettiers stood) too high to be entred on the foreside, found a way to get into it on the back side. There were the enemies still shooting at

Colonell Kirk's men, both from the works and windowes: but diverse of them now running, some fourteen were hereabouts killed. He thus gotten to the house, with a fire-pike in his hand, both troubled their shooting from the windowes; and by and by set fire to the house, and some stacks and ricks by it. So did the souldiers to other stacks: which made the place too hote and smoaky for the enemy. This done, he thinking by turning back thorow the garden and lane to get into the towne; was hindred by the river: so that facing about to the right, he there fell into the reere of his owne right-hand division. This, (since Major Hutchinson was shot) was led by Captain Morrison, Captain Vavasor, and Sir William Neale, skout-maister generall: who being a voluntier, behaved himselfe with his sword right manfully.

By this time, Colonell Kirke's, my Lord Wentworth's, with Morrison's and Vavasor's men, being seas'd upon the turnepike that openeth into the towne: he seeing no need of helpe there, march't with his owne division up to the bridge beyond the turne-pike: where leaving a guard, he turned on the left hand thorow lanes, to come at the enemy now gathering to a head at another work. But they flying, left him their forsaken colours. Turning thence back to advertise the prince, he met his Lieutenant Colonell Washington: who then comming from his sick bed, would yet needs be one in the action: and so with a body of musketers, advanced into the towne.

All this while, was my Lord Wentworth and his wing in as hote skirmish. His post, by order from the prince, was to have fall'n to the southward, on the right hand of Poole's mount: being, indeed, the easiest entrance into the towne. But mis-led by their guide, they fell into the close to the left hand of the mount: where they were both flanked from the battery, and faced with shot from the high wall before them. This wall the officers finding impossible to force, drew to the left hand into the lane with Colonell Kirke's

men : and entred the turn-pike together with them. For now the enemy being beaten from the side worke that guarded it, Captaine Alford, Lieutenant Wharton, with some others of Sir Ed : Duncomb's regiment, brake over the walls on both sides, and entred among the foremost.

But here find I some difference, who should first breake open this turn-pike. Some say, a serjeant of Colonell Duncomb's brake off the horse-lock : others, that a souldier of Colonell Usser's filld it with powder, and blew it open. But, doubtlesse, many valiant men at once assisting, may equally share the glory of it. Some difference there also is, who first entered the turn-pike. But surely, the way being broad, so many might enter it in ranck at once ; that many may be said to have first entred it. But being opened, Lieutenant Colonell Russell riding formost, cryed, the town is ours, follow, follow. Sergeant Major Compton, likewise, on foot led on bravely : both which earle's sonnes by their forwardnesse and gallant courages gained a great accesse of honour in the eyes of the prince, and the whole army.

The footemen thus ingaged, the horse regiments kept their stations at the towne's end ; the prince's life-guards being by him drawn up to the very lane, and within it ; even under the command of Poole's battery : which with two peeces incessantly plaid upon them. The prince in his owne person did like himselfe : being still in the fire, and hottest vollies both of small and great shott : still riding up and downe to give commands and encouragements. Now to the ordinance, to direct them : then to the foot ; even to the very head of the foremost. Oftimes ready to alight, and lead up the foot : yea his valiant selfe first brought up those, that first entred the turn-pike : His presence infused spirit into the souldiers. O, there's the prince (were some heard say), courage ! let's on bravely. So heartily did the army confide in him ; and so gladly doe they all ascribe the

glory of the day to him. My Lord Digby was neere the prince most of that day.

His highnes having notice by Colonell Innes, generall-adjutant of the foot, that the turne-pike was wonne; presently commanded a forlorne hope of five and twenty of his owne life-guards, to fall into the towne, and by skowring the streets to make way for the foot. But the time not suffering to draw them out orderly, about eight gentlemen only of the former rancks, with Colonell Scrimsour, generall adjutant of the horse, advancing formost; pursued some of the enemies thorow the street and into by-lanes: of them, the Earle of Cleveland (riding up to him) pistoled one: and another gentleman then shot another, who in his reeling, cryed Dogges, Dogges, Dogges; till the mudd stopt up both his mouth and charity. Immediately after this forlorne hope, Sir Richard Crane with the Earle of Denbigh, my Lord Taff, and his highnesse whole troop fell in; putting himselfe before the foot forces: where killing many, and driving all before him, he advanc'd into the market-place. There were some three hundred foot discovered: and, at a corner, about forty or fifty horse. These fled upon the spurre: and the foot getting into the houses, shot out at the windowes. The market-place thus cleered, and Sir Richard Crane advancing eastward up Diars' street, the enemies' cannonier (a Spaniard) came running out of the King's-head, to have fired a peece of ordinance laden with case-shot, full upon the croopes of the prince's troop. He was slain by a gentleman that rode in betwixt the Spaniard and his peece, and pistol'd him. The life-guards then passing on to another turnpike at Diars' street's end, spyed a body of two or three hundred enemies, in a green or walled close on the left hand. But the wall not suffering ours to come at them, Sir Richard Crane, (an old souldier himselfe) suspecting his enemy might have so much wit and courage yet left, as (perhaps) some neerer way to chop into the market-place, and so cut off his retreat: retired himselfe thither,

and made that good, till the foot came up. In the way he cut down diverse, that again appeared in the street: and the foot coming in, the houses were searcht; some kill'd, and the rest made prisoners. Colonell Fettiplace and Captain Warnford were now taken by Captain Alford, in the Lady Jordan's house; over which Colonell Kirk (now coming in) set a guard; and that captain to command it. Mr. George, a parliament man, was taken other where. And now was the town wholly taken on that part.

Hitherto that strong post at the water-milles on the left hand of Giffard's house, where the white and red colours stood, was not attempted: but the enemy there seeing the town taken another way, took down their colours, and retreated inwards to a bridge and chain. These were pursued thither by Serjeant Major Legg; where his Lieutenant Noland making a stand, was shot out at a window. The enemy now perceiving our horse could not passe the chaine, faced about and gave them a full volley: keeping their ground, till our foot came up and beat them from it. Then was Payne (a clothier) kill'd, with a colours in his hand. My Lord Dillon (who was to have seconded Major Legg) was by the prince commanded, to march up and make good the market-place: whither he came with his troope, whilst Sir Richard Crane was gone thence to the second turne-pike.

In the mean time, the enemy at the Spittle-gate, continued skirmishing with the Lieutenant Colonell Lunsford, and my Lord Carnarvan; but hearing the towne was taken, they flung down their armes and ranne away in company of those whom Sir Richard Crane left in the walled close: all after his retreat, escaping by the street's end behind him. These were light upon by my Lord Carnarvan: who whilst Lieutenant Colonell Lunsford forced the Spittle-gate, and Sir Charles Lucas with part of the regiment fell in by the turnpike: made down the high way without the town to the southward, and had the chase and execution of them. But his mercy brought

them almost all in prisoners. Perhaps too, Captain Seymor with his company fled this way: who when Sir Richard Crane scoured up Diars' street by them; forsook their guard and colours at George's battery, before ever they saw an enemy.

Now were the enemy all in flight; and ours in chase. Those that fled towards Crekelade were, by the prince's command, pursued by Sir John Byron: whose men, remembering Burford, kill'd above one hundred, and took as many prisoners. Among the rest, two ministers, one Mr. Stanfield armed back and brest, with sword and pistolls. The other Mr. Gregory of Cyrencester; who lately assured his people, that he had begged that towne of the Lord. At first entering the town, both cannoniers and musquetiers fled from Poole's battery, leaving their colours standing: which the prince sent to take downe, and to make good the place. These, his highnesse Prince Maurice pursued: and some first overtaken, were there killed: but it being enough to prostrate one's selfe to a lyon, about three hundred of them falling on heaps before the prince's feet, his mercifulnesse pleas'd it selfe in making them all prisoners. Thus were all the posts of the town taken.

Our greater firemen, 'twere injustice to forget: for the terror and fury of the cannon much eas'd the victory. On one side, the granadoes were terrible: especially after they had fired one house. At tother end, the ordinance were thus disposed. One of the demi-cannons was bent against Poole's mount and battery: and shooting thorow the parapet, forc't away the defendants. The other great peece at randome rang'd her bullets into the town: kill'd one cannonier in the market-place, and made a terrible ruffling among the houses. Of the fower lesser peeces, two were bent upon the first hedge; and two upon the corner of the wall. At first entering the towne, the prince hearing some enemies to be still in Poole's house, sent for one small peece, and two petards to force

the gate: but finding no opposition, either there or elsewhere, the ordinance all marched into the market-place.

Thus have you here related, what was acted by all the parts of the king's army, upon every part of the town. And thus was the confident Cyrencester in an hower and halfe's fight, and with the losse of lesse than twenty men, on our side, fully taken in on all parts: (though diverse of them be since dead of poyson'd bullets.) By the Munday after, but nine of ours had been buried in the church and churchyard: and some five or sixe elsewhere, which were all I heard of. Slain of theirs, those that think fewest, judge three hundred, others think more. The truth is, we could see but few men left at all in the town: plainly they hid their dead and wounded men in their houses; whereof we heard many since buried in one night: but the most falling in the fields in chase, we could get no precise notice of their numbers. Prisoners wee brought away about twelve hundred: which shoves the prince's and the cavaliers' mercy, as the captives themselves acknowledge. Of colours taken, one horse cornet, two of dragooners, and fourteen foot ensignes. Of armes, abundance were drawn out of the waters: besides those taken in the houses. All their five peeces of ordinance, we found standing in their places: among the prisoners were some one hundred and sixty wounded: whom the prince next day sent his surgeon and doctor, and chaplaines to dresse and visit. Since his highnesse comming thence, diverse concealed wounded men have crept abroad: of which some dyed.

Three things would not be forgotten. One, how the dying men in the very fight cryed out, that Sir Robert Cook, Mr. Stevens, Mr. George, and their preachers, had undone them. Whereby you see, that when God by affliction gives understanding, the justnesse of that cause cannot satisfy the conscience of the dying. The second note is, concerning the means used by that side, for getting

the poore country people to serve under them in the towne. Some of the prisoners confessed (and others have made it good) how that the gentlemen and clothiers threatned them they should have no work. Others that they should be plundered. Others were violently fetcht from their houses by dragooners, and made get up behind them. Others were dragg'd from their ploughs, and others coming into the towne about businesse, were there detained, and threatned to be shot, if they offered to get out. This is the liberty of the subject. And the third observation is concerning the subtilty used to make this poore people fight: which was by telling them, the king had none but a rabble of poore ragged fellowes. But the prisoners amazed to see such numbers of gallant gentry to come upon them, their hearts sunke within them. And when they saw again how mercifull these gentry were in granting quarter to them at the first begging: they acknowledged themselves twice conquered, both by courage, and by courtesy.

For governor of the towne, the prince left his dear brother Prince Maurice his highnesse, with his regiment of horse: and under him Colonell Kirke, with one thousand foot and dragooners: who I believe, will not so cheaply part with it.

Nor was Cyrencester only conquered by this victory, but the castles of Sudlye and Berckley were, upon the fame of it, forsaken by the enemies. So were Tewksbury and the Vies. Malmsbury, likewise, the next morning sent their submission, subscribed with their chief hands: and hath received Lieutenant Colonell Lunsford for governor, with foure hundred foot: and Captain Curson's troop of horse. On the Munday after, the country gentlemen, invited by the prince's letters to Cyrencester, in the name of the county assented to a contribution of four thousand pounds a moneth: and to advance three thousand pounds presently for raising of a regiment for his majestie's service, and safeguard of the county; with

174 AN ACCOUNT OF THE ACTION BEFORE CYRENCESTER.

promise of doing more, when their quarters should be enlarged by the coming in of more of the county.

God be blessed for his victory. He grant the example may take such impression among the deceived people, that our Jerusalem may see, in the day of her visitation, the things that belong unto her peace.

FINIS.

A .
RELATION
OF
THE TAKING
OF
CICETER
IN
THE COVNTY OF GLOCESTER,
ON THURSDAY, FEBRU. 2, 1642.

BY
SEVEN THOUSAND OF THE CAVALIERS,
UNDER THE COMMAND OF
PRINCE RUPERT, PRINCE MAURICE, THE EARLES OF NOR-
THAMPTON, CARNARVON, DENBIGH, AND CLEVELAND,
THE LORD DIGBY, LORD ANDEVOUR,
LORD WENTWORTH, LORD TAFFE, LORD DILLON, LIEUTENANT
GENERALL WILMOT, SIR JOHN BYRON, COLONELL GERRARD,
COLONELL KYRKE, COLONELL DUTTON, AND
CAPTAINE LEGGE, AND DIVERS OTHERS.

SENT TO A FRIEND IN LONDON, BY ONE WHO WAS PRESENT AT, AND SOME
DAYS AFTER THE TAKING OF IT.

PUBLISHED BECAUSE OF THE MANY FALSE REPORTS THAT WERE IN PRINT
CONCERNING THAT BUSINESSE.

PRINTED AT LONDON, 1642.
(FEB. 20TH.)

1. 2.

3.

4.

5. 6.

7. 8.

9.

10.

A
RELATION
OF
THE TAKING OF CICESTER,
IN THE COUNTY OF GLOCESTER,
ON
THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1642.

SIR,

I SHALL endeavour to give you a briefe and true account of the state of the miserable towne of Cicester, in the county of Gloucester, from the first troubles to the taking of it, and doe request you to acquaint those parliament men you have interest in, what we have suffered for desiring to stand and fall with them; not doubting but they will so resent our sufferings, that they will expedite such succours into our county, as may relieve Gloucester, and procure some little refreshment to the poore towne of Cicester, and our wasted county adjoyning.

Our greatest enemies from the first have been our owne countrey-men, our first troubles beganne about August last, when the Lord Chandoyes (having accepted from the parliament the charge of being lord lieutenant of our county, and betraying both his countrey and his trust) attempted to execute the commission of array, and to that purpose summoned all the gentry of our county to meete his lordship at Cicester, but what entertainment he and his array-men had there, I presume you know, having heard how the Lord

A A

Chandoyes hardly escaped from being taken prisoner by the countrey that rose in armes to resist his illegall commission; and how the next morning after his escape, the furious people hewed his lordship's coach in peeces which he had left behinde him, so much they abhorred to be betraied to slavery by one of their owne countrey.

Hereupon Cicester (though the townsmen were a meanes to save the Lord Chandoyes' life, who else might have beene torne in peeces by some of the intraged countrey people) was much threatned with fire and sword, and indeed so was the whole countrey for resisting the commission of array; and it was thought fit by the deputy lieutenants of our county, that a garrison should be kept in Cicester, it being alwayes feared that that towne would be first attempted in the County of Gloucester.

Thus we continued in armes, not doing or suffering much till January, only the cavaliers, when they came within twelve miles of us to Burford, were twice beaten out of their quarters there, by some parties that went out from our garrison of Cicester, we being very impatient of such bad neighbours.

On Saturday, the last of December, the Lord Marquisse Hartford, with his Welch regiments and Sir John Beaumont with his forces came up from Worcester, to the towne of Stow in our county, and on Tuesday following marched thence to Burford, where finding his entertainment scanty, his lordship presently repaired to the king at Oxford, and there advised his majesty, that unlesse he might have contribution and quarter for his army in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, (which he affirmed would never be had till the town of Cicester was taken) they could not long subsist, the stores of all places (where they were masters) being neare spent and exhausted. His lordship also, with much confidence, offered his majesty that he would take the towne, if he might be assisted with some great horse and dragoones: hereupon as he desired, a commission was granted to him and Prince Rupert with two regiments of horse, and

one of dragoones, and Prince Maurice, with all his horse and dragoones, was sent to aid him.

In pursuance whereof, his lordship with his army, (as some of their owne reported) to the number of six thousand horse and foote, upon Saturday the seventh of January, about noone, drew up his forces almost round about the towne, and where they made their first stand, they made a pause for above two houres, in which time they only sent out scouts to view our guards, and then summoned those in the towne in the name of Marquesse Hartford, lord generall of those forces, by a trumpet, to deliver up the towne and armes to his lordship, upon promise of his majestie's free pardon for all by-gone offences, with assurance of safety of their persons and estates; which if it were refused, no mercy might be expected. Before the first trumpet was dispatched, a second came in the name of Prince Rupert, with the same message in effect; adding only, that they came to vindicate and maintaine the king's rights and prerogative. The answer returned to both, was the same, and in substance this, We do heartily acknowledge and professe ourselves to be his majestie's loyall and faithfull subjects, and shall be ever as ready with our lives and fortunes to maintaine his just rights and prerogatives as they were, or the best of his majesty's subjects; and as we are so, we ought likewise to enjoy his majestie's peace, and the just rights and liberties of the subjects of England, according to the lawes of the land, in defence whereof and the true protestant religion only we stand to our armes, and are resolved with God's assistance to defend them with our estates and lives. This answer being returned; the enemy kept their stand on all sides untill it beganne to grow darke, and then it pleased God of his meere mercy so to discourage them, that they all retreated to their night quarters in the villages round about, where they did eate up all the provision of victuall, and spoiled much corne and hay. The next morning they only shewed themselves before the towne, and so departed without

making one shot at it; Prince Rupert and his troopes to Oxford, Prince Maurice to his quarters at Farrington, and Marquesse Hartford and his forces to Burford, and the villages adjoyning. While they lay before the towne, our forces tooke Master John Villiers prisoner, who was brother to the Lord Grandison, and captaine of a company of dragoones, and is still in prison at Glocester; when they went away they tooke with them all the horses of the villages round about us, and did threaten a sudden returne with more force, and as much fury and revenge as they could send to us with the best cannon they could bring.

So we waited a fortnight for the returne of the enemy, who we heard was marched into Northamptonshire, and in the meantime our garrison was increased, and the towne better fortified on all sides, and we had foure great iron peeeces sent from Bristol, besides two brasse peeeces we had before from Glocester.

On Thursday, January 26, a party from Cicester of some foure or five hundred great horse and dragoones, (who were to meete with more strength from Glocester and Tewkesbury, marched hence to besseige Sudeley castle, fourteen miles from Cicester, because it was reported, that certainly a strong malignant party was rising in that part of Glocestershire, and it was feared that Sudeley castle (the strongest hold in those parts) would become a receptacle both of the malignants' armes and treasure.

On Friday, our forces set downe before it, and after summons assaulted it, and being reinforced from Cicester with two hundred choyse musqueteers, and one brasse peece, they tooke the castle by composition.

On Munday being the 30th day of Jan. Prince Rupert (having the week before fetched a compasse from Oxford by Northamptonshire and Warwickshire, where he plundered some townes, and tooke away all the armes and horses of the country, with which he armed and mounted all his men, except a few pikes to guard

his carriages) appeared before the castle, and most of his men lay all night on the hills. But in regard there fell that night a great snow the cavaliers rose from before Sudeley, and the next day being Tuesday, they marched towards Cicester, and quartered within seven miles of it, almost round about us. And yet this being known to our forces at Sudely castle (who were the greatest part of our strength) they tarried there (I will not say by whose neglect it was) till the towne of Cicester was utterly lost.

On Wednesday, Febru. 1st, the enemy was reinforced with some fresh troopes from Oxford, and two whole culverings, besides foure small brasse field peeeces, and two mortar peeeces; and so on Wednesday night some of them quartered within a mile of the towne, and gave us alarms all that night.

On Thursday morning, Febru. 2nd, they were discovered some two miles from the towne, where under a hedge they staid some two howres, till all their forces drew together into one body, from their severall quarters in the villages, and so they divided themselves; Prince Rupert, and the greatest part of the army drawing neere the towne on the west and south part: and the Earle of Carnarvon, and his troops and some other forces, on the north and north part of the town. About nine or ten of the clocke they came some of them within the command of our cannon, which plaied at them two or three howres, and often and often caused them on the west side of the towne to retreat behind a little hill, and all that while divers parties of our musqueteers went out under the shelter of hedges and wals, and skirmisht with the enemy.

About twelve a clocke, two or three regiments of foote being kept in, and forced on by the horse behinde them, beganne a furious assault on the Barton, a great farme which lay not farre from the towne westward, where they were valiantly entertained by some hundred musqueteers that lay under the garden wall.

So there continued at the Barton, a very hot fight for some two

howres, our men lying under shelter of the wall, notably giving fire at them, within lesse than musquet shot, and our cannon being little more off than musquet shot, all the while furiously playing point blanke on their whole body, which lay in an open rising field. Here the Welchmen were seene to drop downe a pace, but still the horsemen behinde them, cried, On, On, and drave them forward 'till they had gotten quite under the garden wall. But before that, the enemy had fired some barnes and ricks of corne and hay that lay quite behinde those hundred musqueteers, so that the enemy being at the wall, and breaking of it downe, and the fire so behinde them, that it tooke away all possibility of retreating if they staid any longer, and they being so few, (and yet as many as could be well spared from other guards) our men were forced out of that worke after two houres' valiant resistance of that furious charge of the enemy; during all which time, we lost but one man, who after the guard was entered, could not finde his way forth through the fire and smoake.

Our men retreating to the second worke, which was hard by, being so hotly pursued by the enemy, fire and smoake, which the wind drave directly upon them; they and the guards of that worke without any resistance made, very disorderly fled into the towne, and were furiously pursued by the enemy, who without quarter killed those they met withall or overtooke: which so desperately intraged our men, that in the market place, and from windowes they shot at the enemy almost an houre together, purposing to sell their lives and liberties as deare as they could.

Whilst the enemy was assaulting the towne on the west side at the Barton, the Earle of Carnarvon and his forces, seeing the Barton fired and our men beaten from their workes, sought to enter it on the north side, where there was a sore charge valiantly received by our men with little losse, who yeilded not, till the enemy, who had entred the town on the other side, was on their backs. Thus about

four of the clocke the towne was wholly wonne, and shooting was ended on all sides, and then they tooke prisoners, and fell to plundering that night, all the next day, and on Saturday, wherein they shewed all the barbarous insolence of a prevailing enemy, and I am confident, they (it seemes being grown more skilfull in mischief) not only acted over, but out-did their former cruelties and spoyle of Braine-ford and Marleborough; they spared not to plunder their best friends; for I can assure you, some of the notorious malignants were the most notably plundered of all the towne.

I tremble to write of their blasphemies, they tauntingly asked some godly people, where is now your God (you round head rogues?) you praied to the Lord to deliver you, and you see how he hath delivered you, ye rebels, &c.

The number that the enemy lost is altogether unknowne, by reason none durst goe forth to see the slaine. Of the town forces, both townsmen and countrey-men, there were not above twenty kill'd as can yet be learn'd. It is much feared they slew a very godly minister, who was seene taken by them, and yet cannot be heard of. There lay some of our men naked foure daies after they were killed, neare the place where the enemy after the taking of the towne kept his utmost guard, and none durst bury them.

The number of prisoners that they tooke and carried to Oxford was betwixt eleven and twelve hundred, among which there were some gentlemen of eminent estates and affections to their country. Two very godly ministers, divers commanders, and others, which were very religious and of good account.

They stript many of the prisoners, most of them of their utmost garments. They were all turned that night into the church, and though many of them were wounded and weary, yet their friends were not suffered to bring them a cup of water into the church that night, but what they thrust in at the backside of the church, having broken the windowes; and the like cruelty I heare was shewed

unto them when they lay in Witney church, in their passage to Oxford.

They tied all the prisoners, gentlemen, ministers, and all in ropes, and made them all goe a foote through the dirt in the streetes and way to Oxford, which in regard of the many horses, was up to their knees sometimes, and in this manner they used a very worthy gentleman, who had beene very lately high sheriffe of our county, an aged gentleman, of infirme health, though of an undaunted courage in this cause.

They shamefully abused the two ministers, reproachfully imitating their manner of preaching, &c.

The captaine who tooke the ministers, upon the earnest solicitation of their friends for their releasement, promised them that for fifty or sixty pounds a peece he would release them: which money being procured and paid them, he scoffingly answered, that they might well pay as much more to him for not killing them, as he might have done, and they deserved; and so after that they were more straitly imprisoned, and worse used, and one of their friends that had a free passe promised him into the towne with the money, had very much adoe to escape killing or imprisoning.

We lost five peeces of cannon, neare upon twelve hundred musquets, and other armes, fourteen colours, and some ammunition, for most of our powder and bullet was sent unto them before they entered the towne.

The value of the pillage of the towne is uncertaine, but very great, to the utter ruine of many hundred families, and besides the burning of some particular men's houses, which were purposely set on fire after the towne was wonne. The Barton farme with very much buildings in it, and all the corne, hay, and other goods and cattle of one gentleman's, which amounted to three thousand pounds and upwards, was burnt to the ground.

On Friday they went into the countrey, and tooke away all the

horses, sheepe, oxen, and other cattle of the well-affected that inhabited neare Cicester.

On Saturday, Febr. 2nd, they tooke away cloth, wooll, and yarne, besides other goods from the clothiers, about Stroudwater, to the utter undoing, not only of them and theirs, but of thousands of poore people, whose very livelihood depends on that trade.

Now Sir, before I close up all, I shall give you a hint of what I conceive, besides our sinnes, concurred with the irresistable will of God, to hasten our ruine.

1. The want of our horse, which made them confidently brave our men at their very workes, as also the want of cannoneers, which were at Sudely castle.

2. The slow raising of monies out of the countrey, which made some of our men, for lacke of pay, to depart the towne, and left many of the rest heartlesse, and our workes but thinly manned.

3. The treachery of our malignant gentry round about us, who constantly gave the enemy intelligence, and entertainment in their house, made provision for their armies, and some of them appeared in armes before their neighbour towne, which they could indure to see both fired and spoyled.

It is ordered this eighteenth day of February, 1642, by the committee of the house of commons in parliament concerning printing, that this booke, intituled a Relation of the taking of Cicester, be printed by Michael Sparke senior.

JOHN WHITE.

FINIS.

B B



THE
P E T I T I O N
OF
THE INHABITANTS
OF
C Y R E N C E S T E R,
WHOSE NAMES ARE HEREUNTO SUBSCRIBED,
PRESENTED TO
HIS MAJESTY AT OXFORD;
WITH
HIS MAJESTIE'S ANSWER THEREUNTO.

PRINTED BY HIS MAJESTIE'S COMMAND,
AT OXFORD, FEBR. 28,
BY LEONARD LICHFIELD,
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY, 1642.

1890-1891

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

TO THE
K I N G ' S
MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,
THE
HUMBLE PETITION OF THE INHABITANTS
OF
C Y R E N C E S T E R.

DREAD SOVERAIGNE,

WEE, your poore subjects, the inhabitants of the miserable distressed Cyrencester, having undergone all the heavy effects of your majestie's justly incensed army, doe prostrate ourselves at your majestie's feet, not to excuse, or in the least measure to extenuate our ill-deservings. We acknowledge us inexcusably faulty, but to appeale unto your mercy, and to beg your pardon. That as we have been through all your kingdomes the first example of your justly deserved rigor, and the terroure thereof working its due effect upon all others, to deterre them from provoking your like displeasure, we may remaine your most remarkable object of your mercy, the most glorious and resplendent gemme of your crowne. Oh, Sir, the God of Heaven hath given you unto us our God upon the earth. We have grievously sinned against him by our undutifull carriage against you his vicegerent. Behold us now lying before you, acknowledging and from our hearts detesting the foulness of our offence, and ourselves for committing it, and most humbly beseeching your majesty in imi-

tation of that divine virtue, the most lively character of his image in you, to pardon us, and to receive us into your protection. In the assurance whereof, we may securely returne to, and abide at our severall homes, begin to goe on in our former trades and occupations, and, by God's blessing upon us, in them many hundreds of people of our towne and adjoyning parts of the countrey, who have no other livelihood, may be againe set on worke and relieved, and we have the hope in time, upon our after care, to endeavour to expresse the sincerity of our true returne to the duties of our allegiance, to joy us in the recovery of your wonted favour, and all of us, all our lives long, and our posterity after us, bound to acknowledge the height of your mercy, to pray to Almighty God to blesse your majesty with all the happinesse which he hath promised in his Sacred Word, to all that shall shew mercy.

Andrew Sollace.

Row. Freeman.

Robert Iles.

Thomas Dutton.

William Willis

Edmund Freeman.

William Taylor.

George Stone.

Amos Dansey.

Virgill Crippes.

Thomas Gibbes.

More Gwilliam.

Edward Causton.

William Chance.

John Beaton.

Edmund Feribee.

Michael Sharp.

William Groves.

John Kerby.

Thomas Tipping.

John Petty.

James Armand.

Thomas Maysey.

Richard Matthew.

John Flacher.

Richard Sollace.

Thomas Man.

Thomas Carter.

Edward Scovell.

Richard Masters.

John Francklin.

Walter Portlocks.

Richard Evans.

James Burge.

Thomas Allen.

Samuel Spencer.

PETITION OF THE INHABITANTS OF CYRENCESTER.

191

Thomas Man.

John Portlocke.

John Batt.

Richard Aucutt.

Edward Prat.

Henry Webb.

Richard Man.

William Burge.

Michael Hartred.

George Lawrence.

HIS
MAJESTIES' GRACIOUS ANSWER
TO THE
FOREGOING PETITION,
AT
THE COURT AT OXFORD, THE TWENTY-FIFTH DAY.

HIS majesty graciously accepts the submission of the petitioners, and is himself sorry that the rebellion and disloyalty of that place hath brought so great a measure of sufferings upon any of his subjects ; which was not in his majesties' power to prevent. He is well pleased that the inhabitants of that towne of Cyrencester return safely to their houses, and live securely in them, from all violence by any of his majesties' souldiers, that the trade and wealth of that place, may (by God's blessing) be againe renewed. And his majesties' will is, and he doth hereby give precise order, that no violence or injury be henceforward offered by any of his majesties' garrison or souldiers to the petitioners, or any of the inhabitants of Cyrencester, they demeaning themselves with that duty and obedience to his majesties' just and necessary commands, as the condition of the present time, and his majesties' necessities require. And his majesties' expresse command is, that the governour of Cyrencester for the time being, and all other, his majesties' officers and souldiers of that his garrison, take order and conform themselves accordingly.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

FINIS.



THE
VICTORIOUS
AND
FORTUNATE PROCEEDINGS
OF
SIR WILLIAM WALLER AND HIS FORCES
IN
WALES,
AND
OTHER PLACES SINCE THEY LEFT
MALMSBURY.

WITH
THE TRUE MANNER OF HIS TAKING HIGHNAM AND ONE HUNDRED AND
FIFTY COMMANDERS, AND GENTLEMEN, AND ONE THOUSAND FOUR
HUNDRED AND FORTY-FOUR COMMON PRISONERS
WELL ARMED:
ALSO HOW HE BEATE UP PRINCE MAURICE HIS QUARTERS, BRAKE
THOROW HIS ARMY, AND CAME SAFE TO GLOSTER, FROM WHENCE
HE SENT LIEUTENANT COLONELL MASSEY, TO TAKE TEUKSBURY,
WHICH HE HATH SINCE EFFECTED.

AS IT WAS SENT IN A LETTER FROM
SIR WILLIAM WALLER, AND SIR ARTHUR HASLERIG,
AND READ IN BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, APRILL 15, 1643.

DIE SABBATHI, 15 APRILIS, 1643.
ORDERED BY THE LORDS AND COMMONS ASSEMBLED IN PARLIAMENT, THAT THIS
LETTER SHALL BEE FORTHWITH PRINTED AND PUBLISHED.
JOHN BROWNE CLERK. PARLIAMENTO.

LONDON:
APRILL 17. PRINTED FOR JOHN WRIGHT, IN THE OLD BAILEY, 1643.

A

LETTER

FROM

SIR WILLIAM WALLER,

TO

BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

MY LORDS AND GENT.

WE hear it is not wel taken, that you heard not of the taking of the Welsh at Highnam, nor of the losse of Malmsbury, upon our coming to Glocester, we immediately sent; it seemes many of our letters miscary; for Malmsbury we committed it to Sir Edward Hungerford: we left him not without commanders, he had two serjeant majors, able men, and the companies of his own regiment, and a company of dragoones, with ammuniti^on, and two hundred muskets, to put into the countrymens' hands, that offered themselves very freely: We conceived that Sir Edward Hungerford's power in the country, with that strength, would easily have defended that place: But for reasons best known to himselfe, he quitted it: It was not for us to have stood long there, nor for the advancement of your service, for us to garrison townes, unlesse it is intended we shall leave the field: from Malmsbury, marching day and night we came to Framelet ferry, and having our boates from Glocester

readie, we passed our army over Severne, and forthwith to Huntley, and so to Highnam, where before the enemy had any notice, we fell upon their backs, and in a short time, without the losse of above two, they rendred up the place upon quarter, where we had one thousand foure hundred forty foure common prisoners well armed, commanders and gentlemen about one hundred and fifty, many of the chiefe of Wales and Herefordshire: we then marched for Wales, the Welch left their garrisons, they quitted Newnam, Rossebridge, Monmouth, Chepstow, we entred those townes, very weary of the Welch wayes over the mountaines, and sensible of their wants: And hearing Prince Maurice was neere us on the one side, and the Lord Herbert with his contracted garrisons on the other, and not being able to overtake the Lord Herbert's forces, without hazard of the rocks, we resolved for Gloucester through Prince Maurice's army: And upon Munday at night, being the tenth of this instant, having sent away our ordnance and baggage, with our foot to guard it over Wye, to Aust, and so on the farre side the river for Gloucester, wee marched from Chepstow all night, for Prince Maurice's quarters with our horses and dragoones. He quartered at Little Deane, and his forces at Newnam, Michael Deane, and Rosse: the right time for beating up a quarter was past, before we gained Newnam: Upon the first, all arme at Newnam, away they hasted to Little Deane, there wee found their foote in a body, and their horse on a hill upon the other side of the towne, their foote came towards us, and having given one volley of shott, they retired, and our dragoones following in order entred the towne, so wee had full possession of the prince's quarters; wee stood about three houres expecting their charge, the report being they had vowed wee should never returne.

Our designe at this time was only to make our way through their army, so leaving a forlorne hope of horse and dragoones to keepe the passage in the towne, wee marched in their sight

towards Gloucester; when they saw us gon, they came downe from the hill and fell hotly on our forlorne hope, and some few they kill'd, and some they tooke; wee conceive their losse was as great, that they lost as many men, and two of very good quality; last night wee came to Gloucester, and sent forth Lieutenant Colonell Massey for to take Tewksbury, which this morning he did: there were eight commanders, but wee missed Colonell Slater, he being gon last night to give information at Oxford, that all Sir William Waller's forces were routed: wee doubt not but you will heare strange reports, believe this, God hath bin good unto us beyond our thoughts; the taking and keeping Tewksbury is of great consequence to these parts; Prince Maurice's designe of taking us in the forrest is now spoyled; and so have we the bridge he passed over, but he makes hast, wee feare he will find another before wee can give a stop, if not, wee hope he may taste a little of Wales as well as we have done: wee writ you a letter for some arms and ammunition, wee earnestly beg they may be sent, and two hundred horsemen's swords of Kennet's making at Howslow. Wee desire your praises of God, and your prayers for

My Lords and Gentlemen,
your faithfull Servants,

William Waller,
Arthur Haslerig.

Glocester, this 12, of Aprill, 1643.

Wee are now marching towards Tewksbury

FINIS.



A
TRUE RELATION
OF THE
LATE FIGHT
BETWEEENE
SIR WILLIAM WALLER'S FORCES,
AND
THOSE SENT FROM OXFORD.
WITH THE MANNER OF
SIR WILLIAM WALLER'S RETREAT TO BRISTOLL,
AND
THE CONDITION OF HIS ARMY AT THIS PRESENT.
SENT FROM A COLONELL IN THAT ARMY NOW IN BRISTOLL, TO A
FRIEND OF HIS IN LONDON.

PUBLISHED ACCORDING TO ORDER.

LONDON,
PRINTED BY G. DEXTER, FOR R. DUNSCUM, 1643.



A
TRUE RELATION
OF
THE LATE FIGHT
BETWEEN
SIR WILLIAM WALLER'S FORCES
AND THOSE SENT FROM
OXFORD.

SIR, I received yours of the 11th instant, to which I gave present
answere.

For newes with us, it hath the face of bad : but for my owne part,
I see a very great deliverance in it, and God's immediate hand in
saving this army.

I shall give you a briefe accompt of the progresse and successe
thereof since the last defeat given Sir Ralph Hopton on Lands-
downe, which is thus :

Friday the enemy lay in Marshfield, we lay that night in the field,
within two miles of him.

Saturday he marched to Chipenham, we followed and kept the
field.

Sunday he retreated to the Devises, we pursued and fought with
him, and kill'd many of his horse, and especially foot : but it being
late we durst not enter the towne, but still kept the field in a green
neere Roode.

The next morning, being Monday, wee drew up to Bagnall hill
with our whole body : That night wee sent out many parties, and

D D

drew down to Runway; we brought in many prisoners, beat the Lord of Craford, took eight colours, and some officers.

Next night we had intelligence of a great party comming with amunition, which we tooke, being six cart loads: but the enemy running away in due time, we had but few prisoners.

That night Prince Maurice and the Marquesse, with most of their horse, stole away for Oxford; we did light on their reare with a small party, and took seventeen or eighteen prisoners.

Tuesday morning we fell upon the town, which they well defended: In the afternoone desired a parle, and two houres' cessation, which on good reason was granted them: but they not conforming to our demands, we fell on again that night, though coldly.

The next day, Wednesday, we continued our assault, beat them from all their out works and guards: but that day and night being extreame wet, hindred us much.

Thursday night we had resolved on a generall assault: but this resolution was scarce taken, but newes came that the enemy from Oxford was within two miles, with two thousand horse, which made us draw up to Bagnall hill, without drum or trumpet, where we found the enemy in sight, marching towards us; we long'd to charge them with our horse, which we did with some disadvantage, and were put to a retreat disorderly: But rallied againe with the helpe of our reserve. The enemy came on, and we charged them the second time, and then all our horse were routed, their reserve standing firme. Wee fled; they followed, yet our foot, being scarce considerable, stood one houre and an halfe, and forced their horse to retreat divers times: but their foot comming up from the Devises, made ours leave their armes and flye. We have lost only fifty horse, and at the most two hundred common souldiers slaine, and taken prisoners; about five hundred armes. No man of note killed or hurt, only Sir Arthur Haslerigge who received a wound in his arme, and an hurt in his eare, but not dangerous: he fought very

bravely. We know we killed many of their best men, but not known to us by name, because we lost the field: We retreated all to this city, and hope to make good Bath also.

As this was a great losse to us, so likely to all the west, unlesse the lord generall sodenly help; however, we acknowledge God's over ruling power in our great deliverance; the enemy having six regiments of horse, and seven hundred dragoons, that never presented themselves in our view, but lay in ambush, as divers report, who saw them and have since broke through their army, and are returned to us. The same also is confest by Major Byron, whom we took prisoner.

FINIS.



A

BRIEFE AND EXACT RELATION

OF THE

**MOST MATERIALL AND REMARKEABLE PASSAGES THAT HAPNED
IN THE LATE WELL-FORMED (AND AS VALIENTLY
DEFENDED) SEIGE LAID BEFORE**

THE CITY OF

G L O C E S T E R.

COLLECTED BY

JOHN DORNEY, ESQUIRE,

TOWN-CLARKE OF THE SAID CITY,

**WHO WAS THERE RESIDENT THE WHOLE SIEGE, AND APPLIED HIMSELFE
WHOLY TO THIS BUSINESSE.**

**PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY, AND ENTRED INTO THE STATIONERS HALL-BOOKE
ACCORDING TO ORDER.**

LONDON,

**PRINTED FOR TOMAS VNDERHILL AT THE SIGNE OF THE BIBLE
IN WOOD-STREETE, M.DC.XLIII.**

A

BRIEFE AND EXACT DIURNALL,

CONTAINING THE

MOST MATERIALL AND REMARKEABLE PASSAGES THAT HAP-

PENED IN THE LATE WELL FORMED SIRGE LAID BEFORE

THE CITY OF

G L O U C E S T E R.

AFTER the unexpected surrender of Bristoll, the city of Gloucester was assaulted with severall letters, messages, and such verball solicitations, by divers in the king's army of no meane quality, thereby pretending our good, and expressions of their love and care of us, but really intending their own sinister ends and our destruction. Amongst the rest, there came a letter on Friday, August 4, dated August 3, from a captaine of a troope of horse in the king's army, to Mr. Alderman Pury, one of the Burgesses of the parliament for this city, full of perswasive oratory for the yeelding up of this city, with great promises as heretofore of preferment, and braggs of the greatnesse of the army that was then on their march coming against us, viz. All Prince Rupert's forces from Bristoll, with addition of fifteen hundred armed Welch, and two thousand club-men out of Wales, and armes sufficient to arme them from Bristoll, eight hundred foote with a regiment of horse from Worcester, and five thousand foote with a brigado of horse of the queene's forces from Oxford, and if he would send an answer, it must be by the Sunday-night following or not at all: But Mr. Alderman Pury, (whose fide-

lity is sufficiently known to be so firme to the parliament, that it is not to be shaken by promises or threats) thinking it not worthy of, so accordingly sent no answer.

Saturday, August 5. We received intelligence, that about two thousand horse from Bristoll were advanced within ten miles of this city, whereupon severall messengers were dispatched to the parliament.

Sunday, August 6. Generall Garret faced this city with his brigado of horse in Tredworth-Field, and sent a trumpeter to the governour for four horses of his formerly taken by a party of ours in Cotswold, for which he offered others in exchange for them, or any other satisfaction. In the after-noone, a small party of horse and foote commanded by Captaine Blunt, ~~and~~ assisted by Lieutenant Colonell Matthewes, Captaine White, Captaine Pury the younger, and Captaine Lieutenant Harcus issued forth of the North-gate, and at Wotton tooke about ten prisoners, and sending home the foote, the said captaines with the few horse they had, went along to Upton, St. Leonards, and thence to the foote of Painswickes-hill, on the top of which they discovered a party of the enemies' horse, and so going round about by Matson, they retreated without the losse or hurt of any. This day we wrought hard in the amending and repairing of our bulwarkes.

Munday, August 7. Newes came to Captaine Pury the younger to Gloucester, That the enemy was plundering at Tuffleigh, about a mile and halfe from Gloucester, newly assigned for his quarters for the billeting of his souldiers, who thereupon acquainted captaine Evans therewith, resolving to take what men of theirs they could on the suddaine get to surprize the enemy; But being come thither, assisted with Lieutenant Pierce, they understood that they were gone away with their plunder to Mr. Wood's house at Brockthorpe, about a mile and a halfe further: They thereupon (having not above forty foote, and some few of Captaine Backhouse's

horse), left some few foote to secure their retreat, and with the rest marched forward to meete with the enemy, skirmished with them; compelled them to take refuge in the house, killed one in the orchard, and hurt or killed others in the house, and tooke one prisoner, and seven horses: But perceiving a party of horse, that looked on on the hill all the while, to make towards them, they were forced to retreat without any losse, only one through his own indiscretion taken prisoner. As they were just at the Towne's-end, they met with the governour and a party of musketeers coming to their rescue, newes being brought to towne that they were in danger of being cut off.

Tuesday, August 8. We understood that the king with all the foote from Bristoll, and carriages, were come to Berkeley, and that they intended to speed their march towards us.

Wednesday, August 9. We had intelligence that provision was made for the entertainment of his majesty at Princknedge, in the Lady Bridgeman's house, about three miles off the city, and that the foote and carriages would be there that night: we likewise received intelligence, that the Lord Chando's that day dined at Brockworth, at the Lady Guise's there, whereupon a party went out of the Northgate towards Barnewood, skirmished with the enemy, and did some execution upon them, and amongst the rest a little boy of Captaine Nelme's company, having shot away all his bullets, charged his musket with a pebble stone, and killed a commander therewith; we retreated without any losse at all.

Thursday, August 10. His majesty with about six thousand horse and foote as we conceived, the Welch and Worcester forces coming after, faced us in Tredworth field, at the foote of Robin-hood's-hill; about a quarter of a mile off the towne; and about two thousand horse more faced us in Walham, within canon-shot at randome of our workes. Towards the afternoone his majesty sent

a message by two heraulds at armes, whereof the one being Somerset herald, read the message at the Tolsey as followeth:—

“ Out of our tender compassion to our City of Glocester, and that it may not receive prejudice by our army, which we cannot prevent, if we be compelled to assault it; we are personally come before it to require the same, and are gratusly pleased to let all the inhabitants of and all other persons within that city, as well souldiers as others, know that if they shall immediately submit themselves and deliver this city to us, we are contented freely and absolutely to pardon every one of them, without exception; And doe assure them in the word of a king, that they nor any of them shall receive the least damage or prejudice by our army in their persons or estates: but that we will appoint such a governour and a moderate garison to reside there, as shall be both for the ease and security of that city, and that whole county. But if they shall neglect this offer of grace and favour, and compell us by the power of our army to reduce that place (which by the helpe of God, we doubt not, we shall easily and shortly be able to doe) they must thanke themselves for all the calamities and miseries that must befall them. To this message we expect a cleere and positive answer within two houres after the publishing hereof, and by these presents doe give leave to any persons, safely to repaire to and returne from us, whom that city shall desire to imploy unto us in that businesse. And doe require all the officers and souldiers of our army quietly to suffer them to passe accordingly.”

The herald mentioned the publishing of this message openly in the streete, but his majesty by his message not requiring the same, the governour would no wayes permit it. But the herakls being withdrawne, after some debate in satisfying Mr. Major's scruples touching his oath of majoralty, an answer was drawne, and unanimously agreed unto both by citizens and souldiers in these words following:—

“ We the inhabitants, magistrates, officers and souldiers within this garrison of Gloucester, unto his majestie’s gracious message, returne this humble answer. That we doe keepe this city according to our oathes and allegiance, to and for the use of his majesty and his royall posterity, and doe accordingly conceive ourselves wholly bound to obey the commands of his majesty, signified by both houses of parliament, and are resolved by God’s helpe to keepe this city accordingly.”

This answer was immediately sent to his majesty, (who was by that time come to Tredworth-field, attended by Prince Charles, the Duke of Yorke, Prince Rupert, Lord Generall Ruthen, &c,) by Serjeant Major Pudsey, and a citizen who accordingly presented the same and so returned. Thereupon his majestie’s forces advanced forward into our suburbs, chiefly on the east-part into Barton-streets, where we killed a commander from the east-gate: But the houses proved too hot for such inhabitants, for we had after the returne of our messengers, fired all our suburbs on the north, east and south parts, as being those that could and would have done us most harme: yet one Issold’s house in Barton-streete (by reason of a garden betwixt that and the next above) tooke not fire, so that the enemy played from thence with musket-shot against us, till we by five or six canon shot from the walles, forced them to quit that place. Our canon likewise from the pen upon the west-gate, discharged upon the body of horse in Walham, and doing some small execution there, made them goe seeke better quarters. Our women and maides wrought all this after-noone in the little meade out of our workes in the very faces of those horses, in fetching in turfe for the repairing of our workes: we were forced now through want of men for the guarding of the city itselfe (we being not above fourteen hundred at most) to quit our out-guards of the Wine-yard, and the two sconces we had formerly made at each corner of the Isle of Alney for the securing thereof and the river of Seaverne.

Friday, August 11th. Upon breake of day we discovered that the enemy had the night before begun their entrenchments in Gawdy-Greene, on the south part of the city, and about Issold's house on the east part, both within lesse than musket-shot of our walles. They had likewise cut the pipes that conveyed our water from Robinhood's-hill to our conduits, and diverted the course of water that drove our corne-mills, so that we were forced to content ourselves with pompe and Seaverne water, and to grind our corne with horse-mills. Their pioneeers plied their workes in their trenches, the musketteeres on both sides playing hard, we lost only a boy and a girle through their indiscretion gazing over the walles. The Welsh forces under Sir William Vavasor advanced to the Wine-yard, where after two houres' solemnity, they with great valour tooke it, no body being there to make a shot against them. Yet upon their entry of the outward worke, when they saw another within, they according to their knowne prowesse, immediately ran out, yet taking heart againe, they at last, to their eternall glory, tooke it. Upon their drawing up on the side of the hill, our demeculverin discharged from the pen fell amongst them and did good execution; we discovered them through our prospectives carrying away their dead or maimed, and afterwards divers gazing where the bullet grazed that durst adventure so farre to kill her nowne cozens and countrymen. Among this crew, had that treacherous Adams, once a lieutenant colonell under Sir William Waller, placed himselfe. They about two dayes afterwards leaving a sufficient guard at the Wine yard and the sconse by Maysemore, made a bridge of boats there, and joyned with the forces that had now newly come from Worcester and quartered on the north west side of the city, at Longford and the Kingsholme, where they made their leagure in two fields there about, lesse than halfe a mile off us. The Lord Generall Ruthen had placed his leagure at some grounds behind Lanthony, within a quarter of a mile of the towne, it being some-

what sheltered from our shot by a rising ground that lay betweene, yet our shot hapned sometime amongst them and did some execution. There their lord generall pitched his tent, and Sir Jacob Ashley quartered at Mr. Wood's house in Barton-streete: Captaine Lieutenant Marcus, assisted by Colonell Stevens' ensigne, at midnight issued forth of the south port, with a small party, beat the enemy from their trenches, and brought away many of their shovels and pickaxes. The same night the enemy making an approach in Barton-street, our canon from the east-gate killed six of them, whereof one was a lieutenant colonell, and another a captaine of the queene's black regiment under Colonell Blackwell, Sir Jacob Ashley was then shot in the arme. The enemy likewise advancing somewhat from Lanthony toward the Barbican, our guards there fired upon them and killed and wounded many of them, as we have received information by divers confessions.

August 12, Saturday. In the forenoon a party commanded by Captaine Leivetenant Marcus sallied forth through a door we made for that purpose in a brick-house adjoyning to the towne wall on the south east part over against Rignall stile (making a bridge of ladders over the moat) and fell into the enemies trenches in Gawdy Green, beat them out, gained some working tooles, arms and prisoners, and retreated without losse of any, onely two wounded. This was a hot skirmish for the space of halfe an houre. In the afternoon a party of about one hundred and fifty musketteers commanded by Captain Gray sallied forth over the works at the little mead, and fell upon the enemies quarters at the Kingsholme, marched up to their main-guard, there killed Captain Rumney, and about eight or nine common souldiers, took five prisoners, and divers armes, burnt their main-guard, and houses they quartered in, and retreated without the losse of any. These were the Worcester forces with whom the Welsh had not yet joyned. The same afternoon after our retreat the enemy had planted two great culverins of between fifteen and

sixteen pound bullet at the east side out of musket shot point blanke, with which they made some store of shot, intending to batter the town-wall, but did no harm, although many fell into the town. They then likewise began the making of a redoubt in a field neer Lanthony towards Severn, making a breast-work from it to Lanthony wall crosse the causey. And we perceiving by their canon baskets they placed in their square redoubt in Gawdy Green that they intended a battery there, began the lining of our towne wall from the south to the east gate, which we shortly after perfected; That night the enemy shot severall great granadoes out of their mortar pieces, they all brake, but did no harme; we have since received intelligence from some that were the whole leaguer in the king's army, that their biggest mortar-piece brake at the first discharging of it, they say the biggest in England.

Sunday, August 13. The enemy having planted three pieces of ordnance on their battery at Gawdy Green of fifteen and twenty-three pound bullet weight, began to batter the wall and brick-house over against Rignall stile, killed one of our men (no souldier) in the said brick-house, as he was peeping there, but did no other harm. This day we began the blocking up of the south port, making a damme of earth against the draw bridge, and a breast-work canon prooffe against the wall reaching from the draw bridge to the gate, and lining the houses on each side, and the almes-house between the gate and draw-bridge with earth.

Munday, August 14. We had some suspition and kind of intelligence that they were drawing ordnance to the Kingshome; and that it lay in some grounds undiscovered between the north gate and the Margarets; wherupon a party of about one hundred and fifty musketteers commanded by Captaine Mallery sallied forth of the north port to surprize it, but not finding any, retreated without losse, but killed four of the enemies, and took two prisoners, and fired some of their quarters at the Margarets. This day the enemy:

played with their ordnance from Gawdy Green, and battered the town wall on the south-side of the Fryer's orchard, but we quickly made up the breach with wool-sackes and canon baskets. By this time they had drawne their trench in Gawdy Greene neer the moat at Rignall stile, where they made a kind of mine to drain the moat, which much sunk the water of the moat between the south and east ports.

Tuesday, 15 August. The enemy removed their tents and carriages to their leaguer neer Lanthony. And in the afternoon valiant James Marcus, captain lievetenant to the Earl of Stamford was slaine in the Fryar's orchard, as he was too venterously looking what execution a granado had done, which he then threw into the enemies trenches.

Wednesday, 16 August. About one hundred and fifty musketeers commanded by Captain Crispe sallied forth at the north port, and fell upon the enemies trenches upon the east side of the Friar's orchard, killed above one hundred men (as is confessed by some of the enemies themselves) wounded many, beat them out of their trenches, took some spades, shovels, and arms, and retreated without the losse of any, only two wounded after an exceeding hot skirmish for the space of halfe an hour or more, the canon and muskets on both sides playing most furiously. Amongst others a serjeant and corporall of Captaine Nelme's company were observed to behave themselves very bravely. The enemy began this day to intrench between Barton street and the Fryar's barne, within musket shot of the wals. And we employed some time in lining of the house adjoyning to the north gate with earth, and in amending and strengthening the works about the Fryar's barne.

Thursday, 17 August. The enemy shot divers granadoes out of their battery in Gawdy Green into the towne; whereof about four fell upon some houses and brake into them, but (by God's providence) did no harme, and one fell into the street neer the south

gate, but a woman coming by with a payle of water, threw the water thereon, and extinguished the phuse thereof, so that it did not break, but was taken up whole: it weighed sixty pound weight. This night the enemy made divers alarmes about the city, and our ordnance and muskettiers plaid hard against them. They then likewise brought fagots and the like to the moate by the Fryar's orchard, but were beaten off by our musketteers from the wals. This day a printed paper conteyning the king's message and our answer thereunto was sent out of the king's army, unto M. Alderman Pury, with a perswasive letter for the surrendring up of the citie, the close of which printed paper runs thus, "Let the world now judge if his majestie could have sent a more gracious message to his most loyall subjects, and whether these desperate rebels deserve any mercy, who after so many offers do still refuse a pardon: but since their returning this rebellious answer they have set their own suburbs on fire; which surely is not to keep the city either for king or parliament. Printed at Oxford, &c." At the same time there was also sent unto him certain specious considerations and reasons subtilly composed, tending to satisfie conscience in the delivering up of the citie notwithstanding the late oath and protestation, wherewithall the said Captain Pury being not convinced, did not divulge the same till after the siege was raised.

Friday, 18 August. The enemy played with their ordnance at Gawdy Green upon the wall on the south side of the Fryar's orchard, but did small hurt thereunto. They having likewise (after the conjunction of the Welsh with the Worcester forces) drawn four pieces of ordnance to the Kingsholme, one whereof they planted against the Awnyate, and the sconces thereunto adjoyning. A partie of about four hundred muskettiers commanded by Major Pudsey, and Captain Gray assisted by Captain Faulkner, and Captain Massie, sallied forth of the north gate, being led by one Weaver, a stout fellow of Captain Pury the younger's company as their guide, and

having sent Lieutenant Pincocke with about fifty musketteers over the workes at the little meade to give them an alarme, who advancing up to their canon (that made but one shot against them,) in the mean while they got behind their canon and brestwork there, and fell upon their maine-guard, killed divers of their officers, and two canoneers, with about one hundred common souldiers mortally wounded, Captain Basset with divers others, took Lieutenant Tipper and about four others prisoners, nailed their canon and retreated without other losse than two killed, and about four taken prisoners.

Saturday, August 19. The enemy having planted three peeces of ordinance at Gawdy Greene as afore-said, and now three more on the east side of the Fryar's orchard neare Rignall stile, within lesse than pistoll-shot of the town-wall, and two more in another battery neare the east-gate. They began a most furious battery upon both sides of the corner of the wall next Rignall stile, making above one hundred and fifty great shot thereupon, wherwith they shrewdly battered the wall, but our earth-workes stood firme; by all this shot there was only a man and a maide hurt, and a canon-bullet, its force being almost spent, running along the ground struck down a pigge, which our souldiers eat, and afterwards well jeered the enemy therewith. Upon this battery of the wall we began a brestwork from the wall on the south side of the Fryar's orchard all along the middle of the said orchard, and so making up all passages into the towne betweene that and the east-gate. This day (as hath beene confessed by some of the king's army) we killed three of their principall canoneers. This day and the night following the enemy shot divers granadoes into the town, whereof one fell in at the top of M. Hathwaye's house into his chamber over his kitchin, and thence obliquely descending through the end of the chamber took that with it, and brake in his court. One piece fell in the kitchin chimney, where three women were sitting by the fire, but by God's blessing hurt neither of them. The rest did no other hurt

than to houses, and that not much neither. We expected that the enemy would have fallen on this night, whereupon we beat up an alarme with our drummes round about the city. The enemy attempted to make a passage over the moat at the place they had battered, but being descried by our sentinels, they were beaten off with some losse by our musketteers.

Sunday, 20 August. This morning that rogue Hatton, one of our canoneers, ran away to the enemie. The enemy followed hard their trench-work, and carrying of fagots. And some of ours, whilst other went to church, as at other times, to implore divine assistance, wrought likewise at our works within the city.

Munday, August 21. Two severall parties were designed for the nailing of the enemie's canon. The one being about two hundred musketteers, commanded by Captaine Stevenson, and assisted by Captaine Moore, sallied forth at the north gate to have fallen upon their trenches at the east gate, but their guide foolishly mistaking the way, brought them round about to S. Jacob Ashleye's quarters at the Barton, whereabout forty muskettiers encountered with five colours of the enemy, and having slaine divers of them, and taken Lievetenant Anderson, and Lievetenant Trappes, prisoners, forced them to a retreat, then marching through the Barton court, they faced and fired at eight colours more, and so retreated. In the retreat two troops of the enemie's horse came upon the reere, but ensigne Matthewes facing about, charged them, and forcing them to retyre, made good our retreat. In this skirmish were two killed, three hurt, and a serjeant of Captain Nelves taken prisoner; this party was all of Colonell Stephens' regiment, and some few of Colonell Devereux' men. The other was of the Lord Stamford's regiment commanded by Captain Blunt assisted by Captain William White, who sallied forth by boat down Severne, and marched up to the enemie's quarters at Severne street, beat the enemy out of their redoubt there, (our canon the mean while playing from the Barbi-

can upon the houses there) killed Serjeant Major Wels, captain of the watch, and some common souldiers, took one prisoner, and advanced up to the turnepike at the upper end of Severn street. But the designe failing through the misguidance of the other party, they were called off, and by the help of our ordnance from the Barbican made a fair retreat without losse of any, only two wounded.

Wednesday, August 23. About fifteen musketeers sallied out of the north gate and gave the enemies an alarme and so retreated. This day the enemy received supply of provision and ammunition by water from Bristoll. We employed ourselves in lynes the Fryar's barne on the outside with earth for the preservation of our canon there, and in strengthening of our brestworks there, conceiving the enemy had intended a battery against it. In the evening, the enemy shot some few granadoes into the town, which did no harme. And about nine of the clock at night two of ours out of a company (all the other sallies being in like manner commanded men out of both regiments) sallied out of the north-gate, and giving the enemy an allarme, retreated. The enemy thereupon after our retreat spent good store of powder and shot against the wind.

Thursday, August 24. This day there was a conference with Mr. Bell of Sanct-hurst, and Mr. Hill of Tewxbury within the draw-bridge at the north gate, upon their desire thereof by a letter sent that morning, intimating thereby that they had something to impart unto us for our good by word of mouth, which could not be done by letter or otherwise. The effect of their speech was to perswade the yeelding up of the citie in regard of the great power and terrible threats of the enemy, and small hopes, and in a manner impossibility of relief, withall adding the heavy burthens under which the countrey groaned, which they said were likely to prove heavier if we yeelded not. To this speech they received a resolute negative answer, and so departed. The enemy made divers shot this day

with two piece of ordnance they had newly planted at Lanthony, but did little hurt, killed none. One bullet of about twenty pound weight came through a chamber of the inne called the Crown, carried a boulster before it into the window, and there slept in it. This night came the only rain that happened during the whole siege, which much annoyed the enemy in their trenches. This night we discovered a fire upon Wain-loade's hill, which gave us some encouragement, because we had appointed a man we had formerly sent out, if he heard of any relief, and could not come to tell us thereof, to make a fire there, which he now did accordingly. But the enemy not willing the countrey should take notice of it, or their souldiers be discouraged thereby, endeavoured to perswade them, it was their stratageme purposely made to deceive us, and to draw us out upon some ambuscadoes they pretended to have layd.

Fryday, August 25. Some few musketeers of ours this morning sallied forth of the north port, and gave the enemy an alarm, who through the suddennesse of the alarm, and hurly burly thereupon, had a barrell of powder blowne up. In the afternoone their ordnance playd from Gawdie-Greene, and they likewise from thence shot many granadoes, two fell into the south-gate-streete, whereof one mortally wounded a woman, but did no other harme; some others fell upon severall houses in the citie, and shrewdly battered them, but did no other hurt; one fell downe upon the enemies workes. They shot likewise great fire-balls, which did no harme. They also shot great stones out of their mortar-pieces, which did little hurt, and killed none. In the evening and night following, they shot from their battery, at Lanthony, above twenty fiery melting hot iron bullets, some eighteen pound, others twenty-two pound waight; in the night wee perceived them flying in the ayre like a starre shooting, most of them fell into houses and stables where hay was, but by God's great providence did no hurt at all. One came through three houses, and fell into a

chamber of Mr. Comelin's the apothecary, and being perceived, many payles of water were cast upon it to quench the same, but that little awayling, it was cast into a cowle of water, where after a good space it cooled. This night (it being suspected that false rumours of our being taken might be spread abroad to hinder our reliefe) it was ordered that some lights should be set up on the colledge-tower, to give notice abroad of our holding out, the performance whereof was committed to the care of Captain Pury junior, who performed it accordingly. The enemy vexed thereat levelled some shot at the tower, one whereof came close by the said Captain Pury, as he was looking towards Lanthony, whence their fiery bullets came, who for all that continued the burning of his linkes till the moone was fully risen.

Saturday, August 26. The enemy wrought hard in filling up the moate (at the place they had battered) with fagotts and earth, making a gallery over the head of their trench, to save themselves from our shot: at night they made some shot from their battery at Gawdy-Greene, upon the town wall, on the southside of the Fryar's orchard, but did no harm, only two or three hurt a little by the flying of the stones of the wall. Divers times during this siege some of our men would go forth over the works, and fetch hay out of Walham, which to prevent, the enemy this day, as often before, set some of the cockes on fire, which some by reason of our shot, I beleeve, dearely repented.

Sunday August 27. The enemy wrought hard in casting earth into the moate, and making divers trenches elsewhere. They also this day made about twenty great shot upon the house over the east-gate.

Munday, August 28. Wee conceived that the enemy had sunke a mine under the east gate, whereupon we began to countermine in two severall places there, but finding springs we left off, conceiving the enemy would be forced to doe the like for the same reason.

Tuesday, August 29. We began to undermine on the east side of the Fryar's orchard, to make a place to put forth a piece of ordnance at the bottome of the wall, to batter the flauke of the enemy's gallery, there we likewise made some great shot upon the enemy's trenches at the east gate from the Fryar's barn. This night two intelligencers we had sent forth on Saturday night last, returned from Warwicke with newes of speedy reliefe from his Excellency and Sir William Waller.

Wednesday, August 30. Being the publique fast day, there were two sermons preached at St. Nicholas, without any disturbance, only a musket bullet fell into the church, but did no harme. This day we turned out our cattle to graze in the little meade, and so continued them afterwards, guarded by some muskettiers, taking them in at night: wee made a bridge of ladders, and thereby put them in over the workes. This day and the day before, the enemy shot out of their canon long loggetts of wood, which did no harme.

Thursday, August 31. We againe turned out most of our cattle into the little meade, guarded by some few muskettiers, the enemy fretting thereat, sent out some horse and straggling muskettiers, upon whom wee did some small execution; wee should have done more, durst the enemy have adventured against us, but they kept themselves still almost musket shot at randome of us: at the Barbican three of the company of Sergeant Major Ferrer (major of the towne, who for his indefatigable paines, and extraordinary care and faithfulness to us, hath exceedingly deserved of us and the whole kingdome) crept along Seavern-Bank, and gave the enemy an alarm, holding them play almost an houre: upon the alarm about an hundred of the enemies had gathered themselves under a wall at Lanthony, upon whom wee discharged a demi-culvering, shot from the Barbican, which lighted in the midst of them, made the stones of the wall fly about their eares, and could not but doe good execution.

Fryday, September 1. About three a clock in the morning, a

sergeant and foure more of Captain White's company, with one John Barnewood, of Captain Pury the elder's company (who went forth in all the other sallies with granadoes) crept forth of a hole made in the dungeon at the east-gate, and came very softly to the mouth of the enemie's mine there. The said Barnewood after he had taken aside the board that covered it, and a pretty while viewed them, fired and cast a granadoe in amongst them, our foure muskettiers playing at them as they ran out of it, and so retreated without harme. Wee killed foure and hurt others. This put the enemy into a great fright, they crying nothing but arme, arme, for a good while after.

Saturday, September 2. Our mine in the Fryar's orchard was early this morning perfected, and a sacre placed there. Five out of a company were drawne out upon the walles, and some granadoes provided ready. About eight a clock in the morning we played thence with our great gunne upon their gallery, our muskettiers sending plenty of shot into their trenches and cast divers granadoes thereinto. The enemy played with their ordnance upon the top of our wall, with which hitting one of our blinds, they killed one of our men, as he was discharging his musket against them. They played likewise with their canon in Gawdy-Greene upon the south gate to little purpose. Wee battered their gallery with our bolt shot, but towards the evening the enemy had sunke a piece against the port-hole of our mine, so that we were forced to withdraw our sacre thence. About night they shot some granadoes into the towne, whereof one fell upon a stable in the Eastgate-street, neer whereunto stood many horses, but hurt none of them. Our men skirmished this day with some straggling men in Walham, where they killed a corporall that refused quarter. We discovered that the enemy, for all the springs, went on with their mine at the east gate, whereupon wee renewed our countermine there. The Welshmen at the Wineyard had likewise now at last gotten the heart to

advance as far as the Towne Ham, where placing themselves in a ditch, they played upon our maides and workmen that were fetching turffes out of the little meade, but our great gunne at the pen speaking some harsh language to them, frighted them away, be-reaving some of their owne native language.

Sunday, September 3. In the forenoone the congregation assembled at the church to performe holy duties, but the minister being informed of our great danger conceived at the east-gate, the enemy having planted store of canon-baskets there, within lesse than halfe musket-shot, intending a battery there, as we conceived, upon the springing of their mine, dismissed the congregation without any sermon. Whereupon we began the lining of the houses over the east-gate, and the making of a very strong brest worke crosse the eastgate-streete, with a large trench before it, filled by some springs there, intending to raise it up to the eaves of the houses, and to plant some canon there. Wee also this day finished the sconce we began September 1, upon the mount in the garden by the Fryar's orchard, where we could plant foure pieces of canon, to scoure the Fryar's orchard, and all along the eastgate. The enemy with some stragling horse and foote vapoured this day in the Walham, but durst not come within the reach of our musquetiers; upon the retreat of the horse a peece of ordnance from Captain Pury the elder's sconce, fired and fell in the midst of them, a white horse was seene to fall. In the afternoone a paper was shot upon an arrow into the towne, the contents whereof was this; these are to let you understand your God Waller hath forsaken you, and hath retired himselfe to the Tower of London, Essex is beaten like a dog, yeelde to the king's mercie in time, otherwise, if we enter perforce, no quarter for such obstinate traiterly rogues. From a well wisher.

To which presently upon another arrow was returned this answer,

Waller's no God of ours, base rogues ye lie,
Our God survives from all eternity;

Though Essex beaten be, as you doe say,
 Rome's yoke we are resolv'd nere to obey:
 But for our cabages which ye have eaten,
 Be sure ere long ye shall be soundly beaten.
 Quarter we aske you none if we fall downe,
 King Charles will lose true subjects with the towne.
 So saith your best friend, if you make timely use of him,
 Nicholas Cudgel you well.

Munday, September 4. We perceived divers carts loden with sick and maimed souldiers going from Lanthony to the water side at Sudmeade, where some boats attended to carry them to Bristol. The enemy had taken up all their horse about the towne, so we had some hopes of their rasing the siege. This morning early our miners had gotten as far as the outward part of the east gate, where by the working of the enemies we perceived their mine to be sunk a great deale lower than ours, so that we were above them, where-upon we set workemen upon the making of great borers with which wee intended to bore through our mine into theirs, and so to drowne the enemy's mine. We understood likewise that the enemy had by the direction of that Jesuitticall Doctor Chillingworth provided great store of engines after the manner of the Romane Testudines cum Pluteis with which they intended to have assaulted the parts of the city, betweene the south and west gates. These engines ran upon cart wheeles with a blinde of planks musquet prooffe, and holes for foure musquetiers to play out of, placed upon the axeltree to defend the musquetiers and those that thrust it forward, and carrying a bridge before it; the wheeles were to fall into the ditch, and the end of the bridge to rest upon our brest-workes, so making severall compleat bridges to enter the city. To prevent this we intended to have made another ditch out of our workes, so that the wheeles falling therein the bridge would have fallen too short of our brestworkes into our wet moat, and so frustrated their intentions. After the

raising of the seige, we tooke all these engins, and brought them into the towne. This night we discerned two fires upon Waynload-hill, made by two messengers, we had the night before sent out to give us intelligence if reliefe was coming: We answered them again with lights in the colledge tower. The enimie made about six great shot from Lanthony barn, whereof one of twenty-five pound bullet weight came through some houses into Master John Halford's kitchin, where his children were a little before, but did no hurt. We now perfected the lining of the houses over and by the east-gate.

Tuesday, September 5, was appointed for a publique fast to be kept within this citty by such as might be spared from labour. In the space betweene the sermons we discovered their carriages from Lanthony making vp Tredworth feild, and afterwards we perceived their foote and horse marching after, yet we were not assured of their raising of their seige or that our reliefe was so nere at hand, till we perceived their rere guard to fire their hutts and their men to be drawn out of their trenches, which we perceiving, some of our men ventured forth into their trenches, and fired their gallery and canon baskets. And presently after an honest countrey man came running into the towne, and told us that his Excellencie had beaten Prince Rupert about Stow, and that the rest of the army rose to succour him. We thereupon perceived that God had delivered us, and that we were now freed from the hands of those that had so long thirsted after our blood. To him, therefore, be the honour and glory. Amen.

It was admirable to observe

1. The constancie of resolution in citizens and souldiers amidst so many temptations by reason of promises, threats, delay of succour, and want of intelligence even to the very end, although we had not in the whole town above fifty single barrels of powder at the beginning of the siege, and not above three or foure at the raising

thereof. We kept two powder-mills going, and with them made three barrells a week.

2. The vigilant care and unwearied endeavours of our valiant governor, and most worthy serjeant-major, and the officers and souldiers of both regiments, in keeping the guards day and night without any reliefe, and the courage and good successe they had in their many sallies against the enemy.

3. The cheerfull readinesse of yong and old of both sexes, as well of the better as inferiour sort of people by day and night, to labour in the further fortification of our citie. Nay, our maids and others wrought daily without the works in the little mead, in fetching in turfe in the very faces of our enemies.

4. The little hurt done by the enemy with their cannon, muskets and mortar peeces, that sent so many terrible messengers amongst us. All that we lost (either taken or slain) amounted not to the number of above fifty men, yet we killed of the enemy (although they never durst venture an assault against us) above a thousand men, as hath been confessed by some prisoners and renegadoes, and is generally confirmed by the voice of the whole countrey, that continually heard the muttering of their souldiers at their return to their quarters, some say fifteen hundred, some more: we killed likewise most of their canoniers, so that they were forced to send to Bristoll for more, five whereof the king valued before five hundred men.

5. The libertie we had in this strait siege for holy duties, though wee were continually necessitated to bodily labour, and that the siege was raised upon a day of solemn humiliation.

6. How opportunely his Excellencie came with reliefe unto us, through the great care of the parliament and citie of London, even then when the enemy thought themselves ready to devour us: for they had made many strong works and batteries within lesse than pistoll shot of our walls, undermined our gate, and wrought them-

selves quite over our moat, and provided their engines and bridges in readinesse. In all these they shewed and used extraordinary skill and industry.

7. The plenty and store of provision we had in the town of all sorts, so that we turned out even to the very last houre they staid before us, above two hundred head of cattell over our workes to graze in the very noses of them, beside others we kept in the town upon hay.

8. How confident our enemies were of prevailing, and how often they vainly promised to themselves victory: yet though they conceived mischiefe, they brought forth a lie, their designs were blasted, and we contrary to their expectation delivered.

Which gracious acts of divine providence do deeply engage us to praise the Lord of Hosts with our hearts, lips and lives, who hath gone out with our hosts, whose eye hath watched over us, and whose strong hand was with us. He made us a citie of refuge to others, and hath now been a refuge to us in the time of our distresse. What hath been done by us in our just defence against unlawfull violence, hath not proceeded from any disloyalty to our soveraigne lord the king (whom God preserve) but out of our endeavours to defend true religion and justice, the main pillars of the king's throne: and therefore we far lesse deserve to be stiled ~~desperate~~ rebels, than those that pretend themselves good subjects, and are nothing lesse, their practices wholly tending to the subversion of the protestant religion, and the destruction of the common-wealth.

Our cause wee commit to him that judgeth righteously, upon whom we only depend for our protection, and to whom we daily pray, that he would be reconciled to prince and people, and reconcile each to other, that there may be no more shedding of innocent blood, nor bitter complaining heard in our streets.

Laus Deo in æternum.

Since the siege September 12, we received intelligence, that

there was some ammunition come from Bristoll in a bark to Newnam (about ten miles from Gloucester) for Hereford; whereupon we sent out a party of about forty-five foot, and a troop of horse, to seize upon it for the use of our garrison, who according seized upon the same, being two tun of match, and some store of wine, and such other merchandize, and brought it in wains to Gloucester. Sir John Winter sent out some horse to prevent us, but they durst not come within a mile of us.

THE NAMES OF THE SUPERIOUR OFFICERS OF BOTH REGIMENTS THAT NOW LYE IN GARRISON IN THE CITIE OF GLOCESTER.

Henry Earle of Stamford, Colonel.	Henry Stephens, Colonel.
Edward Massie, Lieutenant-colonel and Governour of Gloucester.	Humph. Matthewes, Lieutenant-colonel.
Constance Ferrer, Major of the town, and Serjeant-major to this regiment.	Isaac Dobson, Serjeant-major.
Edward Grey,	William Singleton,
Charles Blunt,	Thomas Pury, senior,
Peter Crisp,	Luke Nurse,
Edward Cotton,	John Nelme,
William White,	John Evans,
Robert Malery,	Thomas Pury, junior,
George Massie.	
John Read, Captain Lieutenant.	Robert Stevenson Capt. Lieutenant.

There was likewise a broken regiment of dragoones of about one hundred men under the command of Col. Forbes, that upon the taking of Bristoll came from Berkley Castle hither. But the other two regiments do properly belong to this garrison.

and send to my quarter at Charvild, where you may send any one to me without suspition. I beseech you seriously to weigh these things in your breast, and to weigh them as coming from one that dearly loves you and your citie. And God give you all grace to doe that which may most tend to your good, are the prayers of
your reall loving friend.

FINIS.

A
TRUE RELATION
OF THE
LATE EXPEDITION
OF
HIS EXCELLENCY, ROBERT EARLE OF ESSEX,
FOR THE RELIEF OF
GLOUCESTER.
WITH
THE DESCRIPTION OF THE FIGHT AT NEWBURY.

DIE SAB. 7 OCTOBR. 1643.

IT IS THIS DAY ORDERED BY THE COMMONS HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT, THAT RALPH
ROUNTHWAIT SHALL PRINT THE RELATION THAT IS MADE CONCERNING THE
BATTLE NEER NEWBURY; AND THAT NONE SHALL REPRINT THE
SAME WITHOUT THE FURTHER ORDER OF MY LO. GENERALL.
HEN. ELSING. CL. P. D. COM.

LONDON,
PRINTED FOR RALPH ROUNTHWAIT. 1643.

EXPEDITION
FOR
THE RELIEF OF GLOUCESTER.

THE fight at Newbury hath beene of late the subject of some pens, who, had they loved truth as well as elegancy, and laboured by plain and particular narrations to describe the action, as much as they have done by false glosses and shadowes to disguise it, had been historians good enough to have informed the people, and saved the labour of any other pen; but howsoever, we shall not wast a line in way of confutation, or picking out any false stitches which they have sewn, but only present to the world our own positive piece of truth so plainly wrought, that perchance the contrary, set by it, may be forced to blush through all her painting. Nor is the fight of Newbury the subject of our discourse, but the whole expedition, which his Excellency made to the relief of Gloucester; in which that victory was but one part (though a very considerable one) of those many honourable acquisitions which he made by the way: the beginning therefore and occasion of that expedition is the beginning of this discourse. The parliament fortune about that time did seem so far sunk by the great losses both in west, and north, and consumption of his Excellency his army by sicknesse, that nothing but an extraordinary blessing of God could make it againe emergent. To aggravate this, so many followed fortune, and forsook the parliament, that those, which were constant, deserved

to have thanks given them for not despairing, as once the Roman senate gave to a generall after a great losse. The extremities were great, and required as great blessings to relieve them. Gloucester besieged by a great and gallant army, where the flower of English nobility and gentry, with courages as high as became their births, were the fierce besiegers, and where his majesty in person was to encourage them. His Excellency fourscore miles off, with a wasted and almost inconsiderable army at that very time, when every day false reports were raised that the city was taken, to discourage him from marching, that march lying through countries already harried by the enemy; insomuch, that all considered, it was a question, which was more wonderfull that he undertook it, or that he did it. But to cure all these extremities, Gloucester had such a governor and such a garrison, as, besides their hourly labours and dangers in fight, had constancy enough to hold out till there were left but two barrels of powder. His Excellency, besides his own magnanimity, (being suddainly recruited) had an army so full of patience, as that with one fortnights' pay at Colebrook (being much in arreare) they were content to march against all those difficulties; and to expose themselves in that long expedition, not only against the sword of an enemy too strong in probability for their encounter, but to another enemy too strong for mankind to resist, famine. Under which undoubtedly they had suffered, if the blessing of God at one place had not happily relieved them, and finally the skill of their generall, and their own courages had not forced a passage through the enemies' army, to bring them at last with honour home to those countries where they might be relieved: the particulars will appear in the following narration.

On Saturday the 26 of August, 1643, the army moved from Colebrook to Beckensfield, and so forward.

On Wednesday from Beerton (where the army was cloathed) we marched to Waddesden; when Sir Philip Stapleton, quartered at

Crendon Underwood, had advertisement that the enemy with four hundred horse was at Bicister three miles from him; he therefore very early sent captain Robert Hamond, captain of the gentlemen of my lord's guard, with one hundred horse for discovery of their posture, who found part of them drawn forth into the field to receive him; he thereupon sent a party to charge them, who beat them through the town, and he with the rest followed them about two miles, where some of the gentlemen of his Excellency's guard did very gallantly, and then returned. The enemy afterwards fell back and faced them, till Sir Philip Stapleton with the rest of the regiment, and Colonell Dalbeer with his regiment advanced, and made the enemy retreat quite away. This was the first time that we saw any enemy in this expedition.

The next day being Friday the first of September our generall rendezvous was on Brackley heath; where the city regiments, and auxiliaries joyned with his Excellency his army; orders given for severall quarters, the head quarter was at Aynoth: Colonell Middleton having order to quarter that night at Deddington, and hearing there of two regiments of the enemies horse, sent Captain Middleton with two companies of dragoons, and Captain Hale with a party of horse to approach the town: but the enemy retreated to a passage toward Oxford where the Lord Wilmot was with fifty troops more. Our scouts followed so far that they encountered with the other scouts, and fired at each other. Next morning, Colonell Middleton only, with his own regiment, and Sir James Ramsey's, advanced to the passe, where the enemy stood in two great bodies, and after some skirmish got the passe, placing dragooners to maintain it: and when the enemy drew up again towards it, he received them with such resolution that the skirmish (notwithstanding the inequality of forces) was maintained till three o'clock in the afternoon; they then retreating, Colonell Middleton by his Excellencie's command marched toward the army; which

the enemy perceiving, sent out a party of horse to fall on his rere, who followed them through Deddington; which Colonel Middleton perceiving, commanded the Scottish reformed officers to receive them; which they accordingly did, and beat them back through the town in great confusion. The enemy's losse in this skirmish was greater than ours, though not many lost on either side. That night his Excellencie's guards and regiment of horse with my Lord Gray's, quartered at Adderbury, hearing that the enemy from Banbury (two miles off) had sent some horse abroad, sent out a party from both regiments, who beat them in again, and pursued them into Banbury town, whence they took divers horses and prisoners, the enemy not daring to stir out of the castle.

On Sunday the third of September, after divine service, the army marched to Chipping-Norton, where presently after their quartering, the enemy appeared neare the towne; but soon retreated upon the first advance of Sir James Ramsey and Colonell Beere with his regiment of horse.

Munday the fourth of September his Excellency marched toward Stoe the Old; Colonell Harvey with his regiment of horse, and two regiments of foot advanced a little before toward the right hand, and the city regiments upon the left, under the conduct of Lieftenant Colonell Bayley generall adjutant of the foot: and resolutely faced Prince Rupert on both sides, who then appeared with above foure thousand horse, drawne up on the hils: and in the bottome on this side Stoe the Old, when Prince Rupert sent a strong party of horse to encompass Colonell Harvey, Sir James Ramsey having the vanne of the army, and apprehending Colonell Harvie's danger, approached to his reliefe with his own, Colonell Middleton's, and Colonell Sheffield's regiments; made the enemy speedily and confusedly retreat to their body; and pursued them to an hedge, where not above two could passe on breast: our forlorne hope commanded by Captain Carre, who had a little before passed the hedge, ere we

could come to second them, were charged by Urrey with four times their number, and received them with much gallantry, yet charged not through in respect of the enemy's reserves; but made purposely a retreat towards the hedge, where we had an ambuscado of musquetiers: the rest of the regiments were by this time passed the hedge, and made the enemy speedily retreat to their main body; from thence Sir James Ramsey with the forenamed regiments taking the rear, his Excellency with his foot regiment marched in the head of the infantry, and Sir Philip Stapleton with my lord general's guard and regiment of horse, with my Lord Greye's, had the vanguard the rest of the day. When we had marched three miles from Stoe the Old, the enemy drew up his whole force again beyond a passe on the side of an hill; where Sergeant-major General Skippon with only two hundred musquetiers and two peeces bravely advanced, assisted by Sir Philip Stapleton, and the Lord Grey with their horse, and forty dragoons under Captain Aber Cromy: this small force (his Excellency being there in person to the great encouragement of the party) marching directly upon the enemy, and skirmishing with them, made their whole body to retreat; and though they still appeared before us, we marched on, and drove them seven miles. The army that night quartered at Naunton.

Tuesday (the 5.) his Excellency advanced and came to Presbury hills, where he drew up his whole army in view of the city of Gloucester, and discharged 4 peeces of great ordinance to give them notice of his approach; soon after we discovered the enemy's quarters on fire, for upon our advance they deserted the siege, and marched away all that night in fear and disorder; the rereguard of our army, some ordnance and ammunition stayed on the top of the hills by reason of the steepnesse thereof, darknesse of the night, and tempestuousnesse of weather, whereby (besides the famine) the whole army had for three dayes march before, extremely suffered through a country that the enemy had already destroyed, and that

night through the violence of cold and rain divers of their horses died. His Excellency with the rest of the army quartered that night below the hill at Presbury.

The next day (being Wednesday) his Excellency marching to Cheltenham, the enemy fell into the quarters of Colonell Dalbeir's regiment; but having the alarum, soon retired with little losse.

The next day being Thursday the enemy beat up the quarters of Colonell Goodwin and Colonell Beere's regiment, the losse was not considerable, only Major Boza (charging the enemy very bravely, to make a retreat for the rest) there lost his standard; his lieutenant and cornet taken prisoners. His Excellency staid at Cheltenham till Friday, and then marched with his whole army to Gloucester, where he continued till Sunday, furnishing the town with ammunition, money and other necessaries.

On Sunday he marched to Tewksbury, where he stayed betwixt the enemy's forces and that garrison four days, to give them more time to furnish themselves better with provision of victuall, which was to be brought from Herefordshire and parts beyond the Severn, since all the hither parts were before ransack'd by the enemy. In all these removes since our army came down the hils, the enemy avoided quartering neer us, lying at Sewdly when we were at Gloucester; and when we came to Tewksbury, and advanced with part of our forces to Upton, they marched with their army to Evesham, and towards Worcester ten miles at least from us: whereby it appears how true it is that they pursued us ten days to seek battail.

On Friday morning his Excellency arose with his whole army from Tewksbury intending to quarter that night at Cheltenham; but upon advertisement that a body of the enemies were then in Cirencester (which were reported to be Prince Maurice his forces) and had there laid in great store of provision for their army (our want of necessaries and victual still continuing, and miserably encreasing

upon us) his Excellency made a long march with the vanguard of the army, to fall upon them ; which he did about one of the clock in the night, sending in a party of horse (under the command of Major Robert Hammilton) to seize upon the centinels of guards, whilst we with the rest of the horse beguirt the town, and a forlorn hope of foot (commanded by Colonell Alex. Brackley) and his Excellency's own foot regiment entred the town, and surprised two regiments of horse (being Sir Nich. Crispe's and Colonell Spencer's) which were both, by the confession of their own prisoners, intended for raising a commotion in Kent. We took there likewise forty loads of victuall, which under God's providence was the preservation of the army till the day that we fought the great battaile ; there were taken six standards, all the officers except the two colonels, which were absent, with divers other gentlemen of quality, above three hundred common souldiers, and four hundred horse.

On Saturday his Excellency marched five miles to Cricklade, and on Sunday as far, to Swinden, where we had a sermon in the afternoon ; the reader may observe what long marches wee made to avoid fighting with the enemy.

On Monday morning our intention being for Hungerford, when the van and body of our army had marched almost all over Auborn Chase, there appeared about five or six thousand horse of the enemies, who approached hard to our rereguard, consisting of five regiments of horse, viz. Colonell Middleton's, Lord Gray, Colonell Sheffield, Harvey, and Meldrum's : their number being smal, it was thought fit that they should orderly retreat to the body of the army ; but the enemy pursuing hotly both on rere and flank, our retreat was not without some confusion and losse ; and now being come to the body of the foot, Colonell Middleton commanding the aforessaid regiments drew them up again in order, and faced the enemy, untill all the foot were marched. The enemy again advancing put us the second time into the like disorder, when Colonell Middleton

facing about towards them, with his own regiment, two troops of my Lord of Denbigh's, and Captain Woogan's troop, charged their forlorn hope consisting of five hundred horse, and put them wholly into disorder; he then charged the two regiments that seconded the forlorn hope, and routed them; but the enemy coming on stoutly with fresh bodies, stopt his further pursuit: then Colonell Norton advancing with his own and Colonell Harvey's regiment, gave the enemy a brave charge, and was encountred with as much gallantry on the other side, so that they both retreated at one time. Then my Lord Gray and Colonell Meldrum advancing on the enemy, assisted by a small party of musquetiers sent by his Excellency out of his own regiment commanded by Captain Golard, put them into disorder; who notwithstanding drew up again in a good strength, and made our forces retreat to the main body; at which time Sir Philip Stapleton (who had the vanguard that day) came purposely back and drew up his regiment to succor our forces, which caused the enemy to retire altogether, and the night stopt any further proceedings.

Sir Philip Stapleton bringing up the rere of the army, it marched that night to Hungerford. On their party were slaine the Mar-quesse de Vieuville, with other officers of good quality, whose names are not yet known to us, though their worth and valour appeared highly; many common souldiers were there slain: one lieutenant colonell, two lieutenants, and a cornet taken prisoners. On our side were slain of officers, Captain Middleton, and Captaine Hacket, divers officers were wounded, some common souldiers slaine, and Colonell Sheffeld lost a standard.

The next day being Tuesday, we marched towards Newbury, and when wee approached within two miles of the towne, we might discover the enemies forces upon an hill; their whole army, having prevented us, were gotten to Newbury and possest the towne. But the next morning, being Wednesday, by breake of day order was

given for our march to an hill called Big's-hill, neere to Newbury, and the only convenient place for us to gaine, that we might with better security force our passage. But when his Excellency perceived that the enemy's forces had possest themselves of that hill, marching himself upon the head of his owne regiment*, Colonell Barclay's, and † Colonell Holborn's brigades, he charged so fiercely that he beat them from the hill, and kept it (rather gaining than losing ground) the whole day. His Excellencie's regiment and those other brigades, all the while they continued there, were hotly charged by the enemy's horse and foot, whilst much prowesse was shewed on both sides, his Excellency in person bestirred himselfe giving directions wherever there was occasion, and present in all places of danger, discharged the part of an excellent generall, as the enemies themselves can witnesse; but he considered not the danger of his person, whilst he laboured to maintaine that place, which of all other was most advantagious for his prospect. By this time came up the two trained bands of London, who though they were often charged by the horse and foot, stood to it with undaunted resolution.

The battle thus begun by the foot, Sir Philip Stapleton with his Excellency's guard and regiment of horse advanced upon the plaine of the hill; when he had no sooner drawn up out of the lane's end, seconded by Colonell Dalbeir's regiment of horse (no other horse being then advanced to the place) but the enemy perceiving this advantage, being all drawne already in severall great bodies of horse, part of them advanced immediately, and charged our horse, whom we so well received (giving no fire till we joined close with them) that the enemy was wholly routed, and pursued with much execution neer to the place where their whole body of horse stood.

* Consisting of his owne, Colonell Holmsted's, and Colonell Tyril's regiment.

† Consisting of his owne, Colonell Thomson's and Colonell Langham's regiment.

From thence by order we drew back to our first ground; by occasion whereof opportunity was gained to bring up the remainder of our horse which had the van-guard that day:* whereupon the enemy drew out some fresh regiments of his horse, and with all possible haste advanced againe upon Sir Philip; but received no better entertainment than before, being againe routed by him. By that time that he had drawne up his regiment againe into some order, the other regiments (Ramsey, Harvey, Goodwin) were come up to him, when the enemy with their whole body charged upon them bravely, and were as well received. Sir Philip Stapleton was here charged both in front and flank, his whole regiment having spent both their pistols, and was so encompassed, that the enemy and ours, with both our whole bodies, were all mixed together, and in this confusion many were slaine on both sides, and our men at last were forced towards the lane's end where they first came in: Which being neer our foot, the enemies endeavoured to disingage themselves, and drew back to their own forces. Those that entred the lane with ours were most of them slaine.

We took three colours of horse compleat, and a peece of another colours; one of the colours which we took, was the harp with the crown royall, the motto 'Lyrica Monarchica,' another having an angell with a flaming sword treading on a dragon, the motto 'Quis ut Deus?' a third with a French motto 'Courage pour la Cause.'

In the first charge Colonell Dalbeire and Com. Copley charging with much bravery were both wounded. In the third charge Captain Hamond, Captain Fleetwood, Captain Pym, and Cornet Doyley were all wounded. Captain Draper, who led a forlorn hope of Sir Philip Stapleton's men, behaved himself very gallantly, as Captain Abercromy, and Captain Shibborne did with their dragoones. The left wing of our horse commanded by Colonell Mid-

* Viz. Sir James Ramsey, Colonell Goodwin, Colonell Harvey, Colonell Norton, and the three commanded troops under Sir Samuel Luke.

dleton, and the right wing of the enemy's horse, could not be engaged but in small parties by reason of the hedges.

The actions of our horse thus described wholly (because we were loth to interrupt the series, for the reader's clearer understanding) return we to the foot. Major General Skippon in the morning, when his Excellency (as aforesaid) was engaged upon the hill, hastened to the top of the hill, where our vanguard was in fight, having before ordered the march of our traine of artillerie, and those that attended it (which were the* Lord Roberts his brigade,† and his owne, Sir William Springer's, Colonell Mannering's, and the red and blew auxiliary regiments) to bee neere to his Excellency; looking from the hill, toward Newbury, he perceived a great strength of the enemy both horse and foot in divers great bodies advancing directly towards the way which all our train was of necessity to march. To prevent therefore what he suspected, which was that the enemy would fall upon our traine, or upon the rere of those that fought on the hill, or gaine that hill behind us, our last night's quarter, or all: he speedily placed (which his Excellency did also send him a command to do) forces in places most convenient. Mean while his Excellency sending for more foot, that brigade, wherein his regiment and Springer's were, with the red auxiliaries were sent up; placing my Lord Roberts his brigade with foure or five small peeces just where the enemy advanced, who gave them so warme an entertainment that they ran shamefully: and my Lord Roberts possest the ground which the enemy came first up unto: his lieutenant colonell was shot in the face.

That forlorn-hope which he had commanded the night before, being now strengthened with three hundred musquetiers, and led by

* Consisting of his own, Sir William Constable's and Colonell Martin's regiments.

† Consisting of his own, Sir William Brook's and Colonell Bolstrode's regiments.

Major Fortescue, Major Generall Skippon placed on the left of my Lord Roberts his brigade, upon the high way that came from Newbury just upon us, upon which way four drakes were likewise placed, and well defended; though the enemies came up so close, that they took away a limmer of one of our peeces, but it was with losse of many of their lives. Colonell Mannering's regiment was placed on the right hand between the hill and my Lord Roberts his brigade. This regiment his Excellency a while after commanded away, to the relief of his own regiment, Colonell Barckley's and Colonell Holborn's brigades, which had been four hours upon very hot service. It fortuned that this regiment was no sooner brought on, but they were overcharged with two great bodies of horse and foot so, that they were forced to retreat and lose that ground which the forenamed forces had gotten: which Colonell Holborn perceiving with his brigade gave the enemy a round salvo, and instantly his own and Colonell Barckley's brigades and his Excellency's regiment again advancing beat back the enemy, regained the ground, and made good the place all the day after.

The blew auxiliary regiment he commanded to relieve and assist the forlorn-hope, which had been three or four times in their turns at the point. The fight all along the valley (more than half a mile in length) was continued as long as in any other part of the army, which was til ten a clock at night, about which time the enemy gave a good round salvo upon Colonell Barckley, and Colonell Holborn's posts. These things ordered, the major generall rode up to the top of the hill, where he espied an advantage to bestow eight or ten demiculvering shot upon the enemy, who out of an house pelted the forenamed gentlemen at neer distance; then he rallied the two train-band regiments into one body, drew them up, and placed them before, where the train of artillery did afterwards draw up to the top of the hill, and desired Major Botcler to draw the musquetiers of his regiment on the right hand before the two

demiculverings, that were placed at the end of the lane on the top of the hill; and the red auxiliaries he placed on the left hand of those peeces, which before were slenderly guarded. The train of artillery that day was excellently ordered by the skill and care of Sir John Merrick, to the great advantage and safety of our army. While this was acting, two peeces which belonged to the major general's regiment, and one drake of Sir William Brook's were by his Excellencie's regiment under the command of Major Boteler, with the assistance of two hundred musquetiers recovered; and the enemy drew away from their pikes (which with their colours kept standing, with many great bodies of horse to guard them) five or six hundred musquetiers, besides dragoons, to encompass our men on the right hand among the hedges; just at which time his Excellency sent to have two hundred of the three hundred musquetiers of the forlorn-hope to go to the relief of Colonell Barckley and Colonell Holborn's souldiers. But then the enemy falling on upon our right hand diverted them, who with other of our musquetiers thereabouts beat the enemy off, who else had done us great mischief; this was about four a clock in the afternoon, when all our whole army of foot was engaged in the fight; but then he also caused some of the red auxiliary regiment to draw neerer to Colonell Barckley's post, as he himself required; at length night drew on, when the enemy both horse and foot stood in good order on the further side of the green, where we expected their stay till next morning, and that they were working (as was reported) to place their cannon, to make use of them against us when day should break; against which supposed encounter we encouraged our souldiers before hand, and resolved by God's help the next day to force our way through them or dye. But it pleased God to make our passage without blows; for the enemy was gone by night, so that the next morning we marched quietly over the same ground where the battail was fought, and where the enemy stood; for on Thursday early his Excellency gave command for the armie's march

towards Reading, to which purpose it was all drawn up upon the heath where the battail was fought; and after that his Excellency had given order for burying the dead, about ten of the clock we began to march, Colonell Middleton with his own and three regiments more (Lords Grey, Sheffeld, Meldrum) and four hundred commanded musquetiers under the command of Colonell Barckley had the rereguard. During which march the enemy at a great distance shot from several hedges, but troubled us not. When we came to a long heath, we drew up the whole army severall times, and no enemy appeared. But at the entrance of a narrow lane toward the evening the enemy fell upon us with eight hundred commanded musquetiers and most of their horse, who caused our horse then in the rere to make a very disorderly and confused retreat. But when Colonell Middleton with the rest of the commanders in the rere hastened to charge the enemy with our foot, he made them retreat with as much confusion over the heath as they did us before: the losse not considerable on either side, but on the enemies most: Lieutenant Browne was taken prisoner, After this the same evening his Excellency drew up the army to Theale, and taking some refreshment there, marched the next morning being Friday with the whole army to Reading, where we stayed till the sabbath was past, and gave publique thanks for the great victory.

Thus, gentle reader, hast thou had a description of the whole expedition in a narration plain and particular, if too much particularity have not made it tedious, and perplext both the stile and thy patience. But for excuse take this; besides that truth, not rhetoricke was here aimed at, the officers' names are so particularly exprest in every action, that thou mayest know where to enquire the certainty of every thing, and what men of worth will upon their honours make it all good. If therefore his Excellency have in this expedition accomlisht the end which he proposed, with many honourable advantages and additions by the way, followed the enemies and

never baulked them, come off with successe, and in the last and greatest fight with a victory, let the impartiall reader judge on which side the occasion of triumphing is. And if the other side have given thanks for the reliefe of Glocester, for the preservation of his Excellency through so many difficulties, and the safe returne of himselfe and his army ; his Excellency in justice must give them thanks for their well wishing to him, and in requitall be heartily sorry for the losse of so many gallant gentlemen on their side. Which (without jesting) I dare sweare he is ; since there is no victory in civill warre that can bring the conquerer a perfect triumph.

FINIS.

A true copy of a paper delivered to his Excellency upon the Heath
neer Newberry, by a trumpeter sent from Prince Rupert on
Thursday the 21 of September, 1643, being the next morning
after the fight.

“ We desire to know from the Earl of Essex whether he have the
Viscount Falkland, Captain Bertue and Serjeant Major Wilshire
prisoners, or whether he have their dead bodies, and if he have,
that liberty may be granted to their servants to fetch them away.

“ Given under my hand at Newbery this 21 of September, 1643.

“ RVPERT.”

A
TRUE AND EXACT RELATION
OF
THE MARCHINGS
OF THE
TWO REGIMENTS OF THE TRAINED BANDS
OF
THE CITY OF LONDON,
BEING
THE RED AND BLEW REGIMENTS,
AS ALSO
OF THE THREE REGIMENTS OF THE AUXILIARY FORCES,
THE
BLEW, RED, AND ORANGE,
WHO MARCHED FORTH FOR THE RELIEFE OF THE CITY OF
G L O C E S T E R

FROM
AUGUST 23, TO SEPTEMBER 28.

WHEREIN THE MOST MATERIALL PASSAGES OF EVERY DAYES
MARCHINGS ARE BRIEFLY DELINEATED.

AS ALSO
A TRUE DESCRIPTION OF THE SEVERALL BATTELLS AND SKIRMISHES
HAD AGAINST THE ENEMY AT STOW THE OLD SEPT. 4, AT ABURNE
CHASE SEPTEMBER 18, AND AT NEWBERY SEPTEM. 20.

SET FORTH FOR THE SATISFACTION OF MANY WHO EARNESTLY DESIRED
INFORMATION HEREIN,

BY HENRY FOSTER,
QUONDAM SERJEANT TO CAPTAIN GEORGE MOSSE.

EXOD. 1, 5, 6, 7.

Thy right hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power ; thy right hand, O Lord,
hath dashed in peeces the enemy.

And in the greatnesse of thine excellency thou hast overthrowne them that
rose up against thee; thou didst send forth thy wrath, which consumed
them as stubble.

LONDON,
PRINTED FOR BENJAMIN ALLEN IN POPES-HEAD-ALLEY,
OCTOB. 2, 1643.

A

TRUE RELATION

OF THE

DIURNALL MARCHINGS OF THE RED AND BLEW REGIMENTS

OF THE

**TRAINED BANDS OF THE CITY OF LONDON, AS ALSO THE
THREE REGIMENTS OF THE AUXILIARY FORCES.**

**WHEREIN THE MOST MATERIALL PASSAGES OF EVERY DAYES
OCCURRENCES ARE BRIEFLY DELINEATED.**

UPON Wednesday the 23 of August, our red regiment of the train'd bands marched into the new artillery ground, and from thence that night wee marched to Brainford, and came thither about one a clocke in the morning; from whence the next day many of our citizens, who seemed very forward and willing at the first to march with us, yet upon some pretences and faire excuses returned home againe, hiring others to goe in their roome; others returned home againe the same night before they came to Brainford.

Upon Friday the 25 of August, wee advanced from Brainford to Uxbridge, where our regiments were quartered there that night, and marched away the next morning.

Saterday the 26 of August we advanced to a towne six miles beyond Uxbridge called Chaffan, where wee were quartered that night; at this towne a souldier belonging to Lievtenant Colonell Thompson was accidentally slaine by shooting off a musket by one of his fellow souldiers, though at a great distance from him, yet shot him in the head whereof hee died.

Sabbath day 27 August, we advanced from Chaffan neere to a village called Chessun; this day the blew regiment of the trained bands, and the three regiments of the auxiliary forces met us upon a great common about three miles from Chessun, our whole regiment was quartered at one Mr. Cheyney's house, an esquire, where we were well accommodated for beere, having great plenty, two or three hundred of us this night lay in one barne.

Monday the 28 of August, we advanced from thence to a towne called Asson-Clinton, a little village three miles from Alesbury, wee continued here one day and two nights.

Wednesday the 30 of August, wee advanced from thence to a village called Clayden; this day the lord generall's army and our regiments of the trained band, together with the auxiliarie forces, met at Alesbury; the great guns were fired at every fort about the towne, as the lord generall passed by: this was the fast day: our regiment was quartered this night at Sir Ralph Verney's house, a parliament man; his father the king's standart-bearer was slain at Edge hill.

Thursday the 31 of August, wee advanced from thence to a village called Stretton-Ardley; this night all our brigade consisting of six regiments, viz. Colonell Manwaring's red regiment, two regiments of trained bands, and three of the auxiliary, were all quartered at this little village, it is conceived wee were in all of this brigade about five thousand, here was little provision either for officers or souldiers, the night before we came hither, the cavaliers were at Bister two miles from this village and six miles from Oxford, but were beaten out of it by our souldiers and the lord generall with his army quartered there this night.

Friday the 1 day of September, wee advanced from hence to a place call'd Bayard's-greene in Oxfordshire, being three miles distant from Brackley, and eight miles from Banbury, where our brigade met my lord generall with his whole army; whereat was

great shouting and triumph as he passed by to take a view of our regiments; the whole army being drawne up in their severall regiments, continued there about an houre and then we marched away: it was a goodly and glorious sight to see the whole army of horse and foot together; it is conceived by those that viewed our army well, that wee did consist of (to speake of the least) fifteen thousand horse and foot, some speak of many more. This day good newes was brought to us concerning Gloucester, and Exeter. From hence we marched this day to a village called Souldern, foure miles from Banbury, where our six regiments that came from London were quartered; and my lord generall and the rest of the army were quartered about a little mile from us, at a market town called Ano on the Hill; we were very much scanted of victualls in this place.

Saterday 2 September, wee advanced from hence to Hooknorton, twenty-five miles from Gloucester, at which village our whole brigade was quartered. This day the lord general's troops had some skirmish with the cavaliers; it is reported there was eight slaine of the enemy's party and one on ours. From hence we marched away the next morning.

Sabbath day 3 September, wee advanced from hence to a little village called Addington about a mile from Stow the Old, the hithermost town in Gloucester-shire, and about twenty miles from Gloucester; where, in our march this day, wee againe met the lord generall's army, upon a great common about halfe a mile from Chippingnorton; at which place also our five regiments departed from his army, and marched to the village aforesaid. The blew regiment of the train'd bands marched in the van and tooke up the first quarter in the town; the other three regiments of the auxiliary forces were quartered at the adjacent villages; whereupon our red regiment of the trained band was constrained to march halfe a mile further to get quarter, we were now in the van of the whole army, having not so much as one troope of horse quartered neer us: but we were no

sooner in our quarters, and set downe our armes, intending a little to refresh our selves; but presently there was an alarme beat up, and wee being the frontier regiment neere the enemy, were presently all drawn up into a body, and stood upon our guard all that night, we were in great distraction, having not any horse to send out as scouts, to give us any intelligence: my lord generall with his army lay at Chippingnorton, about three miles behind us; who had an alarm there given by the enemy the same night also: our regiment stood in the open field all night, having neither bread nor water to refresh ourselves, having also marched the day before without any sustenance, neither durst we kindle any fire though it was a very cold night.

Munday 3 Septemb. we got some refreshment for our souldiers, which was no sooner done, but news was brought to us, that the enemy was within halfe a mile of the town, which proved to be true; for presently one rid downe to us having his horse shot in the neck all bloody, and told us the enemy was at the town's end; also one trooper slaine a quarter of a mile above the town, one of our souldiers stript him, and brought his clothes to us: It was a little open village, the enemy might have come in upon us every way, therefore we conceiving it not safe to abide in the town, drew up our regiment presently into a body, and marched into a broad open field to the top of the hill, the blew regiment of the train'd bands were quartered within lesse than half a mile of us, but came not up to us: Being come into the field we saw about four or five thousand of the enemy's horse surrounding of us, one rid post to my lord generall to informe him of it. One great body of their horse stood facing of us upon the top of the hill at our towne's end, within lesse than a quarter of a mile from us, another great body of their horse was in the valley, upon our right flank as we stood; and a third great squadron of their horse were going up to the top of a hill, in the reere of us; by all which it appeares, they had an intent to have

surrounded our city regiments, and to have cut us off; we stood and faced one another for the space of halfe an houre; then six or seven of our men who had horses, rode up to them, and came within lesse than musket shot, flourishing their swords, daring them, and one or two of our men fired upon their forlorn hope: we had lyned the hedges with musketeers, which they perceiving did not move towards our body, but only stood and faced us. Then some of the auxiliary forces came up to us, at whose coming we gave a great shout: and then by and by after we saw my lord general's forces comming down the hill about a mile and halfe behind us: my lord drew out the forlorn hope upon the hill as they came down; who fired three or four drakes against the enemy's horse that were neer them on the top of the hill, that were coming upon the reer of us, and made them retreat to the rest of the body; their intent was to have compassed us in on every side, but the Lord prevented them; they might have spoiled our whole regiment, had they in the morning come down upon us when we were taking a little food to refresh ourselves, the enemy being then but half a mile off; a great many of the cavaliers lay all night within lesse than a mile of us, which we perceived in our march the next day; I hope the mercy of that day will not bee forgotten.

When this was done, my lord general's forces marched up to our brigade: when they were come we drew forth our forlorn hope, and marched up to the body of their horse that stood facing us on the top of the hill: we fired some drakes at them, they retreated: then the lord generall drew up his great guns, they faced us againe, we fired two great peeeces of ordnance at them, and then they retreated up to the towne of Stow, and drew up all their horse into a body, and stood upon the side of the hill facing us: then we let flye two or three of our greatest ordnance at them; they all fled, and wee pursued them and followed them three miles: Then they stood and faced the lord generall againe about the going downe

of the sun, we fired at them a great while, marching up towards them five or sixe regiments together, all in a body, about eight hundred or one thousand a-brest, sixe deep, we having roome enough, it being a brave champian country: which goodly shew did so much the more daunt the enemy, that (as it is reported) Prince Rupert swore, hee thought all the round-heads in England were there.

In the first skirmish we lost but one man, who was slaine by our owne cannon through his owne negligence, and another sore burnt and hurt by the same peece. When we came to Stow, the cavaliers reported that they had killed twenty of our men, and we two of theirs; but we heare there were sixe of their men slaine, some horses killed, and five prisoners taken. Prince Rupert was there, and some say the Lord of Holland also. Our men pursuing them skirmished till nine of the clocke at night; wee marched after them till twelve of the clocke at night: we lay all in the open field, upon the plowd-land, without straw, having neither bread nor water, yet God enabled our souldiers to undergoe it cheerfully, there was not one feeble sicke person amongst us, but was able to march with us the day following.

Tuesday, September 25, we advanced from that field neare to a towne called Prestbury, within sight of Gloucester, about seven miles from it: This day the whole army marching together, it fell to our red regiment of the trained bands to march in the reare of the waggons, and had charge of them: about sixe of the clocke the lord generall comming to the top of a high mountaine or hill, called Presbury-hill, where we might see the city of Gloucester, he commanded foure or five great peeces of ordnance to be fired; some say it was against the cavaliers, who were about a mile off, in the towne below the hill: others say it was to give intelligence to Gloucester of our approaching to their reliefe. The army marched downe the hill, and hastened to the adjacent villages for quarter,

but before the waggons could come to the top of the hill, night drawing on, it began to be very darke, so that our waggons and carriages could not get downe the hill, many of them were overthrowne and broken, it being a very craggy steep and dangerous hill, so that the rest of the waggons durst not adventure to goe downe, but stayed all night there: sixe or seven horses lay dead there the next morning, that were killed by the overthrow of the waggons: our red regiment having charge of the waggons, were constrained to lye all night upon the top of this mountaine, it being a most terrible tempestuous night of winde and raine, as ever men lay out in, we having neither hedge nor tree for shelter, nor any sustenance of food, or fire: we had by this time marched sixe daies with very little provision; for no place where we came was able to releevē our army, we leaving the rode all the way, and marching through poore little villages: our souldiers in their marching this day would run halfe a mile or a mile before, where they heard any water was, such straits and hardship our citizens formerly knew not: yet the Lord that called us out to doe his worke, enabled us to undergoe such hardnesse as hee brought us to. This evening the lord generall was faine to fight for his quarter, and beat the enemy out of it, at a market towne called Cheltnam, five miles from Gloucester, and two miles from this hill; about midnight we had two alarms upon this hill, in the midst of all the storme and raine, which together with the darknesse of the night made it so much the more dreadfull, which also caused a great distraction among our souldiers, every one standing upon his guard, and fearing his fellow souldier to bee his enemy. Many other particular sad stories of this tempestuous stormy night I leave to the relation of others: one young man of the colonel's company was shot in this confusion upon this hill, whose death will be much lamented by his parents and friends, from whom he received a letter but a few dayes before to returne home.

The next morning, being Wednesday, September 26, our souldiers came downe from that hill into the village aforesaid, being wet to the very skin, but could get little or no refreshing every house being so full of souldiers: The cavaliers were in the towne but the day before. Wee stayed here but two or three houres that morning, and then wee had an alarm that the cavaliers were neere the towne with a great body of horse: We were all presently drawne up into a body in the field; our souldiers began to complaine pitifully, being even worn out and quite spent for want of some refreshing, some complaining they had not eat or drunke in two dayes, some longer time. Yesterday the enemy raised their siege from before Gloucester: this day our two regiments of the trained bands marched to a little village called Norton, three miles wide of Gloucester, and foure miles from Teuxbury, where our souldiers had some reasonable accommodation and refreshment: in this village wee had many alarms: we continued here two dayes and two nights.

Thursday, September 7, the king's forces fell upon some of our troops of horse at Winscombe, they being secure, the enemy killed many of them, and tooke many prisoners, and some colours: the regiments of our horse there did belong to Colonell Vere and Colonell Goodwin. The auxiliary regiments were quartered within two miles where this was done. This night about seven of the clock there came a comand for our regiments of the trained bands to march five miles back againe in the night, but it being a very darke night, and our men worne out and spent with their former marching, they refused to goe; but next morning, being Friday, September 8, we did. The lord generall with the whole army marched into Gloucester this day.

The citie was exceeding full of horse and foote: the enemy besieged this towne a full moneth and three dayes. They had many strong assaults against it, and battered some of their workes; and in two or three places they had begun to undermine the gates, and

out-workes, but were met with by the citie forces, who did undermine within to meet them: without they shott many granadoes of great weight, which when they fell in the citie were red as fire; yet blessed be God, kild not one man therewith; only tore up the ground as if a beare had been rooting up the earth: The inhabitants in the citie report that the enemy shot one hundred and forty shot great and small in one day, and yet killed neither man, woman, nor childe; they lost but about thirtie in this citie during the time of this siege; most of which, as is reported, were shot in the head, in peeping through some holes at the enemy; wee found very loving respect and entertainment in this citie, they being very joyfull of our coming; wee abode here Fryday night and Saturday, and marched away on Sabbath day morning: the lord generall left in this citie three great pieces of ordnance, as also many score barrells of powder, with match and bullet proportionable, furnishing them to their hearts' desire.

Sabbath day, September 10, the whole army advanced from Glocester to Tewksburie, where wee abode foure dayes and five nights, till Glocester had provided themselves of corne and other provisions: the enemy had cut off from the citie all their pipes of water, and burnt their mills: my lord generall summoned this towne of Tewksbury, and demanded the twentieth part of their estates for the reliefe of Glocester. Wee were at this towne five dayes, from Sabbath day till Fryday, September 15. On Thursday night the enemy did fall upon some of our troopes of horse, who were quartered about three miles from Tewksbury, of the regiment belonging to Sir James Ramsey, they slew many of our men, and took many others prisoners. Wee took foure of them prisoners; but the greatest losse was sustained on our side. Before wee marched from this towne, the lord generall gave order for the making of a bridge over the river Severne neere Tewksbury, as if our intention had been to march with our army over there to

Worcester; which caused the enemy to draw their forces thither, as a place of refuge: The wisdom and policie of the lord generall and counsell of warre, as also, their great care for the preservation of our army, is highly to be commended and never to be forgotten; and may serve to stop the mouths of all such as shall hereafter be opened against him: for had the enemy knowne which way we had marched, they might have had us at a great advantage, by gaining the hills; wee being now in the vale of Esum, and all our great ordnance and carriages to be drawn up those hills, they might have kept us there all this winter, and starved our army: but blessed be God, we all marched away with safetie. One that was present at Esum, where the king with his army lay, affirms that when tydings came to the king that wee were marched from Tewksbury, they did stamp and swear and curse their scouts exceedingly, that they gave them no better intelligence of our departure. And the same day we marched from Tewksbury, the king with his army and traine of artillery marched from Esum after us, as will appear in the ensuing matter.

Fryday, September 15, our whole army advanced from Tewksbury to Ciceter, alias Cirencister, seventeen miles we marched all night, and sate down before it about three a clock in the morning: when we came thither Sir Robert Pye marched up to the towne, and with some muskettiers he gave fire upon the centinells, killed one of them, and wounded the other; Sir Robert himself received a shot in the arme: the cavaliers yeelded the town and desired quarter: wee took two hundred and twenty-five prisoners, whereof ten were commanders, we tyed them two and two together with match, and brought them along with us: we took also twenty-seven waggon-load of provision, which the cavaliers had provided for the reliefe of their own army: they had taken the school-house belonging to the towne, and made it their store-house, to lay in such provision as they made the countrey to bring in; they slew one man of ours,

who was pistold by one that took him prisoner: we killed two or three of them.

Saturday, September 16, we advanced from Ciceter five miles to a village called Letton, where our London briggade was quartered that night; the lord generall with his army quartered a mile further at a market-towne in Wiltshire called Cricklet; at the village aforesaid were ten cart load of cavaliers, who were sick and lame, and brought thither to be quartred, who when they heard we were marching to this place, they then found their leggs and run away: this day we had a wet march, and in the night a false alarm.

Sabbath day, September 17, we marched from Cricklet to a market towne called Swindowne, eight miles. This morning newes was brought that the cavaliers were come to Ciceter, and had taken and kild many of our men, who stayed behind drinking and neglecting to march with their colours, who are not much to be pittied: this day we drove along with our army about one thousand sheep and sixty head of cattell, which were taken from malignants and papists in the country for the maintenance of our army: eighty-seven sheep was allotted for our red regiment, but wee afterwards lost them all, when we came to fight; it being every man's care then to secure himselfe, and to see to the safetie of the army: this night our London-briggade was quartred two miles beyond the lord generall's quarters at a little poore village called Chizelton, where wee could get no accommodation either for meat or drink, but what we brought with us in our snapsacks: most of us quartred in the open feild, it being a very cold frosty night, wee marched away hence the next morning.

Munday, September 18, we advanced from this village about two miles to a place called Abern-chase, where newes was brought to the lord generall, that the enemy was coming upon us with a great body of horse, which caused the lord generall to make a stand, our whole army being in a deep valley, and the enemy upon the hills

on our left flank, we drew up all our army into a body to the top of the hill, where we had a full view of the enemy over against us: there appeared a great body of their horse; it was conceived there was seven or eight thousand, but no foot that we could discern; we stood a while and faced them; then one small body of horse as a forlorn hope marched up the hill to them, and fired upon them, and then retreated to their main body in the valley; the enemy followed our horse in their retreat, firing at them all the way very feircely; then we fired some drakes at their horse, but did little execution; then our body of foot was drawne downe from this hill to the top of another high hill, where we stood and faced the enemy, having a full view of all that was don between our horse and theirs: our foot were not ingaged at all in this fight, except two regiments only: then Colonell Meldram's and Colonell Harvie's troops drew up in a body and gave the enemy a very feirce charge, which was performed with as brave courage and valour as ever men did, and then wheeled about to a regiment of our foot that stood in the reer of them, the enemy pursued them in their retreat, skirmishing one at another all the way; what number was slain in this fight is not yet known: here Captain Willet received a shot from the enemy, of which wound he is since dead: we lost no other man of note in this fight: one man of great note and esteem of the enemie's partie was here slaine, Marquesse de la Veel, his father is lord high marshall of France, and chiefe commander in the feild: we took up his body and carried it to Hungerford; I viewed his wounds, he received three shot in his body from us, one in his right pap, another in the shoulder, and a third in the face: from this place all their horse gathered into a body when it begun to be dark, and so ours likewise, and wee marched away that night to Hungerford five miles: our red regiment with some other regiments were quartred a mile on this side Hungerford, at a little village called Shelton; those that marched in the reer of the army, were marching

this five miles all night: we were much distressed for want of sleep, as also for all other sustenance; it was a night of much raine, we were wet to the skin: this day we took twenty-five cavaliers at Hungerford, whereof one was slaine.

Tuesday, Septemb. 19. we advanced from Hungerford to a village called Embry, about a mile and halfe from Nubury: the lord generall had intent to have quartered at Nubury that night, but the king got into the town that day before, and so we were prevented. This morning a trumpet came from the king to the lord generall, to desire that chyrurgions and doctors might have free access from them to the marquesse that we had taken. But the messenger came too late: for the marquesse was past their cure. The lord generall told him, if they pleased to send for his body, they might have it. The death of this marquesse hath much intraged the enemy, being one whom they did highly esteem. This night our whole army quartered in the open field; we had no provision but what little every one had in his snapsack. We had now marched many dayes and nights with little food, or any sustenance, and little sleep. This night the king sent a challenge to the lord generall, to give him battell the next morning, which accordingly was performed; and in the night our enemies gained the hills where they intended to give us battell, they planted their ordinance, got all advantages they could desire, before our army marched up to them: Yet now wee see there is neither wisdom, nor policie, nor strength, against the Lord; yea, had not the Lord himselfe been on our side, they had swallowed us up quick, so great was their rage and fury stirred up against us, they being confident of the victory before we came to fight: But let not him that puts on his harnesse boast as he that puts it off. For it was not our owne arme that saved us, but the right hand of the Lord became glorious in that day, to get himself a glorious name.

The next morning, September 20, very a rly before day, we had

drawn up all our army in their severall regiments, and marched away by break of day; and then advancing towards the enemy with most cheerfull and courageous spirits: The Lord Robert's souldiers had begun to skirmish with them before we came up to the enemy; which we hearing, put us to a running march till wee sweat again, hastening to their reliefe and succour. When wee were come up into the field, our two regiments of the trained bands were placed in open campania upon the right wing of the whole army. The enemy had there planted eight pieces of ordnance, and stood in a great body of horse and foot, wee being placed right opposite against them, and far lesse than twice musket shot distance from them. They began their battery against us with their great guns, above halfe an houre before we could get any of our guns up to us; our gunner dealt very ill with us, delaying to come up to us: our noble Colonell Tucker fired one peece of ordnance against the enemy, and aiming to give fire the second time, was shot in the head with a cannon bullet from the enemy. The blew regiment of the trained bands stood upon our right wing, and behaved themselves most gallantly. Two regiments of the king's horse which stood upon their right flanke a far off, came fiercely upon them, and charged them two or three times, but were beat back with their muskettiers, who gave them a most desperate charge, and made them flie. This day our whole army wore green boughes in their hats, to distinguish us from our enemies; which they perceiving, one regiment of their horse had got green boughes, and rid up to our regiments crying, " Friends, friends;" but we let flie at them, and made many of them and their horses tumble, making them flie with a vengeance. The enemie's canon did play most against the red regiment of trained bands, they did some execution amongst us at the first, and were somewhat dreadfull when men's bowels and brains flew in our faces: But blessed bee God that gave us courage, so that we kept our ground, and after a while feared them not; our

ordnance did very good execution upon them: for we stood at so neer a distance upon a plain field, that we could not lightly misse one another: We were not much above halfe our regiments in this place; for we had sixty files of muskettiers drawn off for the forlorn hope, who were ingaged against the enemy in the field upon our left flank. Where most of the regiments of the army were in fight, they had some small shelter of the hedges and bankes, yet had a very hot fight with the enemy, and did good execution, and stood to it as bravely as ever men did. When our two regiments of the trained bands had thus plaid against the enemy for the space of three hours, or thereabout, our red regiment joyned to the blew which stood a little distance from us upon our left flank, where we gained the advantage of a little hill, which we maintained against the enemy halfe an hour: two regiments of the enemy's foot fought against us all this while to gain the hill, but could not. Then two regiments of the enemy's horse, which stood upon our right flank came fiercely upon us, and so surrounded us, that wee were forced to charge upon them in the front and reere, and both flanks, which was performed by us with a great deal of courage and undauntednesse of spirit, insomuch that wee made a great slaughter among them, and forced them to retreat; but presently the two regiments of the enemy's foot in this time gained the hill, and came upon us before wee could well recover ourselves, that we were glad to retreat a little way into the field, till we had rallied up our men, and put them into their former posture, and then came on again. If I should speak any thing in the praise and high commendations of these two regiments of the trained bands, I should rather obscure and darken the glory of that courage and valour God gave unto them this day; they stood like so many stakes against the shot of the cannon, quitting themselves like men of undaunted spirits, even our enemies themselves being judges. It might be expected that something should be spoken of the noble and valiant service performed by the

rest of the regiments of the army both horse and foot; but their courage and valour itself speaks, which was performed by them that day, our men fighting like lions in every place, the great slaughter made amongst the enemies testifies. My noble and valiant Captaine George Massie, who was with the forlorn hope, received a shot in the back from the enemy, of which wound he is since dead. This 26 of September (*hinc illæ lachrymæ*) we lost about sixty or seventy men in our red regiment of the trained bands, besides wounded men, we having the hottest charge from the enemy's cannon of any regiment in the army. Also that worthy and valiant gentleman Capt. Hunt was slain in this battell, whose death is much lamented. These two poore regiments were the very objects of the enemy's battery that day, and they have since made their boast of it. It is conjectured by most, that the enemy lost four for one: seventy chief commanders were slain on their side. This is most certaine, that they did acknowledge themselves to be beaten. It is credibly informed by those that were this day in the king's army, that the king himself brought up a regiment of foot and another of horse into the field, and gave fire to two peeces of ordnance, riding up and down all that day in a souldier's gray coat. The next day I viewed the dead bodies: there lay about one hundred stript naked in that field where our two regiments stood in battalia. This night the enemy conveyed away about thirty cart load of maimed and dead men, as the towne-people credibly reported to us, and I think they might have carried away twenty cart load more of their dead men the next morning; they buried thirty in one pit, fourteen lay dead in one ditch: this battaile continued long; it begun about six o'clock in the morning, and continued till past twelve a'clock at night: in the night the enemy retreated to the towne of Newbury, and drew away all their ordnance; we were in great distresse for water, or any accommodation to refresh our poore souldiers, yet the Lord himselfe sustained us that we did not faint under it; we were right glad to

drink in the same water where our horses did drink, wandering up and downe to seek for it. Our word this day was religion, theirs was Queen Mary in the field: The great goodnesse of God, in giving us victory this day is so much the more remarkable from these three considerations: First, that great disadvantage we had this day, in case we had been beat by the enemy, we having no place of retreat for safety neerer than Glocester, which was above thirty miles: whereas our enemies had possession of Newbury, and in a manner of the whole countrey round about: secondly, we had great scarcitie of provision for our army, having marched many dayes and nights with little food or sleep, or any refreshment; had not God fed us with the bread of our enemies which we took at Ciceter, we could not without a speciall providence of God have been able to subsist, whereas our enemies had the town of Newbury, and the country all about for their relief. Thirdly, we had a great disadvantage by giving battell in that place, the enemy had made choice of their ground, planted their ordnance, gained all advantages they could desire, beside many other disadvantages on our part, which I forbear to relate; yet God gave us the victory, and made our enemies flie before us, that we kept the field all night. The lord generall deserves perpetuall honor by his wise, valiant, and worthy managing of this dayes battle, as also no lesse praise and commendation to the rest of the councel of war. Many more particular passages might here be inserted, but I proceed.

Thursday, Sept. 21, after we had buried our dead, we marched from this field with our whole army to a town called the Veal, eleven miles, and four miles from Redding; where in our march this day, our enemy pursuing of us, fell upon our reer in a narrow lane about a mile and halfe from a village called Aldermason; they came upon us with a great body of foot and horse: our London briggade marched in the reer, and a forlorn hope of six hundred muskettiers in the reere of them, besides a great number of our horse: but our

horse which brought up our reere, durst not stand to charge the enemy, but fled, running into the narrow lane, routed our own foot, trampling many of them under their horse feet, crying out to them, " Away, away, every man shift for his life, you are all dead men ;" which caused a most strange confusion amongst us. We fired ten or twelve drakes at the enemy, but they came upon us very fiercely, having their foot on the other side of the hedges ; many of our waggons were overthrowne and broken : others cut their traces and horse-harnesse, and run away with their horses, leaving their waggons and carriages behind them : our foot fired upon the enemy's horse very bravely, and slew many of them ; some report above one hundred and not ten of ours : some that we took prisoners our men were so enraged at them that they knockt out their braines with the butt end of their muskets : in this great distraction and rout a waggon of powder lying in the way overthrowne, some spark of fire or match fell among it, which did much hurt ; seven men burnt and two kill'd : the enemy had got two of our drakes in the reer, had not our foot played the men and recovered them againe : this was about four or five o'clock at night ; many of our men lost their horses, and other things which they threw away in haste : wee marched on and came to the Veal about ten o'clock at night.

Fryday, Sept. 22, we advanced from the Veal and came to Reading foure miles, where we refreshed our souldiers after our hard service and wearisome marchings. We stayed here Fryday, Saturday, and sabbath day : Saturday night about twenty of the enemy's horse came and gave us an alarm. Sabbath day was celebrated a day of thanksgiving ; we marched away hence on Munday morning.

Monday, Sept. 25, wee advanced from Reading to Maidenhead, our briggade was quartered here. But the lord generall with his army and all his train marched to Windsor.

Tuesday, Sept. 26, we advanced from Maidenhead about four o'clock in the morning, having some intention of marching to Lon-

don that night, but came no farther then Brainford, where we stayed the next day also, being fast day.

Thursday, Sept. 28, we marched from Brainford to London, where we were joyfully received home of all our friends, and all that wish well to the parliament; and to the vexation of heart of all wicked malignants who had raised reports that we were all routed and slaine: The lord mayor together with the aldermen of the citie met us at Temple-barr, and entertained us joyfully: many thousands bidding us welcome home, and blessing God for our safe returne: Thus God that called us forth to doe his worke, brought us through many straits, delivered us from the rage and insolency of our adversaries, made them turne their backes with shame, giving us victory, and causing us to return home joyfully.

FINIS.



A
TRUE RELATON
OF
THE SEVERALL PASSAGES WHICH HAVE HAPPENED TO OUR ARMY
SINCE IT ADVANCED TOWARDS

G L O C E S T E R

WITH
THE MANNER OF THE RELIEFE OF THE SAME,

RELATED IN
A LETTER FROM A FRIEND IN THE ARMY, TO AN HONOURABLE
PERSON HERE IN THE CITY.

LIKEWISE
AN ABSTRACT OF SEVERALL REMARKABLE PASSAGES, WHICH HAP-
PENED AT GLOCESTER BETWEEN THE TOWNE AND THE ENEMY IN
THE TIME OF THE SEIGE, COLLECTED BY AN EYE-WITNESSE.

THIS IS LICENCED, AND ENTERED INTO STATIONERS'-HALL BOOK, ACCORDING TO ORDER.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY G. DEXTER, FOR STEPHEN BOWTELL, AT THE SIGNE OF
THE BIBLE IN POPES-HEAD-ALLEY.
ANNO 1643, SEPT. 14.

1

A
TRUE RELATION
OF THE
SEVERALL PASSAGES WHICH HAVE HAPPENED TO OUR ARMY,
SINCE IT ADVANCED TOWARDS
G L O C E S T E R.

SIR,
COLONELL HARVY is for the present so busied in serving of you, as that he cannot serve you in this way of giving an account of his service and therefore to neglect the city he will not: His desire is that by my pen your Honour with the court of militia may receive knowledge of the duty hee adventures and spends himselfe in the kingdomes good. Thus then briefly, of the occurrences in his march from Ockingham to Tame, which in the way befell his cornet, who came off from the enemy by whom he was set upon, his last letter to you gave a sufficient relation: what occurrences since that, worthy our knowledge, have come to hand, shall now offer themselves nakedly to your view: Thus therefore from Tame, the 31 of August, wee advanced to Pusset, thorow and in a faire champion: beyond Sisiter found the lord generall with his whole army drawne up on a very faire greene, where Colonell Manwaring's brigade (consisting of the city trained bands and auxiliaries) first met the lord generall, at which meeting there was such expressions of joy; the Londoners by their showtings and the lord generall by his courteous behaviour, riding with his hat off, bowing to them, which would have ravished any heart almost to have seen it: and the like to Colonel Harvie's brigade. His whole army being thus drawne up

it was indeed a very powerfull strength; he may justly boast it likely enough (God succeeding us) to compasse great designes by. A trumpeter of the king's came the day before (Thursday, and meane) pretending his businesse to be only the procurement of a passe for some lady, though many presumed his intent might be to view the army: when therefore the London brigade under Colonell Manwaring's command was drawne up, the trumpeter brought blindfolded had leave to take sight of those companies only, the lord generall assuring him these were only the Londoners, added to, and no part formerly of his army, and then sent him out of us. He was carryed blinded into the field. This was all the newes of that day, besides that in the evening the horse under my colonell's command received an alarme againe neere Somerton, where they were to quarter that night, being faced by two thousand of the king's horse: all the hurt we received by this was only some hours kept from refreshment, they not daring to adventure on us, and we not able to fall upon them, the hill they had being too high for us to charge upon it in the night, and a strange country, especially from Frithwell two miles off that Somerton, the place our foot quartered in that night; wee marched on Saturday morning towards Awtlebury, and in a field neare to it found the whole army drawne up, which (awhile after we had taken our place with our horse) were commanded off a little way from us, as a reserve to Colonell Middleton, who had been engaged all that day thitherto with a party of the king's, the same we believe that faced us the night before; of which when Colonell Middleton took a lieutenant colonell prisoner, they wheeled off, refusing to skirmish with us; we therefore drew off to Hookenorton, where quartering that night, wee continued our march on the Sabbath day to Cornewall in Oxfordshire; and as wee were on our march the next morning towards Stowe of the Old, the enemy appeared in a bottome neare Enlard, wee being then upon Adlestrap-hill, from whence Colonell Harvy

fired his demi-culverin three or foure times successively: with the first and last shot we conceive we did some execution: upon this the enemy retreated, Colonell Middleton pursuing faced them againe within twice musket shot, drew out a forlorne hope, who at great disadvantage charged upon the enemy, and with the losse of one, shot dead, and some sixe or eight taken prisoners, came off, the enemy retreating.

Two or three houres after, about two of the clock in the afternoon, they faced the London brigade, who were that day part of the van guard, under Colonell Manwaring's command, but upon the discharge of a great gun or two, they wheeled off and the whole army therefore held on their march, quartering that night in the hilly open fields beyond Stowe the Old. Next morning, then after a cold lodging without any refreshment (for the souldiers could not the day before, in all their hard march, get any considerable modicum of bread and beere) wee renewed our march, and held on our way, without any interruption from, or indeed newes of the enemy, till towards evening, from the top of Prestbury hills, two miles short of Chetnam, yet within sight of Gloucester, we discovered in the bottome, a mile from us, severall bodies of the king's horse.

On the nearest of them my lord generall bestowed a demy-culverin, at the noise if not execution thereof, that party wheeled: anon after we perceived a great smoak and fire neare Gloucester, the sight at first a little troubled some, and my lord generall at adventure (that the towne might have notice of our approach) fired foure of his great guns, at which the other bodies of the enemy retreated also: our army being then to march down, my lord generall himselfe led on the forlorne hope, to clear the way for his army to passe downe the hill, and by going downe some steep place, sprained his legge: this done, the army marched for quarter to severall villages adjacent, Colonell Harveye's foot, the London redcoats, and Kentish regiment, drawing off towards Southam, a little village not farre from the

foot of the hill, sideways, which when we were within two or three bow-shoots of my Colonell himselfe, with colonel Sir William Springate, Major Shepheard, and his owne cornet, with myselfe and some few others, out-marcht the foot, the rather indeed that my colonell might (according to his wonted vigilancy) view the avenues before the darknes of the night should overtake him ; which while he, with Major Shepheard, were about, Major Bourne and Captain Buller with their troops (mistaking us for cavaliers) dismounted at our quarter, and by a pistol shot (before we could make them understand who we were) wounded sorely, we fear mortally, Cornet Flesher, and we strongly presumed had pistolled more of us had not my colonell seasonably returning, made knowne himselfe, and so rescued us.

This is all we have to acquaint you with, save that the seige being raised, and the king's forces fled toward Bristol, we are with the whole army about Chetnam, ready to serve our countrey as God shall direct us.

September 6, 1643.

POSTSCRIPT.

This night Colonell Manwaring's brigade could not march downe the hill, and therefore was forced to quarter that night upon the hill, the next morning they marched down the hill into the vale, his excellencie quartered at Chetnam, and the rest of the armie in the adjacent parishes. The enemy having raised his seige on Tuesday in the afternoon, and gone the way that leads to Bristol, wee rested the Thursday: the next day being Fryday, his excellency marched into Gloucester, with so many of his army as it could containe, and the rest of the armie quarterd in the adjacent parishes.

AN ABSTRACT OF SEVERALL REMARKABLE PASSAGES WHICH
HAPPENED AT GLOUCESTER, DURING THE SEIGE, COL-
LECTED BY AN EYE-WITNESSE THEREOF.

THE close seige began the tenth of August, 1643, and was raised the fifth of September, during which time there were between three and foure hundred great shot, and above twenty granadoes and as many fiery bullets: which granadoes and fiery bullets did no execution, save only that one woman was killed, and about three others with the great shot: neither were there any maimed, but some few lightly hurt. Most that were killed with their musket-shot, was by looking over the wall at Friars' Orchard, to see their workes. The whole number that was killed on our part in the city we cannot guesse to be above fourty: the losse on their parts we cannot exactly set downe, but by their owne relation there was a list of nine hundred and odde of sicke and maimed souldiers, beside those that were killed*, which (by the report of the countrey, that saw them carried away) were many, some thousands. Many likewise ran away, and more would if the horse had not kept them in. These relations are within compasse.

Reliefe was not heard of untill August 29, that was only this: a messenger of ours saw a letter at Warwicke, which was written from Sir Samuel Luke, to the governour of Warwicke-castle, dated at Twyverd, August 22, to this effect. That he should send two messengers to Glocester, to encourage us to stand out, and that we should have reliefe very speedily; but we perceived none untill we saw their carriages drawne from the leaguer, then firing their huts they marched off with their colours: thereupon our soldiers perceiving the enemies trenches to bee cleare, they got over the towne wall and spoiled their gallery, and set fire on some of the cannon baskets.

* One that dwelt in the suburbs saw the list, and made report.

A MESSAGE SHOT INTO THE CITY OF GLOUCESTER UPON
AN ARROW.

"These are to let you understand your God Waller hath forsaken you, and hath retired himself to the tower of London: Essex is beaten like a dog: yeeled to the king's mercy in time, otherwise if we enter per force, no quarter for such trayterly rogues."

THE ANSWER.

Waller is not our God, in that you lie,
Our God still lives from all eternity.
Though Essex beaten be as you doe say,
Rome's yoke we are resolv'd not to obey,
But for our cabbages that you have eaten,
Be sure ere long you must be soundly beaten.
Quarter we aske you none if we fall downe,
King Charles shall lose true subjects with the towne.
So saith your best friend if you make timely use of him.

AN EPIGRAM UPON TWO LAWYERS, BELL AND HILL, WHO WERE
SENT INTO GLOUCESTER TO PERSUADE THEM TO YEELE.

Two pettifogging lawyers came of late,
In love to tell us of our present state,
And seem'd to be affected with our straights,
Thinking to worke us out with their deceits:
One speaks as if he had been soundly feed
By the Pope's agents; and tells us in our need
No hope of helpe; all passages were block'd,
We must deliver, or be soundly knock'd,
The other sayes, armies of strength appeare,
Yet for his life he could not tell us where:
Storme us they would, and that in severall places,
Although as yet they dare not shew their faces.

If storming would not doe, then famine shall,
 We having beefe, they eating cabbage all.
 If none of these will perfect their desire,
 Then without question they'll get all by fire,
 Being sure to do it by some grand granado,
 As erst the Spaniard did with his armado.
 The verdict past amongst the cursed crew,
 Men, women, children, they must taste of rew.
 If we refuse to give them enterance,
 Then all alike after their pipe must dance.
 This was the message: Th' answer thus in short:
 Neighbours, as for your love, we thanke you for't,
 But for your bug-bare threats so huge and big,
 If seven-score cannons can but kill one pig,
 We then have cause to feare nothing but sin
 Can make a breach to let such rebels in:
 We trust in God, whose power can make you quaille,
 Although you make so sure for to prevaile,
 Come when you will, and enter where you can,
 Be sure we'll fight it out to the last man,
 And if for to prevaile it be your fate,
 You'll find we hold our lives at a deare rate.

Bell.

All know full well,
 That every bell
 Is useless till't be hanged,
 And none I hope,
 Denies a rope
 To have his sides well banged.

Hill.

This hill was seen,
 In summer green,
 Fresh, faire and flourishing,
 Now, Proteus-like,
 'Tis altered quite,
 'Tis fading, perishing.

FINIS.

O O



A
TRUE RELATION
OF
A WICKED PLOT
INTENDED AND STILL ON FOOT AGAINST THE CITY
OF
GLOCESTER,
TO BETRAY THE SAME INTO THE HANDS OF THE
CAVALIERS.

DISCOVERED BY CAPTAIN BACKHOUSE WHO WAS WROUGHT UPON TO
HAVE BETRAYED THE SAME BY THE SOLLICITATION OF ONE
EDWARD STANFORD ESQUIRE, A GRAND PAPIST
BUT A LIEUTENANT COLONEL AMONGST THE CAVALIERS; AND BY
HIMSELFE SET FORTH TO GIVE THE PARLIAMENT AND HIS
EXCELLENCIE SATISFACTION, AND THE BETTER TO
VINDICATE HIS OWNE INTEGRITY.

TOGETHER WITH SEVERALL LETTERS

FROM MY

LORD DIGBY, AND SIR WILLIAM VAVASOUR

TO

CAPTAIN BACKHOUSE

CONCERNING THE SAID DESIGN.

4, MAIL. 1644.

IT IS THIS DAY ORDERED BY THE COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS FOR
PRINTING, THAT THIS RELATION BE PRINTED BY EDWARD HUSBANDS.
JO. WHITE.

LONDON,
PRINTED FOR ED. HUSBANDS.
MAY 7. 1644.



A
TRUE RELATION
OF
A WICKED PLOT INTENDED, AND STILL ON FOOT AGAINST
THE CITY OF
GLOCESTER,
TO BETRAY THE SAME INTO THE HANDS OF THE CAVALIERS, &c.

WERE the intentions of our enemies, or the grounds of their practice yet questionable, nay were not their cause already brought to a self-conviction, the manage of their designes, and their constant proceedings are enough to convince the world, or amaze it. Doubtlesse destruction, misery, and desolation must needs be the end of those pathes of fury, malice, treachery, and deliberate cruelty; the whole series of the complotment is like itself; and the enemies of God, and the king, having desperate and horrid intendments, have resolved upon proportionable meanes: for wicked purposes and mischievous counsells can never take effect without the height of iniquity first resolved upon, and if either shame or conscience hath the power to check such an undertaker, he mistaking his principles must needs fall off, or fail in the enterprize. But that cause which is grounded upon truth and righteousness prospers by the same truth. Besides, a just and an honourable action doth abhor the use of such meanes, and a minde truly great and noble will not blemish the bravenesse of his end, and doth rather chuse to be vanquisht, than to gaine an inglorious victory. But malicious guilty persons being conscious of the vilenesse of their ends upon which they are

desperately engaged, have not only hardned their hearts, and steeled their faces against the imputation of the extract of villany, but oftentimes burst out into unnecessary wickednesse, almost to the preventing of their own purposes, by rendring themselves odious to the people, the strength of their malignity scarce permitting them to be true to their own ends.

Thus the condition of the war on their part, forces them upon the wayes of deceit, and violence ; the injustice of their cause makes it a bootlesse labour to stand upon honorable atchievements, and their owne violent malice oft times prevents the occasion, and out runnes necessity. Had we to deale with an honourable enemy, the grand interest we have in the publique cause, could not forbid us to love their personall vertues to imbrace their goodnesse.

'Tis base and ignoble to derogate from the worth of an enemy, as none but rogues would have rayled at Hanniball even in Rome : But that party dayly adds to the necessity of their just confusion, when their implacable malice shall urge them to transgresse that common right, which open hostility preserves inviolable.

There is a kinde of deceit, that is commendable ; but to conspire against thine adversary with a bosome friend of his, is a part of detestable treacherie, practised by none but such that seek to triumph rather in revenge than glory. For 'tis a point of common justice which every one demands, to be secure among his own, and 'tis the greatest tyranny to inforce them either to accuse or betray. For by this meanes faith and truth is quite lost, and all intercourse between man and man made voyde. Therefore brave men are content to submit when over matched by power or skill ; but if betrayed, their hearts can never comply, but carry revenge to their grave. So impatient are we of delusion. Now let themselves judge whether in this case they have not offended against that prime law of nature, *quod tibi fieri non vis alteri ne feceris*. And let them know there have been some so noble as to scorn their tender of treason.

Let this represent to the view of the world the vilenesse of their actions, and in particular the wickednesse of that plot which is discovered in this relation, that all men may detest their courses; that neuters may be roused into zeal against them, and their own novices who are not yet desperately hardened may shrink at the horror of these things, and fall back while there is a possibility of returning.

THE PLOT RUNS THUS :

The 19 day of November last, Master Stanford sent unto me (in whom he conceived he had much interest) by the hands of a good friend of mine, this letter as followeth.

Good Robin, it is not unknown to you that once I loved you, and therefore I send this to advise you, whilst it is in your power to make use of it, and take my word I am confident as yet you may not only have your pardon, but raise yourself a greater fortune, than the condition of those you serve are able to afford you. This you may gaine by the delivery, you may guesse my meaning of what place, which is not hard for you to do. You know the old saying, *Fallere fallentem non est fraus*, this is the advise of him that when you shall desist the cause, will ever be,

Your loving friend, Edward Stanford.

This letter being reade by me, and conferring with the messenger (my friend) who told me, that if I would undertake the same businesse, I should have five thousand pounds for my reward: instantly I went unto the faithfull and worthy governour, and shewed it unto him, and told him from whom it came, by whom, and what reward was proposed, and withall declared my dislike thereof. Whereupon the governor considering thereof, advised to imbrace the businesse, and practice the doctrine propounded in the letter of *fallere fallentem*, &c. and that for these reasons.

1. That the net which they would lay for us, might be a snare unto themselves.

2. That other plots and treacheries against the city might not be contrived, so long as they had a fair probability of prevailing by this.

3. That the country adjacent to the city (which was by the malignant gentry of the county and other evill counsellors) decreed (upon a petition by them preferred unto his majesty) to utter desolation, ruine and depopulation, might by this meanes be preserved, and spared by the enemy in hopes to enjoy the benefit and assistance thereof themselves.

4. That this plot and expectation of the enemy might be procrastinated, and led a long at least till the country had vented in the market their spare provisions of corn and cattell which they then had, and for the doing whereof the time was then at hand.

5. That such their hopes of obtaining the city of Gloucester, thereby occasioning the drawing down of forces thither, might give the parliament forces in other parts of the kingdome, the greater freedome to execute their designes with lesse opposition.

6. That fair promises might allay their fury to the country, till our relief came that we were able to feede them with harder meat, and till winter were past that armies were fit to march.

7. That they might in the end see the cursed and shamefull fruit of such wicked inventions, and their hopelesse aime to prevaile against a citie united, and attempt no more so evill.

8. That the enemy and the world may know that the officers and souldiers in the garrison of Gloucester are not so perfidious as to betray their trust to dishonour themselves to all posterity for any reward whatsoever.

For these and the like reasons, and upon consultation had with some other of the chief officers of the garrison, who approved thereof, I applyed myself to the businesse, without imparting any syllable of

my minde to the messenger, but by giving of this answer to Mr. Stanford's first letter.

SIR,

I am bold to write freely to you by this messenger at this time. I perceive your desire, and I would have you know, that I shall be ready to doe his majestie (whom I protest I honour with my soule) all the reall service I may. But there are two things that I must first propose to you, and have a grant of them. First, sworn secrecy to as many as shall be acquainted with it, (and they must not be many.) Secondly, there must be a messenger between us that may passe to you, and must not be suspected here, (which my friend would be if he should come often) and this messenger must know nothing of our intentions, for which purpose I have sent one now (under my friend's protection) to whom you must procure a free passe under his majestie's hand, he is a fellow trusty to me, and dwells in the suburbs of the town whereby he may come home without suspicion; let me heare from you now by him, and where I may send to you again, and once within ten or twelve dayes you shall heare from me again; before which time I shall consider more seriously of the businesse, and of some more particulars than in so short time as the stay of this messenger can be brought to any maturity. Sir, you know my heart, and be assured, I am and will be, Sir, your humble servant in all I may,

20 Novem. 1643.

Rob. Backhouse.

POSTSCRIPT.

As for the reward you speak of, you know my estate is not great, and therefore I shall desire you as my approved friend to manage it so, as that I may be assured not to play an after game poorly.

This letter being shewed unto the governor, and other officers privy to the businesse, I sent it away to Mr. Stanford to Worcester, who returned me this letter following.

Dated, 27 of Novem,

P P

2. Letter.

Good Robin, I received much contentment in your private letter, in the desire you expresse to serve the king, which will give me meanes of doing you much good: Your two requests shall be observed, secrecy, and settling a safe meanes for our correspondence. For the first, there shall be no body acquainted with it, but the best friend I have in the world, my Lord Digby, who you may be sure, will be able to performe to you what ever you shall expect for your reward: As when you shall descend to particulars of the service you will do, and what you desire, you shall receive an ingagement from his lordship's owne hands; and therefore I pray you lose no time in proposing; for the meanes of conveying our secrets do you appoint in your next letter by this bearer the convenientest place for you, and there I will have a trusty fellow lie leager to receive your letters, and deliver you mine; and be you confident upon my word, and faith, that you shall not faile in what shall be promised you: I will expect your answer at Worcester, on Wednesday, and lie there on purpose to keepe a correspondence with you.

TO THIS LETTER WAS, BY CONSENT AS FORMERLY, RETURNED
THIS ANSWER.

NOBLE SIR,

The reality I have ever found in you, makes me the more confidently to rely upon you. You writ me of your only best friend, that you will solely acquaint with our intentions; I conceive it must be imparted to some more; for you must devise and set the way amongst yourselves; you know my command is of the horse, by which meanes I may the more easily introduce a force without any suspicion, but whence such force shall come, you must direct, and the commanders of such forces must needs be acquainted with it. Doe you but lay the plot, and be private, and if it take not one way, ere long I question not but it will another; but I doe adventure my life if I should be disclosed, therefore I desire all secrecie.

And when I heare from you againe, I shall returne you an answer by this bearer, which I thinke will be least suspected of any if he may but come freely to you.

29 Novemb.

Sir, Your reall Servant.

THE FIRST OF DECEMBER, THAT NO TIME MIGHT BE LOST, I RECEIVED FROM WORCESTER THIS THIRD LETTER FROM THE SAME MASTER STANFORD.

3 Letter.

Deare Robin, be confident I will be as secret as you can desire, and the officers themselves shall not know the designe. Now I shall desire you to propound some particulars which way you think most probable, and leave us alone for the drawing downe of forces; I shall expect a sudden returne of this bearer with some particulars: so in hast I rest.

Your assured loving friend.

POSTSCRIPT.

I shall desire you to propose the way, it being farre easier for you to set it downe, than for us to imagine it; and for your conditions, name them, and I will undertake they shall be performed.

To this letter, to make them the more confident, and the better to accomplish our designs, this answer was given.

NOBLE SIR,

I have considered of your last; by which you desire my conceit in proposall of particular propositions, and of my reward, to both which I shall thus propose unto you to present to more mature judgements.

1. Whether I may not by drawing out my troope in an evening (as I can doe at any time) meet with your forces, and bring them in upon a sudden in a moone-shine night at the gate, and so master the first guard, which may easily be done, and not discerned till too late, my troope being above sixty, who may be all in the reare and at your mercy, though I might myselfe lead in the force, which cannot give the alarum in the night so soone as to prevent the design.

2. Whether if I perswade the governour to draw out a strong party of foot and horse, upon some designe to lye out all night, eight or ten miles distant from the garrison, (as I know I can doe) and I myselfe stay at home, in whose absence you may safely advance in the evening to the towne side, when I can come out to you, and so bring you in under colour of our owne forces.

3. Whether if I find out a place slenderly guarded, and somewhat easie to come in at, I may not draw off the centries upon some pretence (as I can doe) being known to them all, and there direct your entrance.

4. Whether if I send for hay, and give you notice of the very time of its coming in, which must be in the night, I may not after the carts bring in some men as carters, who may have snaphance musquets in the carts, and some dragoones to fall in, in the very reare of the carts, who may master the first guards, and possesse the ordnance there, and so let in both horse, and foote, who with such ordnance may march through all the streets in towne.

These severall waies I propose for the present, but I conceive that those who have been versed in the taking of townes, or are better read in surprisalls of garrisons may make more choise of propositions; any of which if I apprehend it feazible, I shall gladly undertake or render my reason of dislike if I conceive it not so. But Sir, I must once more conjure you by all the bonds of ancient affection that ever were between us, and as you desire the progresse of

the designe, that you be carefull to whom you impart this great secret; for if it should be known or suspected in me, I shall be utterly ruined, and undone. This very letter adventures my necke, as for my reward I am right sensible of how great concernment the businesse is unto your side; and albeit you know it is utterly against my spirit to indent before hand for my reward, especially with so gallant and noble personages, yet the straites for mony that of late I have been put unto, having as yet received no pay at all for myselfe from those I serve, and the condition of my estate and charge considered bids me a little looke to that: I was told of five thousand pounds, that should be given me, I shall only expect two thousand pounds to be secured, two or three hundred whereof I shall desire you as my friend to procure me in hand as soon as may be, that thereby I may be enabled to beare up my port and credit, especially amongst all the common souldiers and under officers of the garrison, to whom I must be open handed to ingage affection, that they may readily open when I call at any time. Secondly to engage mine owne troope, and to bind such unto me with a silver cord as I shall find fittest for my purpose. And thirdly plentifully to reward intercouersers between me and you, or me and such others as you shall appoint, who may execute my command upon a sudden with all celerity and fidelity. These things I shall thus leave unto your consideration and mannage, but assuredly know that I shall be, sir, your servant with all fidelity I may,

Robert Backhouse.

POSTSCRIPT.

If you take care that the messenger passe but safe to Tewkesbury, you may send any thing by him very safely, and I hope ere long you and I may meet to discourse it when all the world shall not know.

7 Decemb. 1643.

This letter being sent, gave Mr. Stanford such hopes of prevail-

ing in his designe that it went to Oxford, as afterwards appeared, but in the interim I received this letter from him.

4th Letter.

On Friday let this messenger come to Worcester, and by him you shall receive backe an answer of your particulars. But by him I would have you send me word which way you would have the monies conveyed to you, and I doubt not but shortly to see you a very happy man. As for the summe you require, Bullie [*a manour neere Gloucester of his*] shall make it good, but you may take my word, for I promise you, I will see it paid in ready money.

12 Decemb. E. S.

I doubt not but the parliament will in time make this gentleman to make good his promise in this letter; on the 15th of December I sent this letter following.

NOBLE SIR,

I have sent this messenger according to your desire, and shall expect to heare from you by him. And whereas you desire to know how to convey any money to me, this bearer is as true as steele, and if he come but secure to Tewksbury, there is no danger on this side; he may bring any summe in gold with ease and safety. Thus in haste for present I take leave and rest, Sir: Your reall servant with child till I can handsomely see you. R. B.

To this letter I expected a full answer, and of my former, but that was not fully ripened at Oxford, but he returned me this answer by my messenger.

5th Letter.

Deare Robin, if you will make yourselfe a fortune, performe really what you have promised, for others may hereafter on the same

conditions be glad to make good your offers ; this I doe not speake that I doubt you in any thing, but you know there is no love without some jealousie ; as for our meeting I will not faile, for I am confident you have no plot on me : But I cannot appoint it till I see this bearer again, which without fail must be on Tuesday next, and then I myself will march neerer your quarters, for I doe long to have businesse finished, that we may, as we were once, be fellow subjects merry together, and by his returne you shall receive a full satisfaction according to your own desires, which I will be confident are as honest as once I found them.

Friday, 10 of the clocke.

To this letter no answer was returned, but I sent my messenger to Worcester according to his desire, by whom I received these two letters.

6th Letter.

Deare Robin : this inclosed I am very confident will be very satisfactory to you, and let me tell you if you prove but reall in what you have promised, you cannot propose to yourselfe a greater happiness, than I am confident you may purchase, by really performing of what you have promised. On Sunday I shall desire to have an answer of this inclosed, that I may as soone as it is possible effect a meeting, for beleeve me it is equally wished by him that covets to be

Your loving friend, E. S.

L. Digbye's
Letter.

The inclosed letter was ;

Sir: you having so farre declared your desires to serve his majesty unto my very good friend Mr. Stanford, I thinke it fit you should now receive some more authenticke assurance of his majesty's gracious acceptance thereof, than perhaps you will thinke his

bare ingagement to be ; therefore I do here solemnly ingage my word unto you, both as a minister of state, and as a gentleman, that if you shall perform faithfully what you promise there, you shall punctually receive immediatly after, such a pardon as yourselfe shall desire, and the summe of two thousand pounds. As for the three hundred pounds, which you desire in present, such a confidence I will have in your word, that as soone as ever I shall have received your answer to this under your hand, it shall be forthwith payed into what place soever you shall appoint, or to what person. As for the particular waies of effecting our designe, those you propose are very rationall, but the choise and disposition of that must be between you, and those who are to execute it, with whom if it were possible you should procure a meeting at some unsuspected place ; I doe propose unto you your choise of severall men, and whom of them you shall like best, and thinke fittest by reason of the place where his command is to him alone, and no other businesse shall be imparted, whether Sir William Vavasour commander in chiefe of the forces now in Gloucestershire, or Colonell Mynne commander of a brigade of the English come out of Ireland, or Colonell Washington, who is at Evesham ; or lastly whether the governour of Berkly Castle ; as soone as you shall send me an answer, you shall receive satisfaction from him, who hopes you will so behave yourselfe, as to make me,

Your assured friend,

Oxford this 14th of Decemb. 1643.

George Digby.

Thus may the world see how ignoble this lord will ingage his honour and person, to insinuate into his majestie's favour to ruine a kingdome, to betray a eity, and many thousand innocent soules into mercilesse hands, and to make me (a man he never saw, or he cares not whom) the trayterous actor thereof ; well, to this letter, by consent, as before, was given this answer.

MY HONOURED LORD,

I have received your lordship's, and have considered thereof; and your lordship's directions suits with what I wrote unto Master Stanford in one of my late letters to him, (viz.) That the commander of such forces as are to come in, must of necessity be privie to the designe. As touching the choice your lordship proposeth to me, I conceive that Sir William Vavasour will be the fittest man.

1. First, because he is the neerest in his command unto the businesse, Colonell Mynne is twenty miles off (lying then at Thornbury) Colonell Washington the like (then at Evesham), the governor of Berkly fifteen, and of an inconsiderable strength there, but Sir William Vavasour's forces lye not above twelve miles distant (then at Ledbury) and hath strength enough of his own.

2. He may best come to the garrison undiscovered, there being towards his quarters no suburbs or houses neer to the town, nor other out-guards or smaller garrisons in his way, whereby to give any alarum. If I hear by Mr. Stanford from him, when will be a fit time for him, I shall upon a very few dayes notice, comply with his expectation, as Mr. Stanford and I shall agree upon all circumstances, with whom I hope to speak ere long. Thus much I thought fit to acquaint your honour, and rest

My lord, your honour's most humble servant,

28 Decemb. 1643.

R. B.

AT THE SAME TIME WAS SENT TO MR. STANFORD, THIS
ANSWER TO HIS LETTER.

SIR,

Since I received your letter, I have received a wound, by a shot in my hand, which hath so pestered me, that I could not write unto you sooner, I have written to the noble Lord Digby my opinion, as by the inclosed you may perceive. Sir, I cannot suddenly ride far,

Q Q

but if you please to come either to Ledbury, or to Sir John Winter's quarters, you may then in any evening meet me in Corslane, the middle way between this garrison and Ledbury, where you and I may meet, and the moon not know thereof, if you so think fit, and shall appoint an hour, I shall not misse you a minute, for into your hands I dare throw myself with freedom, though I shall be loath to trust any other I know not, either with my person or secret. Sir, as for my satisfaction, I am satisfied with my lord's ingagement for the main, and I shall expect the three hundred pounds promised in hand (for the reasons in my last letter expressed) to be sent me by this bearer, with whom you may in this case send a convoy of eight or ten good horses as far as Corslane without any fear of us, and then it will be sure to be safe. Sir, I refer the busines to your manage, assuring you confidently that I am your most humble servant,

R. B.

POSTSCRIPT.

Sir, I beseech you be carefull of these letters, and as secret as the night, or I must perish miserably.

These two letters being dispatcht away to Worcester, they wrought, according to our desires, a belief and hopes of my reallity to accomplish their wicked designe.

Whereupon, January the second, I received this letter following from Master Stanford.

The seventh Letter.

Dear Robin, I am so desirous of your good, which is only to be effected by your promises, that I am a little fearfull of doing any act, till it have been debated, twice or thrice between us, least it may hinder the good service you intend; and I am confident you absolutely resolve to perform; and be assured this, it is not in your power to oblige them you serve, to gain so much for your own

advantage as you may the king, by going through with this businesse, nor are they in a condition, thanks be to God, able scarce to promise you so great rewards as here you shall assuredly receive. Now, dear Robin, I shall tell you my minde, first, concerning the moneys, I conceive it most unsafe, and wholly unnecessary, for it is impossible he should bring it safe without a convoy, the greatest part of the way, and how easie that may be discovered, I leave to you to judge.

Secondly, you cannot dispose of it to them you intended without discovery, the businesse being suddenly to be executed; the moneys I have ready, but I think it fitter to pay it to some friend of yours, according to your directions, by way of return, but for fifty or one hundred pounds, I think we may venture it; and if it be taken, you may pretend you are to send me a coach and horses for it.

Thirdly, for my meeting you, it will be unnecessary, till Sir William Vavasour return from Bristol with more forces.

Fourthly, that you must appoint some other place for our meeting, in regard of Sir John Winter's lying at Newnham.

This is the opinion of him that will ever be your affectionate friend,

E. S. 2 Jan. 1643.

TO THIS LETTER WAS GIVEN THIS ANSWER.

DEAR SIR,

I sent on Wednesday last to you, but heare is nothing of the messenger, I fear his taking, which if it should be, I pray your care for his enlargement.

You writ me, that you conceive it unnecessary as yet to meet mee, and the place unfit; any place is indifferent to me; but that place from Ledbury is an indifferent place, and free from suspicion, either by day or by night, that therefore I shall leave to you when and where to meete; I will bring no soule with me, but ride

without sword or pistoll as to take the ayre, let your care be to préserve me from any of your scouts, for I must ride from any two, or more that I shall see, but I shall be glad to see you ; as for the three hundred pounds, you writ me word you have it. Sir, I must tell you, that since this businesse hath been working in my head (which I have pretty well perfected now) I have been inforced to take up money at a hard hand to doe the things I intended. And it is impossible that you can imagine the sundry waies that I have layed in my head, and partly put in action to further and prepare mine owne secret intentions. And truly Sir, I must tell you, the money is so necessary to me, that next unto my fidelity, promise, and ingagement to my Lord Digby, and yourselfe, it is the chiefe moving wheele ; and if there be the least jealousie of my fidelity, I shall desire you (as my truest friend in the world) to let me know, and then I shall crave only favour to have all papers burnt, my counsell kept, liberty to bewaile mine owne unhappinesse, and that I may serve them and you in some other businesse of lesser trust, wherein mine integrity may more appeare with lesse suspition. If the summe I desire in hand, be thought too great an adventure, I would have you consider mine adventure, the least line of any of my letters being sufficient to have me hanged ; and this I have and must commit into severall men's bosomes whom I never saw, but build my faith upon your judgement and integrity, without any jealousie or feare, which I should not doe, were you not Master Stanford ; for that which you write of the danger in the passage, how easie a matter will it be for you to command a dozen honest men to ride a long almost to Tewksbury to guard a little money, that you may pretend you are sending to pay to save the forfeiture of a morgage. And if you appoint but the day, how easie is it to me to send my troope to Tewksbury to meete a little money, which is to be paid unto me upon a bond. I'll stand to the hazard on our side, and I know you may secure it on yours. Well, I leave the

businessse to your consideration, but for myself, I am devoted to your service, whilst I am,

R. B. 3 Jan. 1643.

About 7th Jan. Master Stanford sent me a message by the friend who brought the first letter to me, by word of mouth, to meete him in Corselane the day following, where accordingly we met; my lieutenant scouting behind me the while, to prevent my own surprisall; where I received two hundred pounds of him, and his promise to discharge me of a bond of fifty pounds, wherein I was formerly bound to one Font a great papist, and a very friend of his. At which time the plot was layed by him, Sir Will. Vavasour and others, who were then lately come to Tewksbury; that I should endeavour to draw the governour out of the garrison with a very strong party, towards Berkley, with assurance that the castle should be rendred, which Master Stanford told me should really be, so that the gaining of Gloucester might be the more facile, in whose absence I must undertake to get the gate opened, and the word delivered to them; which plot when I heard it proposed, I much approved, but withall I advised that the forces might suddenly be drawn off from Tewksbury, assuring him that whilst they lay there, I should not be able to draw out the governour, which he promised should be done, as soone as he spake with Sir William Vavasour. This plot if it had beene thus prosecuted by them, had beene by God's mercy of great gaine to us. For we thereupon resolved to have sent a garrison into Berkley Castle, and with silent forces from Presbury garrison to have possessed Tewksbury, and by speedy retreating to have made that good also. But it so fell out, that they fell off and deserted their owne plot, as will appeare by the sequell. But one thing was remarkable, that at this meeting, Master Stanford never so much as moved me to any asseveration of fidelity to him, but desired me to send unto him within two dayes, which I did as followeth.

SIR,

I have sent according to my promise, but the governour is so intent and serious in wayting upon the forces at Tewksbury, that until they be removed, it will be vaine to move him to draw out any other way, but when they are marcht a day or two I am confident, that I shall perswade his march to Berkley, especially if he may have any assurance of their rendring the castle (which you told me would be) and which will occasion him to stay a day or two to settle the same, who otherwise (out of his care of Gloucester) is apt, and wont to make speedy retreats when he is abroad. Sir, if you come to Newnham towards Saturday or Sunday, Sir John Winter may send you in a man to me to appoint when I may meete you in Huntley's wood, or on the hill beyond Huntley, after you have conferred with him, whose secresie I shall desire you much to engage, and then I shall agree more fully with you on all circumstances; Sir, I beseech you know and rest assured that I am,

Your most humble servant in much care till, &c.

11 Jan. 1643.

TO WHICH LETTER I RECEIVED THIS ANSWER.

Deare Robin, the reason why you have stayed so long for an answer is this; Sir William Vavasour sent to the governour of Berkley castle to draw out his whole garrison, which he refusing to do without the king's or prince's speciall command; we shall now flye to one of your former propositions, being confident you will not faile to make good any one of them, which was that you would at any time draw out your own troop with one more which shall be put in the reare of our horse, and yourself to leade our forlorne hope into the town, which if you will do, send but this messenger with a note to Sir William Vavasour what day you will meete him, and I will not faile to be there, this you must be sure to do on Wednesday next, for the businesse will admit of no delay.

Your's E. S. 16 Jan.

WITH THIS LETTER I RECEIVED A LETTER FROM SIR WILLIAM
VAVASOUR AS FOLLOWETH.

Sir William Vavasour's first Letter.

Sir, I was so confident of your reallity in endeavouring to performe what you have undertaken, that I immediately sent orders to Berkley castle to the governor, who wil not obey my orders so fully as to draw out the whole garrison without his majestie's special orders, a great part he will, but would have a reason; I have drawn great part of the foote towards Parshoe, and endeavoured to have marched with the residue, and all the horse. But Sir Walter Pye, and some other commissioners were so opposite to it, that unlesse they might know, and approve of my designe, they would not consent to it, which I thought might be a dis-service to you; I have quite left them unsatisfied with what I intended, so that Sir Walter Pye is gone to Oxford with a great complaint, but that is nothing, did it not prevent your motion; so that now, Sir, I must intreate you to follow what you first moved, that is, you draw out of town your own troop, or one more if you can, a good distance from town, you having the word may lead on the forlorne hope, and your horse may bring up the reare; the performance of this will confirme your friends in their good opinions of you, and oblige me to expresse myself,

Your humble servant, Will. Vavasour.

Tewksbury, 16 Jan. 1649.

Thus you see how Sir William Vavasour, a man of renown, as fame would render him, can smoothly insinuate to promote so foule a treachery, and would make me beleieve that he will rather hazard a chiding by the king, and the displeasure of many other gentlemen of worth, his very friends, than that any soule should be privy to so great a secret. Not imagining that I well knew long before, that not

only the Lord Digby, Master Stanford, Sir John Winter, Master Dutton, and the whole counsell of war at Tewksbury: nay the whole court at Oxford were acquainted with the designe, but also (for so closely did they carry this businesse, which was of so great consequence to them) that Brittanicus hath blazoned me in print long since for a traitor, and well he might, had all that they have let fall and divulged been really true. By which passages, by the way, let all false hearted traytors, who for base private ends would faine be tampering with the enemie to betray their trusts, take heede what they do; for they cannot keepe secrets. And yet they are so wise (do them right) as never to trust him in any office or place of charge for them, who for any respect hath been drawn to infidelity and breach of trust by them: But to proceede, the next day after the receipt of Sir William Vavasour's letter, with whom now I must as with my Lord Digby, keep correspondency; I gave him this answer.

SIR,

I am sorry to heare that our intentions should be so frustrated, especially since I had so far proceeded in mine own thoughts in the mannage thereof. And I'll assure you, I still finde the governour so diligent in observing the garrison at Tewksbury, that he hath given private commands to the officers both of horse and foote, to be instantly ready upon notice given of your least advance this way, for which purpose he constantly day and night keepes good parties of horse out as scouts to bring him notice; insomuch that I feare it will be impossible for my troop and your forces to joyn without discovery; which how dangerous that may be unto us both, I leave to you to judge, especially when he and all his strength be at home: did not his eyes so much look upon your strength, and the neerenesse of your quarters, then would the proposition you now fall on be far easier effected and with much more safety. For as I shall be glad to

confirme the good opinion my friends have of me, in really performing what I have undertaken, being confident that they will take care of me, who thus often hazard my life and fortune for them, so shall I be infinite loath to draw them on upon any designe that may prove prejudiciall to them, the right laying of the businesse is the life thereof, the miscarriage the utter destruction both of myself and many of them, besides the utter losse of effecting so good, and so great a businesse; wherein I protest I shall thinke my self happy to sacrifice my life to accomplish the same according to my desires. One mis-feazance in a businesse of this nature is never to be repaired. Therefore upon the whole matter this is my opinion, that it will be most necessary that the governour be drawn out with a good partie when the businesse is to be done, I am sure this will be with more safety on your side, especially if the allarm should be suddenly taken; this will scarce be done unlesse your forces draw out of Tewksbury for the reason aforesaid, which they may do towards Ledbury, and be neere enough to do the businesse, and so enter on the best [best for us I meane] side of the town, as I have formerly written, and then could I give him some private information that I have intelligence that Berkley will render (though they remove not) and so draw him out in whose absence (since my hand is still lame) I must keepe home, and then shall have absolute command of the horse, best for scouts, and shall be able with more facility and safety to do the businesse with as much speed as you please. I desire you to consider thereof, for I shall not be out of care till I see it perfected, and that my good friends [the parliament I meane] may have further experience of my fidelity, and that I may ever be,

17. Jan. 1643.

Your servant, R. B.

POSTSCRIPT.

Sir, I beseech you be infinite carefull to whom the businesse be imparted, and let me in charity before hand be-speak you, that as

R R

little towns-men's blood may be spilt in the entrie as may be, it will be better drawn after where cause is.

This letter wrought the end for which we sent it to draw them on at the west-gate, and best gate for our advantage, and to perswade them of my realitie to them.

Upon receite whereof, Sir William Vavasour sent me this letter.

Sir William Vavasour's second Letter.

SIR,

I have received yours, and am very inclinable to your motion of drawing towards Ledbury, a place more feazible for me to draw my men to, than any other, it being within the associated counties, the commissioners cannot pretend against it; but we must have a little patience untill the contribution monies are brought in, for my men are very apt to mutinie, and indeede will not march without money. I shall with all possible conveniencie send to you, and give you a further account of it, as also that I am, Sir,

19. Jan. 1648.

Your most affectionated servant, W. Va.

After the receipt of this letter, I waited to heare from them till the fourth of Feb. at which time I received these two letters following.

Master Stanford's Letter.

Dear Robin, now we are come to try you, and if you love your self faile not in what you have promised; for if you do, beleeeve it, you are ruined for ever. And if you intend really, give me notice by this bearer of all particulars concerning your town, in what condition it now stands, and in so doing you will prove your self that which I ever wished you, and regaine me to be,

Your friend as once I was reall, Edward Stanford.

Sir William Vavasour's Letter.

Sir, I am so confident of your reall intentions, that I am willing to follow your advice as far as in me lyeth. Sir William Waller is grown so strong, that we must attempt something out of hand, if you will order it so that I may have the port on the Welsh opened to me; I having the word, will come with so considerable a force, that I will venture to make it good against all Massie's forces, they not taking the allarum. Friday or Sunday next will be a convenient time, my men are faine to march into the country for subsistance.

W. Vavasour.

Upon the receipt of these letters, the next newes we heard was, that Colonell Mynne and S. Leger with the Irish forces marcht to Paynswicke for subsistance, but indeed to plunder the country; to prevent which our governour drew out a party of horse and foote, where there was a skirmish, and some losse on both sides, the next day after which, the country of Whitestone hundred rose into a great body, and the enemy hearing thereof, retreated that very day towards Tewkesbury againe. This by the way, but to these two letters I sent this answer by approbation as before, unto Master Stanford and Sir William Vavasour.

5. Feb. 1643.

Sir: you writ unto me for the state of this garrison, which I shall render you as neere as I can. First, the gouverneur lyes at the house where I dwelt, and one captain with him; before whose doore are two drakes, and a centry day and night; the great gunnes left by my Lord Generall the Earle of Essex, are at the maine guard neere the crosse before the bell doore, being three in number, and there are severall other small cutts about the crosse, in which maine guard there are or should be every night, about one hundred men, some citizens of the trained bands, and some selected men

out of every company. Thus for the heart of the towne. Now for the ports, the governour is making of three sconces, one before the east gate, another before the north gate, and the third at the Fryer's orchard, where the batterie was made at the time of the siege; all of very great strength, but they are none of them as yet finished: there are at these ports severall gunnes (viz.) at the north gate two, at the inward north gate three, at the east gate one, and sometimes two, at the south gate two, to which gate also the maine guard is very neere; but it is usuall with the governour to remove the gunnes often from one place to another. There are also other gunnes upon the workes about the towne, and at the key, where also the frigot lyes with a guard in her; as for the west gate, there is also one gunne, a demy-culvering, but no cannoneer, that watcheth her as I could ever find, and as yet no draw-bridge, but at all the other gates there are draw-bridges finished, and we are now making draw-bridges for the west gate, and Overs-bridge, which I beleieve will not be finished yet this ten or twelve daies, the guards are generally carelesse, and many run from their duty to drinking, much discontent being amongst both officers and souldiers for want of pay; and indeed the guards are very weake in comparison of what they have beene, and must needs be so, as long as we keepe so many out-garrisons, as Presbury, Boddington, Huntley, Wesbury, Arlingham, Frampton, Essington, Froster, Horsley, and Lippiat; all which garrisons being now kept, have drawne out a great number of the souldiers out of this. As for provisions and ammunition, I have not beene in the granery since the siege, but to deale truely with you, I verily beleieve the garrison is fitted for sixe moneths; for, the corne of Master Guyse, Master Dobbs, Sir Henry Spillar, Sir Ralph Dutton, and others whom we call malignants, was brought in, indeed by my self; and since the country hath brought much corne into private houses. I know two men who have laid in two thousand bushells here, and the governour made a strict proclama-

tion, that all the citizens should make provision for six moneths, many of whom have done so, and they make powder and match every weeke as much or more than they spend. Thus have I given you a short and true relation of the condition of this garrison, as neere as I can for the present thinke on, and shall be ready to satisfie you in any other thing you shall desire by the next, beseeching you to continue secresie above all things, and not to conceive any jealousie in his performance, who shall not think himselfe happy till he see his ingagement really accomplit and discharged, and who hath hitherto throwed himselfe into your hands, and resolves to rely on you in time to come both for his life and fortune.

Sir, ever your many waies obliged servant, R. B.

5 Feb. 1643.

With this letter I sent one also to Sir William Vavasour, as followeth.

NOBLE SIR,

I shall apply myselfe unto your time with all diligence; I have given Master Stanford an accompt of the state and condition of our garrison. By the time proposed in your letter I hope the water will be downe, which will much advantage your advance neere the towne; I shall not desire to defer it longer then the time pitcht on. As for your owne occasions, so for the making of drawbridges in your passage, which I would not have to be any impediment thereto; for when they are made, guards will be set at them, which may give the allarum before the gate can be opened. Consult together for your owne safeties and mine; only be private, and for the opening of the gate, and the word, leave it to me, and rest assured that I shall be

Sir, your servant, R. B.

These two letters answered the end for which they were intended, to beget beleefe of my fidelity to them, to make them the more confi-

dent to come on (which indeed was our chieftest care) and to answer their desire of knowing the condition of our garrison, which notwithstanding it was done as you perceive, yet so as without prejudice to ourselves, the least boy that comes into our towne, being in most of the relations able to satisfie as much. Thus let the enemies to religion, to the lawes and liberties of this famous kingdome, and to the priviledges thereof, be still deluded, but let God's just and righteous cause ever prosper.

That these letters were well taken by the enemy, appears by Master Stanford's next letter as followeth.

Deare Robin, I thanke thee for thy constancy, and doubt not of your preseverance in doing his majesty acceptable service. Sir William Vavasour bid me tell you that he cannot be ready on Friday, or Saturday, in regard his forces are not yet marcht hither, but are on their way, where they must hault two or three dayes till monies come in, however upon Sunday or Munday we shall not faile to be within a dayes march of Glocester. And you must be sure to send the same messenger to us who may easily finde us out. On Sunday faile not of this, for I long to see you. On Sunday without faile we shall be at Ledbury, and expect your man.

Yours, E. S. 6th. Feb.

My man who brought this letter told me of Master Stanford's desire to a handsome gelding that I had, whereupon to make him the more confident, and to perswade them to come on, I sent him that gelding with this letter, the next day after that arch-traitor Captaine Davis had betrayed the small garrisons of Wesbury, and Huntley unto the cavaliers.

Sir, I congratulate your good successe yesterday at Wesbury and Huntley, and doubt not ere long to see this county in a good

and peaceable condition. I observe businesses prosper best where least blood is spilt. My man told me of your desire to my gelding, I have sent him with cheerfulness, wishing him better for you, though it need not if he be well used. And I referre my coach and horses for you also; against the time I shall observe your directions by the returne of my man, and rest ever,

Sir, your most humble servant in great care as yet, R. B.

I received no answer to this letter from Master Stanford, but thanks for my gelding, and directions to my man to come from Worcester, where he then was, to Sir William Vavasour to Tewksbury, from whom I received this letter, dated 10th Feb.

Sir, I will be in the forest side on Tuesday next, where I will be either at Newent or thereabouts; if you direct your servant to me, or to Sir John Winter, for whose secrecie I will answer to you, and observe any directions you will send me, if you cannot conveniently meet me, which I must desire,

Yours, William Vavasour.

On Tuesday following, according to the direction of Sir William Vavasour's letters I sent this letter to Master Stanford.

SIR,

In the whole progresse of the businesse, I have not been put unto it as now to fulfill your expectation in sending to you my man, who was last with you, was so affrighted, being knowne by your scouts when he came last from you, that he dares goe no more; how to get another willing and faithfull I know not. But hearing the governour say he must send to Sir William Vavasour about prisoners, and his trumpet being sicke, I tooke advantage thereof to send mine, and have sent this to you under pretence of exchanging a trooper of mine in Oxford, one Henry Hullins; I received a letter

from Sir William Vavasour by my man, but none from you, and have sent according to his desire. If you march to Newent as he wrote, it cannot be better, for from thence may you march to Upleaden, and by Rudfor and give no alarum to Churcham, and send but a troop to possesse Overs-bridge, that intelligence come not, and then may you passe cleerly undiscovered, so as you be there before the centries or the guard at that bridge be set, neither of which are done before about nine of the clock at any time. I every night as commander of all the horse of late, have sent out scoutes, some towards Tewksbury, and some towards Huntley, and the forrest, and can have the keyes at my command to let them out, which hath occasioned me to think on this way, if you like it, that I may provide scouts out of mine owne troope to goe towards the forrest, that night you appoint, who shall not be ready till the business be done. But I can take the keyes of the west gate and goe downe thither, pretending to stay for their comming, and set the guard, which as I wrot is very slender usually, to drinke in an ale-house till they come in, which time you may advance, and finde no living soule but myself at the gate, or if one or two should be there, they shall be drunk, and you may pretend, as I shall also affirme, that you are our owne men from Churcham, where there is a small guard of horse and foote, and which if you disturbe not, will continue there yet a while; I would gladly meete Sir William Vavasour, but I am very fearefull of notice being taken of me; and if I should meete him, I know not him, nor he me, which may prove prejudiciall to either of us, if you desire to be satisfied in any thing, I thinke I could meet you in the old place without any notice, and I dare adventure on my knowledge of you at an escaping distance. For the word, when we meete I will shew you a place, where (after it is given) you shall finde it in a parchment faire written. This I think will be very feazible; but I shall be ready, as you shall prescribe, to doe any thing in the power of

13 Feb. 1643.

Y^r most humble servant, R. B.

Let my trumpeter know nothing but of the exchange, but wish him to deliver any thing you send to me, to mine owne hand, which I know he will be carefull in. With this letter my trumpeter was stayed by Colonell Paget, from Tuesday 13 Feb. till Thursday, upon pretence that he came too late into his garrison. On Thursday morning I sent to Newent to Mr. Stanford this letter.

Sir, I wrote a letter to you by my trumpeter, who went to Tewksbury on Tuesday, I perceive he is there stayed, which puts me in feare; I would desire you suddenly to send for him, and I shall meete you at what house you shall appoint in the old place, the more speed you make now the better, as before the draw-bridges be up, so for our waiting on you, which as yet we doe not, scarce knowing that any force considerable is come to Newent; the stiller you lye the more secure shall we be. The plot I prescribe in my letter runs more and more feazible in my head, I could last night have done it gallantly, I doubt not of as faire an opportunity to expresse myselfe indeed,

Your reall servant, R. B.

This plot I prescribed as well to secure mine owne person within the gates, as to render it probable unto them, which it seemes they could not dislike, for that very day they sent backe my messenger from Newent to me againe with this letter.

Deare Robin, the time is now so far spent, that it is impossible for me to meet you, this night being resolved for the businesse, so that you must not faile this night to draw off all your guards from the bridge, that we may come secure to the gate, and not have any centries to hinder us, and withall you must be sure to let me heare from you this night by six of the clock, as for our strength we are now fiftene hundred foot and horse, if you can come yourself with

your troop, pretending to beate up a horse quarter, it would be very satisfactory to Sir William Vavasour; you must be there by eight of the clock, but this we shall not presse, if you think it inconvenient, howsoever you must send the word, being assured you will do your best to advance this design,

E. S.

Immediately as soone as I had received this letter I went to the governour, and a consultation we had, whether to let them come that night according to their appointment, or to put it off. But we being provided for them, it was agreed upon that night, I therefore presently sent this letter to Master Stanford.

Sir, I shall waite with diligence to open the gate, which I'll warrant you shall be done, so as you come by nine of the clock, or within half an houre after, the word I have sent, which occasions the later sending of this bearer, it is Bristoll: Be sure to come strong enough, and remember to come up by the bare land, which is a safer way to surprize the maine guard, than to come up the maine streete: some in your company cannot but know the way, I rest in hope.

15 Feb. 1643.

Your servant, R. B.

Presently after the sending away of which messenger, the gates being shut round the garrison, and carefull sentinels set. The governour called a counsell of war, acquainted all the officers with the plot, gave order that all as well citizens as souldiers should continue that night in armes, drew three peeces of ordnance to the west-gate, and a strong guard of masquetiers well provided with granadoes and ammunition, and placed foure stout men in a boat under Overs' bridge, who lay under the arch private, with directions that upon firing the first gun they should but cut a gable-rope, which being done, the bridge would have fallen in, whereby (by God's mercy) of necessity they must all have been killed, drowned, or taken, there

being no possible meanes in humane reason of a man's escape, in this posture, preparation, and expectation, we continued all that night watching diligently, but privately, for a happy time to have delivered ourselves, and the whole kingdome from the future mischiefe of such subtile, insinuating, and blood-thirsty enemies. But God's time was not then come; for albeit they did advance with their whole body, both of horse and foot; yet when they came to Lessington hill within a mile of the towne, it was faire day, whereby they having lost their time by their owne slownesse of march, they durst not come on, but instantly retreated to Newent, as appears by this letter which I received from Master Stanford, on the morrow after, being Friday.

The sixteenth of February, 1643.

Dear Robin, your messenger came so late, that we could not possibly effect the designe; yet our confidence of your best assistance made us attempt it; but it being day before wee could possibly come, wee must once againe desire the like readinesse from you on Saturday, or Sunday at the farthest, and then we shall not faile to be in a readinesse; it was ten of the clock before he came. I shall desire your answer either to day or to morrow at the farthest.

Yours, E. S.

The receipt of this letter made us beleieve that the enemy had then received no information that their designe was destroyed and made knowne, and so much the rather for that we kept the gates so close shut, the next day after being Friday, that we suffered no man to passe the ports upon any businesse whatsoever, which made us willing to see if wee could salve the businesse by another letter, and to give them encouragement to come on againe. Whereupon this letter was written, and sent the next day to Mr. Stanford with this note inclosed.

The Note.

Sir, take heed what you do, the allarum is taken by the intelligence of two country-men, who brought in word to the governour of your advance this way. The guards are strengthened, and much puzzle here is at present, whereof I wish you to take notice from

Your servant, R. B.

The Letter.

Sir, I am glad you came not the last night, I hope some good fate was in it, I was never so at my wit's end, and yet for my hanging durst make no shew of it. Whilst I was writing to you, and devising to send the messenger cleanly out at the gate, which I was faine to act in mine own person: the governour received information by two country-men that you were marching this way, and that some of your souldiers should give out, that the west-gate was to be opened to them by some very neare unto him. Whereupon there was an allarum, and one great gun drawne to the west-gate, and the guard there made strong; much muttering was who should be the man to let you in; some gave out that I was distrusted, others that it was some townesman. In the beginning of these buzzings I came to the governour, who told me of his intelligence, that you were marching for Gloucester, upon hopes of being let in. I saw how things were, and seeing a preparation for an allarum, the commanders all sent for, a new word instantly given, and a resolution speedily to be in arms; bethought my selfe on the sudden what to do to cleare my selfe of suspicion with the commanders; for as for the souldier's and people's tattle I regarded it not; thus therefore I declared my selfe, Gentlemen, you have received some intelligence (as it seemes) of the enemy's advance this night, and here is muttering about the streets of some plot to let them in, and I am suspected to have some hand in it, how clearely, and without exception I have hitherto carried my self both towards you, and the businesse,

I appeale unto your selves to judge, and for the businesse, I came now to tell you, that I have received intelligence from a friend of mine in the country, that the enemy meanes certainly to be here this night, and therefore I advise you by all meanes to be in readinesse, and know this from me, that they have some promise from some citizens to have the gate opened, and to make the diversion from my self so much the more cleare, I told them of two men whom I much suspected, (and of whom I knew they had no good opinion) but advised them as to be carefull this night in their armes so to set some spies over these men's carriages, and as soone as an apparant charge could be proved against them, which I did not doubt would suddenly be, I would bring them to a counsell of warre, and in the mean time endeavour to search out the businesse, and perfect the charge against them. This so tooke with them, that they all gave applause to what I had said, desired me to take more speciall notice towards those two men: and the governour gave testimony (I having done him some personall office of acceptable service) of his belief of my fidelity, to which all the rest of the commanders assented also.

This being done, every man was repairing to his armes, wherein I was not backward my selfe to give command to the horse to be in readinesse, and to encourage the souldiers; but still at the governour's elbow. But I should have told you that as soone as I saw these things thus running, I instantly went home, and gave my man Ned this inclosed note, and I walked as far as Overs-bridge with him waiting on me, to hearken whether we could heare any noise, where (by my directions) he slipt from me, and though I could not get him to undertake to find you out (being so used the last time he came from you, as I wrote unto you) yet he lay in a ground beyond the Wynnyard till two of the clock waiting your comming, and afterward lay in a barne till morning. But I must confesse that I collected by your letter, that it would be impossible for you to come



from Newent in due time upon so short warning, which made my care especially after midnight a great deale the lesse. Yet I had resolved to have given you notice of the allarum being taken if I had discerned your advance, which I could have done my selfe (being tyed to speciall place of command) by riding into a privat back place, and discharging my pistoll for you to take notice of, and let that be your signe if I should be driven to a strait in time to come. Well, about twelve or one of the clocke we went all to bed, the guard at that gate a little stronger than ordinary, and all was quiet, and I am yet in like favour and esteeme as before, with officers by mine expressions, and with souldiers by giving them mony and ale: and for the meane citizen, let him mutter what he will it matters not. The great gun is drawne off the gate to the governour's doore, and another that was drawne that way, is drawne back to the maine guard. We had intelligence yesterday morning, about ten of the clock, that you were retreated to Newent, and setting a garrison there in quiet, and we are in our old security againe. The vote going still that there was some plot, and I being (as I said) set to find it out; for the more colourable effecting whereof also, I procured the gates to be strictly watcht yesterday by an officer at each gate, scarce suffering any to passe out, to see if wee could take the intercourser betweene you and the plotters, which course I would have also got continued for two or three dayes longer, were it not for the market to day, which will handsomely occasion the forbearance.

Sir, you write unto me for this night or Sunday, my opinion is cleare, that if you lye still at Newent, not giving us allarums till Sunday after dinner, and then advance your foot to be here by nine of the clock, being a time that people passe not so much with intelligence as in the week-dayes: and if you send but a troope of horse to Overs-bridge, in the very shutting of the evening, to prevent notice, you may do it (I'll be bold to say) as easie as may be;

but that must be your first work, if you think fit to send a trusty secret man, who is a souldier, or, but rationall to me, I shall shew him all the conveniences of the passages, the place where for you to draw up undiscovered, where to place your reserve to retreat unto, if occasion should be, where to find the word, and what hinderances and obstacles are possible to be in the way. If he come to day upon a sack of oates, as from Rudförd, to me along with this bearer, I'll warrant his safe returne upon my life; consider well your time and houre, and let me know, and I'll not faile to do the utmost in the power of your servant (though a little scard.)

R. B.

TO THIS LETTER I RECEIVED THIS ANSWER FROM MASTER
STANFORD, THE SEVENTEENTH OF FEBRUARY 1643.

Deare Robin, Sir William Vavasour hath this morning received a command to draw great part of his forces on the other side of the water, but he doubts not, but to return about the middle of the next week with a greater force, and hopes by that time you will prepare all things: in the interim he desireth you to hold correspondence with Sir John Winter, whom you may trust, who will be constantly at Lidney.

Yours E. S.

According to the contents of this letter, Sir William Vavasour did draw off the greatest part of his forces from Newent to meet our convoy comming from Warwicke, but for his purpose of returning, we beleevd not that, but rather to keep faire correspondence with me, that their mischievous and frivolous designe might not appeare unto the world to their disparagement. Yet it is observable, that Sir John Winter, a knowne papist, and who is reported to have laid downe his armes with other papists, is now

appointed to keep correspondency with me: thus would they make the world to think that Papists shal not beare armes for the king to maintain the Protestant religion, and yet they shall or will be acting something more mischievous, and destructive to the peace of the kingdome, than the fury of their personall armes can effect: I pray God deliver his sacred majesty from such assistance. . But to conclude, wee not yet (by what wee received from them) certainly knowing whether they were yet sensible of their owne folly and shame.

THIS ONE LETTER MORE WAS SENT TO MASTER STANFORD,
FEBR. 22, OR IN HIS ABSENCE TO SIR JOHN WINTER.

Sir, according to your directions I have sent unto you againe, tendering mine own readinesse, really to do you service, but withall complaining of your infinite opennesse in the carriage of the businesse, it being in the mouths of most of all your souldiers, from whom it hath by sundry intelligencers been spread here amongst both town and country. I have heard such things as have made my eares glow, and had I not used all possible meanes to satisfie the officers of my fidelity to them, and that reports have rendered them various and uncertain, I had suffered ere now. Well, the strangest relations are but nine dayes' wonder. I shall suffer this to weare it selfe off, by suffering the relators and their hearers to rest uncertain, unsatisfied: and doubt not in due time to manifest unto you and the world, that my heart is right in despite of all crosse reports or jealousies; only thus much let me begge at your hands, if ever you meane to accomplish the designe of a surprisall, to be more private in your expressions, more politique in relating to your souldiers truly your own marches, more constant in your resolutions and prefixions, and more sudden in your actions. If the imparting of so great a secret into sundry hands be not dangerous;

if acquainting your common souldiers with the true end of your march be not too open; if sundry appointments, and failings of those times may not beget suspicion of your agents; and whether surprisals ought not to be sudden and unlookt for, I leave to you to judge. Thus much by way of caution I thought fit to write, desiring you to consider of it: but know assuredly, that for mine own part, I shall be ready, when you shall appoint, to performe really what I have undertaken, and to manifest unto you that I am

Sir, your servant, R. B.

This letter written as a lure to draw them downe againe, was delivered to M. Stanford, who sent the messenger to Sir John Winter with it, giving himself no answer at all to it; Sir John Winter was at Bristol, but his lady wrote that answer should be sent by Sir John as soone as he came home, of which I have yet heard nothing, by which we clearely conceive the businesse to be deserted by them.

Now let the world judge whether these seducing enemies have not been fitly served in their own kind, as they like this, let them attempt to fasten their doctrine of *fallere fallentem* upon me again. No let the deformity of that doctrine, and the fruits thereof rest in the breasts of those that preach it, who deeme others like unto themselves. But let the world know, that neither hope of honour, which is but a puffe, nor hope of gain which is uncertain when attained, and sordid in such atchievement, nor the fawning of such friends who aime at their own ends, nor any other sinister unworthy end shall ever prevaile with me to undertake any ignoble action, much lesse any such action as this; as to perjure my selfe with God, having taken severall oathes, and protestations to the contrary; no the ransome of a soule is of higher value with me, to betray my religion, the most hopefull legacy I can leave to my posterity, to betray my country with the lawes, liberties, and priviledges thereof,

into the hands of arbitrary power or tyranny, and instead thereof to procure a never-dying curse from all succeeding generations in this kingdome to betray my trust, so great a trust committed unto me by so great and worthy personages as the patrons, and by God's blessing the preservers of three famous kingdomes, to deny mine owne hand which I solemnly subscribed, with other faithfull commanders in this garison, avowing unto the herauld sent by his sacred majesty, to maintaine our fidelities to the last drop of our bloods, to render my selfe unworthy of such unspeakable and wonderfull deliverance which I (amongst others) received in the late siege from the almighty hand of God, thereby rendring my self not only unfit for future mercies, but the most ingratefull wretch amongst men, to sell my selfe to worke so horrid wickednesse, to betray my selfe, my wife and family, my friends, kindred, and deare acquaintance, into the hands of blood-thirsty, cruell and unmercifull people, to make my selfe guilty not only of all the blood that must needs have been spilt in the forcing and sacking of so famous a city, but of mine own blood also: for their wisdom had beene more seene if they had killed me to have saved the two thousand pound they were engaged for, than either it, or their honesty, was in attempting to seduce me, to make me their instrument in so foule a plot, and to chronicle my name amongst the register of arch-traytors to all posterity; noe, my prayer, my heart, and hand shall ever be for the maintenance of so just a cause, wherein if I sacrifice my life and fortune, I doubt not of my reward with advantage. And let the great God of heaven, whose great worke is now in hand, prosper his true and faithfull servants, his instruments in the furthering thereof, but let his enemies perish, and be confounded in all such their treacherous designes, and let all those that wish well unto the state of this kingdome, be glad, and rejoyce with us at the benefit that hath accrewed unto the same by embracing of this businesse (of which we are here right sensible) and that for the reasons herein

before expressed, and upon which it was first thought fit to be accepted.

This is the whole truth.

The matter it selfe doth sufficiently vindicate mine integrity, who neither devised nor acted any part without consent and for the advantage of the publique service. And for the honour of the action on my part so much is unquestionable, that it were just upon them if they had all perished in the designe; they were condemned by their owne doctrine, and the law of like for like. But the question is whether the like deceit might be retorted upon them in this case by one who strives to maintaine the repute of sincerity; concerning which let wise men judge. First, I never passed my selfe over to them by any oath or protestation, which alone admits of no equivocation, and without which they could have no sufficient ground of trust; then whatsoever I promised was made good, but with a crosse intention, and to a contrary end, upon which grounds I see no reason why I might not feed them with vaine hopes, when all acknowledge that by the colour of an action I may lawfully deceive the enemy into a snare. So that I am confident, that I shall stand *rectus in curia*, and if not commended, yet at least acquitted in the court of honour. And whereas I have been traduced for a traytor as holding correspondence with the enemy, besides that satisfaction which this relation can give, I this declare my selfe, I am assured of the justice of the cause, religion, and liberty, I am assured of the extreame necessity, that puts the state upon this forcible meanes and wayes of resistance; I am assured of the lawfulnessse of the warre on our part, by the law of God, by the law of nature, and by the lawes of this kingdome. And such thoughts are the strongest assurance of fidelity if the secrets of the heart could be laid open. But because hypocrisie may be covered with a faire varnish, there being no sufficient ground of confidence in the consciences of men, or the

goodnesse of their natures. To give you a cleare testimony; although no man can tell to what center my thoughts incline, and move; yet all conclude, that according to the principles of nature. I must necessarily be true to my selfe, and worke out my own welfare, according to mine owne judgment and knowledge. And this judgment is so cleare against all conspiracies of this nature, that I shall never be wrought thereunto, except it were possible for me wittingly and willingly to contrive my owne destruction; for at the least such an enterprise represents it selfe full of difficulties, and every way perilous, and if I can accomplish it, I lose my selfe; for if I might hereby purchase a kingdome it will never get me honour. And I know it is the practise of the enemy to recompense the traytor with some titular reward, but no trust; besides this discovery hath put me into a condition beyond the possibility of a relapse. And had not my fidelity and fore-knowne constancy put me on, I might have reserved for my selfe a faire retreat in the time to come; but having engaged my selfe by a manifest declaration, I must now needs goe through or be quite ruined.

Robert Backhouse.

The Committee of the House of Commons for the garison of Gloster doe thinke fit that this booke be printed, 3 May, 1644.

THOMAS PURY.

FINIS,

T. WHITE, PRINTER, JOHNSON'S COURT,
FLEET STREET.

EBEN-EZER.

A FULL AND EXACT

R E L A T I O N

OF

THE SEVERALL REMARKABLE AND VICTORIOUS PROCEEDINGS

OF THE EVER-REOWNED

COLONELL MASSY,

GOVERNOUR OF GLOUCESTER,

From May 7. to May 25. 1644.

IN WHICH TIME HE TOOKE THESE SEVERALL CONSIDERABLE GARRISONS OF THE ENEMIES IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE AND WILTSHIRE,

NAMELY,

WESBURY, LITTLE DEANE, NEWNAM, BEVERSTON-CASTLE,
MALMSBURY, AND CHIPPENHAM.

WITH

THE SUMMONS SENT BY COL. MASSIE TO COL. HOWARD,

(SONNE TO THE EARLE OF BERKSHIRE) GOVERNOUR OF MALMSBURY;

AND HIS ANSWER THEREUNTO.

AND THE NAMES OF THE OFFICERS AND COMMANDERS TAKEN THERE.

AS ALSO,

THE VOTES OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

ON FRIDAY LAST,

CONCERNING THE SUPPLIES TO BE SENT TO COL. MASSIE,
AND A THOUSAND POUNDS PER ANNUM TO BE GIVEN TO HIM AND
HIS HEIRES FOR EVER, OUT OF THE ESTATES OF PAPISTS
AND DELINQUENTS; AS A REWARD FOR THE MANY
ACCEPTABLE SERVICES PERFORMED BY HIM.

JUNE 4, 1644.

IMPRIMATUR. JOHN WHITE.

LONDON;

PRINTED FOR T. W. AND ARE TO BE SOLD IN THE OLD-BAILY.

1644.

A
TRUE RELATION
OF SEVERALL
HAPPY AND WONDERFULL VICTORIES
LATELY GIVEN UNTO
COL. MASSIE,
GOVERNOUR OF GLOUCESTER,
FROM MAY 7. 1644. UNTILL THE 25 OF THE SAME MONETH.

ON Tuesday the 7th of May the Gouverneur marched out of Gloucester with about nine hundred foot, and his owne regiment of horse, and Col. Purefoy's regiment of horse, two pieces of ordnance, and other carriage fit for the march, with purpose to remove the enemie's garrisons at Westbury, Little-Deane, and Newnam, all strongly fortified, and well provided with men, armes, and amunition; all which it pleased God miraculously to deliver into his hands. For he first assaulting the garrison at Wesbury (which was Mr. Colchester's house, and the church) he got to the church, and with granadoes and pistoll-shot, the which he sent in at the windowes, he presently made the enemy to forsake the church, and to runne to the house: which being discerned by the governour's forces, the church was quickly possessed by them; which made the enemy forsake all their out-workes, and to cry for quarter. There were slaine of the enemy about twenty, and about three score taken prisoners in that garrison, with their armes and ammunition. Whilst the foot was at this garrison at Wesbury, Colonel Massie commanded some of the horse to march to Little-Deane, where the

enemy had also fortified a house to face them, who falling suddenly into the towne, tooke divers of them in the towne, and there killed Lieutenant-colonel Congre governour of Newnham; and the horse only with their carbines, swords, and pistols, suddenly surprised the garrison it selfe (although fortified) where were neere forty prisoners taken: and that night Colonel Massie quartered at Wesbury and Deane, and the next day drew up to Newnham, where presently he beat the enemy out of the towne into their workes, which were double fortified and very strong, having a very small compassse to make good, and there being but one place possible to fall on the enemy, who having there foure small pieces of ordnance and good store of provision and amunition. Yet it pleased God to give the souldiers such courage and resolution that they fiercely stormed the workes, and made the enemy to forsake them, and to runne into the church, where the governour's forces rushed in upon them pell-mell with much violence, which enforced them to cry out for quarter; which one Tipper an old servant to Sir J. Winter and an arch papist perceiving, and being not willing to take quarter, gave fire to a barrell of powder intending to destroy himselfe and all the rest, which occasioned the putting of more to the sword then otherwise had been, the governour being much enraged to see any of his men scorched with powder. In this garrison was taken good store of provisions of all sorts, 4 guns, one great wall-piece of 8 foot long, good store of granadoes, and some fireworks, 8 barrels of powder, 60 skeines of fine match, with good store of great shot for the guns, about 150 prisoners, whereof 3 were captaines, and one Captain Butler was slaine with the butt-end of a musket, and so was old Tipper (that traitor to the rules of war) with about 20 others; there were taken about twenty others; there were taken also about 40 horses. The prisoners were instantly conveyed to Gloucester with safety, and the governour quartered that night at Newnam and little Deane. But the won-

derfull and extraordinary providence of God was in this, that in the taking of three fortified garrisons in two daies, and all by storme, the governour lost never a man, only some few were scorched with the treachery of the papists powder-plot, and one had his arme shot off with cannon-bullet, but none of the wounds mortall.

After the taking of the said three several garrisons, the governour of Gloucester marched with his said forces to Lidney, where Sir John Winter's fortifications and provisions being found too strong for such forces as the governour had with him, the governour drew off his wearied men, and caused three iron-mills of Sir John Winter's, with his provision of coales to be destroyed and burned, the same being very beneficiall to the said Sir John Winter, and most usefull to him and the popish party for provisions of warlike engines against the parliament's army and the kingdome. While those noble actions of the governour were performed in Gloucestershire, Colonel Mynn with his regiments of horse and foot forsooke Rosse in Herefordshire, and entered some into Hereford, and some into Monmoth for their better security; whereupon the worthy governour with his said forces of foot and horse marched into Herefordshire, possessed himselfe of Rosse, tooke Wilton-bridge, being a draw-bridge on the river Wye, and tooke the house or castle neere unto it, with one and thirty prisoners and some horse; and then sent part of his horse, viz. Colonel Purefoy's regiment of horse, towards Monmoth, to give an alarm there; and the other part, viz. his owne regiment of horse, towards Hereford, to performe the like; which caused the great jesuiticall papist and arch traytor, the L. Herbert, to gather his forces of horse and foot into Monmoth to joyne with the forces there of Colonel Minns, and sent all their horse from Monmoth towards Wilton-bridge; but they were encountered by the way by the horse sent by the governour towards Monmoth, who charged them bravely, slew 5 or 6 of them, and the rest being neere the towne of Monmoth sheltred themselves there. In the meane time the governour being now quietly possessed of all

that part of Herefordshire, summons the county to come in, and to take the covenant, and to pay contribution unto him; where he found willing obedience by the greatest part of the yeomanry of that county, and was resolved to have besieged Hereford, which would have yeelded unto him in very short time, as is since informed, had not other important occasions called him from thence, to performe a greater service in God's cause. While the governour was thus employed in Herefordshire he received advertisement that 7 of his souldiers had taken Colonel Oglethorp the governour of Beverston-castle, and six others of his troopers, and brought them to Gloucester; and that a captaine of his was going away into other service of the parliament: whereupon he coming to Gloucester May 21. in the evening, dispatched the businesse he came about; and finding then by examination of some of the said prisoners, that there were some distractions hapned upon taking the governour of Beverston-castle, touching the government thereof, and the rather because the King had granted the same unto Sir Baynham Tockmorton whilst the said Oglethorpe was governour; the said noble governour of Gloucester resolved to take the opportunity to performe some worthy exploits; and having then about 10 a clock at night the said 21 of May received letters from the committee of the house of Commons nominated for the affairs of the garrison of Gloucester, he wrote severall letters unto them from Gloucester, which tooke up his time untill two a clocke in the morning, and then posted backe into Herefordshire twelve miles from Gloucester the same day Wednesday May 22. and there drew his said forces of horse and foot into one body at Rosse, and then presently caused his horse to march by Gloucester, appointing them to be the next day at the rendezvouz within 3 miles of Beverston-castle, 15 miles from Gloucester southward; and also the same day caused his foot to march somewhat a neerer way towards Beverston-castle, over the river Severne unto Frampton, being at least 16 miles, and were constrained to march all Wednesday night to meet the horse at the

rendezvous appointed, as aforesaid; and from thence marched to Beverston-castle on the Thursday, where they first surprized about 60 horse depasturing under the castle walls, and guarded with about 6 musketers, who flying gave the alarm to the castle, which the noble governour suddenly surrounded with his horse, and the same night drew up his foot and artillery and then sending to summon the castle, and writing also to the lieutenant-colonell and other officers there some plausible letters, and offering faire quarter and true performance, the castle was surrendered unto him about 12 a clock the same night by accord, only to give them quarter, liberty and their wearing apparrell. In which castle they had 50 muskets, 4 barrells of powder, and other provision: the command whereof was presently delivered unto Captaine Read a faithfull man in the service of the parliament. The noble governour having thus settled a garrison for the parliament in Beverston-castle, continued his march the next morning toward Malmsbury in Wiltshire, and the same day sent this ensuing summons written with this own hand unto the governour of Melmsbury, viz.

TO THE GOVERNOUR OR COMMANDER IN CHIEFE OF THE
GARRISON OF MALMSBURY.

YOU are hereby summoned, that you within one halfe houre after the coming of this to your hands, surrender the same, with all the armes, ammunition, provision, and other things of service and use whatsoever unto Colonell Massie governor of Gloucester, for the use, and on the behalfe of the King and his Parliament now sitting at Westminster. And he doth hereby engage himself by all the ties of honour, that you, your officers, and soldiers shall not only enjoy your lives, and be received under the protection of good usage and quarter, but also all such as shall desire imployment with us, under my command, shall find entertainment according to their qualities, or depart whither they please. And if you shall refuse this profer

of mercy, then you are to expect no other but what fire and sword shall bring upon you.

Dated 24 of May, 1644.

Edw. Massie.

The governour of Malmesbury within the time limited in the said summons sent this insuing answer.

SIR,

I have received your summons, and (without any unsavoury language) do return you this answer: That we will maintain this towne for the king and parliament now sitting at Oxford, in defence of those rites that pretended parliament at Westminster have abused and robbed our nation. For the other particular, that upon deniall we must expect the extremity of fire and sword, we make this answer: That those extremities, I believe, are as likely to fall upon those that assault this towne, as those that defend it. For that point, of serving you, the truth is, we are all too proud.

Your servant,

Henry Howard.

This Henry Howard, a colonell of foot, and one of the Earle of Berkshire's sonnes, being governour there, prepared his souldiers for defence, as well as for defiance, and filled his works with his numerous souldiers, bragging much of their valour and resolution; which caused that worthy commander Colonell Massie, to double his care and diligence to storme it, with all vigour, courage, and expedition; but it was late in the evening before he could draw up his horse, foot, and artillery before the said towne: and these two difficulties happened unto him the same time: the one was his souldiers' want of sleep, having continued their constant watch, and continuall duty, for severall day's and nights together, without intermission: the other was, the great store of raine that fell the same evening, and continued all the night ensuing, whereby Colonell

Purefoy's regiment of horse were constrained to forsake the field, and seeke out some shelter for themselves and their horses: but the unwearied governour, with his foot, and some three or foure troupes of horse of his owne regiment, gave the alarum to the enemy all that night, playing hard with his ordnance and musketiers, during which time he himselfe tooke great paines in making bliues, and in taking such houses as might best preserve his men, and resolved to storme it early the next morning, and accordingly about sun-rising May 25. he drew out a strong party of musketiers against the turnepike and chaine, who very gallantly assaulted the enemy, and beat them from their ordnance and guards: some others of the musketiers assaulting the enemy in their works (at one and the same time) with scaling-ladders, beat the enemy from their works, and with great courage and resolution entred the same, wounded some, and the rest fled further into the towne: in all which it was hard to judge, whether that worthy commander, by his personall action, or discreet direction, were of greater availe in taking the towne: but sure it is, the same added much courage to the captaines both of horse and foot; insomuch that Major Gray and Captain Ayleworth with joynt courage, and brave horses well mann'd, swiftly entered the towne, by leaping their horses over the chaine, and over the turnepike, and encountred the first enemy, by cutting off his arme with a sword, and shot the next in the head with a pistoll; and Captain Blunt, one of the captaines of foot, upon the discharge of the enemies ordnance forced his entrance into the towne through the enemies worke where the enemy plyed the ordnance, which he overturned upon his entrance, and made way for his souldiers to follow: and Captain White entered the towne in another place over the works, first mastering the same with his musketiers: but the first man that by force entred the enemies works, was a serjeant with 40 resolute musketiers, to whom the governour had promised five pounds, with other rewards to the 40 musketiers, if

they would give the first assault, and performe it with courage, which they did accordingly, and the governour paid them liberally. It was a brave spectacle to see, how unanimous both commanders and souldiers undertooke the enterprize, and with what undaunted spirits and carriage all of them in one minute of time performed the same, notwithstanding their hard marches, want of sleepe, and the unseasonable raine all that night. But let all glory and praise be given to the Lord of Hosts, by whom the worke was done in so little time, and without so much as a man hurt of the governour's souldiers in the storming of it: nor did they lose a man during their time of being there, except the governour's boy, and one common souldier: our forces lay but twelve or thirteene houres before the same, ere they tooke it by assault: the governour of Malmesbury, and such other prisoners as were taken, are contained in the ensuing list.

A LIST OF THE OFFICERS AND SOULDIERS TAKEN AT MALMESBURY, MAY, 25. 1644, AT 4 OF THE CLOCK IN THE MORNING.

Henry Howard, Col. of Foot.	Corporalls.
William Howard, Liev. Col. sons to the Earl of Berkshire.	Henry Painter,
William Chester, Major.	Thomas Hadley.
William Markham, Capt.	John Poole.
Gilbert Wheathill, Capt.	John Pearce.
John Brimsden, Capt. Lievt.	John Chappell.
Lieutenants.	Gilbert Harris, Drummer.
Richard Bleak.	William Weeks, Chyrurgion.
Edward Scott.	John Clark, Capt. of Horse.
William Roach.	Private Souldiers, 149.
Ensignes.	Gentlemen that bare armes.
John Barrat.	John Freame.
Robert Bates.	William Norris.

Richard Cage.	John Bridges.
Browning.	The rest of the officers and
Quartermasters.	souldiers by running thorow
James Bower.	the river made their escape.
Morely.	
Laurence Short.	2 Iron faulcons.
Serjeants.	2 Iron hamberguns.
Henry Dixon.	9 Barrells of powder.
Richard Fletcher.	152 Skaines of match.
Robert Baily.	900 Weight of shot.
William Fenton.	150 Muskets, or thereabouts.

As soone as the right worthy Colonell Massey had possessed himselfe of Malmesbury, and the prisoners, he preserved all the towne from plunder of the souldiers, and then sent a strong party to Chipnam, who tooke in that garrison also, and about 80 musketiers prisoners, he took also seven waines or waggons, laden with sack and other wines, going from Bristoll to Oxford: but it is affirmed by others, that much of that lading is armes and ammunition. He hath since taken other townes, and brought the greatest part of Wiltshire under the obedience of the parliament, and hath taken many other commanders and malignants adhering to the cavaliers, and the Irish rebels, viz. M. George Low, of the Oxford-parliament; and another, second sonne of Sir Edward Baintons, and one M. Chivers, with others: and by taking of Malmesbury and Beverston Castle, all trade and commerce out of the west to Oxford is much hindred, and from Bristoll to Oxford quite taken away, and the trade of clothing opened from those parts to London: and, as the report is, there are upon the way now coming up out of Wiltshire towards London thirteen wains laden with woollen cloth, which wil be welcome to the merchants and drapers here, and other wares and commodities will be sent and returned from London into the countrey: this is the Lord's doing, and to him be given all the

praise and glory. This also may stirre up the hearts of such as are able to lend upon the Gloucester ordinance, for the raising of some horse to serve under the command of that valiant commander, who will be left destitute of horse, when the regiment of Colonell Purefoy's horse shall be called away from him, who is earnestly desired by the committee of Coventrey, that he may returne againe into Warwickshire, for the defence of that county, being raised by them for that purpose. To all which I will only adde, and conclude with the votes and resolutions of the house of commons, made upon reading the said governour's letters of the taking of Malmesbury and Beverston, before-mentioned.

DIE VENERIS, 31. MAII. 1644.

A letter from Colonell Massey from Malmesbury of the 25. of May concerning the taking of the towne of Malmesbury, and a copie of the Summons sent to the towne, and the answer of the garrison, were all read: and likewise a letter of the 27. of May from Malmesbury, relating the same particulars more at large, was likewise read; desiring that his regiment might be recruited before any other addition of force: and likewise desiring to know how that town of Malmesbury shall be disposed of.

Ordered, That the towne of Malmesbury, and the castle of Beverston, as to the government of them, shal be left wholly to the disposall of Colonell Massey.

Ordered, That before there be any addition made of new regiments for the assistance of Colonell Massey, Colonell Massey's owne regiment of foot be first recruited, and that his regiment of horses may be compleated for men, horse, and arms, by such supplies of moneyes as by the ordinance may be procured for Gloucester.

Ordered, That after Colonell Masseyes regiments of horse and

foot shall be recruited and completed, that a regiment of horse shall be raised for Colonell Stephens, high sheriffe of the county of Gloucester, to be under the command of Colonell Massey: and that my lord generall be desired to grant no commission to any other for raising any other regiments for the county of Gloucester, and the other counties mentioned in the ordinance, but to such as shall be recommended by Colonell Massey unto the committee of Gloucester, and by them to this house.

Ordered, That Roger Burgoyne do by this day sevensnight at farthest pay in the 400l. owing upon bond to Captain Matthews deceased, and assigned by former order upon Colonell Massey.

Ordered, That it be referred to the committee for Gloucester, to prepare an ordinance, and bring it in on Tuesday morning next, for settling upon Colonell Massey an estate of inheritance to the value of 1000 pound per annum, at least, out of some papists and delinquents estates.

Char. Stavely Cler. Dom.

Pury. 1644. June 4.

FINIS.

1000

•

•

•

•

A
GREAT VICTORY
OBTAINED BY
COLLONEL MASSEY

AT THE
STORMING OF SIR JOHN WINTER'S HOUSE,

WHERE WERE SLAIN.
3 Collonels and Majors.
70 Other officers and souldiers.
60 Drowned in the flight.
Sir John Winter fled and his
brother slain.

TAKEN PRISONERS.
4 Collonels and Majors.
4 Captains.
120 Other officers and souldiers.
300 Arms taken.
200 Pistols.
Good store of ammunition.

WITH A LIST OF THE CHIEF OF THE PRISONER'S NAMES.

PUBLISHED ACCORDING TO ORDER.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY THOMAS FORCET. 1644.
(MARCH 1.)

1

A
GREAT VICTORY
OBTAYNED BY
COLLONEL MASSEY,

AT THE STORMING A GARRISON OF THE ENEMIES IN THE FORREST OF DEANE,
WHICH WAS SIR JOHN WINTER'S OWNE HOUSE.

CERTIFIED BY LETTERS BROUGHT TO THE PARLIAMENT ON FRIDAY THE 18th OF
FEBRUARY, 1644.

COLLONEL MASSEY (notwithstanding the great oppression of the king's forces which have lately quartered about Glocestershire) hath now gained a very great victory against Sir John Winter, in the storming of a garrison in which hee hath long been nested in the Forrest of Deane.

Collonel Massey first blocked them up close, and sent a summons to Sir John Winter to surrender it to him, which (hee denying) Collonel Massey sent him word, that if hee would not surrender that he would storne his house; but Sir John Winter still refused.

This house lyes upon the river, and Sir John Winter had some barks in which hee thought if he was put hard to it to escape, and indeed so it fell out, as you may understand by the ensuing discourse.

Collonel Massey placed his men in severall stations to storne the house, and they fell on with very much valour.

Sir John Winter's men opposed them what they could, but our men fell on so furiously that they killed divers of them;

Y Y

342 A GREAT VICTORY OBTAINED BY COLLONEL MASSEY.

whereupon Sir John Winter with some others got away by water and fled.

Our men did good execution upon them that went by water; but Sir John Winter himselfe escaped, (as is conceived) for his body is not found.

The fight was very hot, both by land and also against those upon the water, and our men sunke their boates, and slew some as they were making way to escape.

Thus our men still pursued their victory, killing and wounding many stout souldiers, and it pleased God to give the successe to Collonel Massey; the particulars of which here followeth.—A list of the particulars of this great victory obtayned by Collonel Massey, in the taking of Sir John Winter's house in the Forrest of Deane.

SirJohn Winter the governour thereof fled.

Slaine in the fight on the enemy's	2 Serjant Majors.
party.	4 Captaines.
Collonel Gammon.	Divers other officers under
Lieutenant Collonel Winter,	captaines also.
Sir John's brother.	120 Taken prisoners.
1 Serjant Major.	Taken besides.
70 Slaine besides, whereof divers	160 Horses from the enemy.
captaines and other officers.	200 Pistols and carbines.
60 Drowned, as they were flying	300 Armes.
by water.	Besides store of powder and
Taken Prisoners.	ammunition.
2 Lieutenant Collonels.	

FINIS.

FOVRE
ORDINANCES

OF THE

LORDS AND COMMONS ASSEMBLED IN PARLIAMENT,

VIZ.

**THE FIRST, FOR RAISING AND MAINTAINING OF HORSE AND FOOT
FOR THE GARRISON OF GLOCESTER.**

**THE SECOND, FOR A WEEKLY ASSESSEMENT ON THE COUNTY AND CITY
OF GLOCESTER.**

**THE THIRD, FOR CONTINUANCE OF A WEEKLY ASSESSEMENT ON THE
CITY AND COUNTY OF GLOCESTER.**

THE FOURTH, CONCERNING CURRANS.

13, MARTII. 1644.

**ORDERED BY THE COMMONS ASSEMBLED IN PARLIAMENT, THAT THE SEVERALL
ORDINANCES FOR RAISING MONEYS FOR THE CITY AND COUNTY OF
GLOCESTER BE FORTHWITH PRINTED AND PUBLISHED.**

HEN. ELSYNGE, CLER. PARL. DOM. COM.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR EDWARD HUSBANDS,
MARCH 18. 1645.

1

10 MAII. 1644.

AN

ORDINANCE

OF THE

LORDS AND COMMONS ASSEMBLED IN PARLIAMENT,
FOR RAISING AND MAINTAINING OF HORSE AND FOOT FOR THE
GARRISON OF GLOCESTER AND FOR THE COUNTY
OF GLOCESTER, &c.

WHEREAS the county and city of Gloucester, and the county of the said city are now in a sad condition, by reason of the enemies lying upon them and keeping many garrisons in the county of Gloucester, and the counties of Hereford, Monmouth, Glamorgan, Brecknock, and Radnor, being almost all in their power, whereby the Irish rebels and other enemies have the freer passage for prosecuting their bloody designs against this kingdome to spoyle and ruine the same; for prevention whereof and to reduce the residue of the said counties to their due obedience of the King and Parliament, there is great necessity that three or foure hundred horse, and other forces be presently raised, and money provided for the same, and also for the better maintaining of the forces already raised, and to be raised in the said counties and city. The Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, considering the premises, and well weighing the extraordinary and faithfull service performed at, before and since the late siege of Gloucester, by the garrison there, by Collonel Massey, and the forces under his command, doe declare, order,

and ordaine, and be it hereby ordered, declared and ordained, that Sir Robert Harley, knight of the Bath; John Wilde, serjeant at law; Nathaniel Stephens, Edward Stephens, Thomas Hodges, and Thomas Pury, esquires; members of the house of Commons, the Maior and Recorder of the city of Glocester, for the time being; Sir Giles Overbury, knight; Edward Massie, collonel and governour of Glocester; James Kirle, John Stephens, Thomas Stephens, Edward Harley, Isaac Bromwich, Sylvanus Wood, William Shepheard, Stephen Flower, Edward Broughton, and Henry Jones, esquires; shall be, and are hereby nominated a committee of and for the said severall counties and city; and that they, or any three or more of them shall hereby have full power and authority to take the subscriptions of all such persons as will voluntarily lend or contribute any summe or summes of money, plate, horse, or armes towards the supplies and provisions aforesaid, and for other necessaries for the advancement of the said service, which summe and summes of money, plate, horse, or armes to be subscribed, lent, and contributed as aforesaid, the said committee, or any three or more of them shall and may receive and employ for the services aforesaid, and give notes or acquittances for the severall summes of money, plate, horse, or armes so received, which said notes or acquittances shall be a sufficient specialty for the severall persons that shall lend, or contribute any money, plate, horse, or armes as aforesaid, to demand re-payment thereof, or the value thereof with such encrease as shall be agreed upon so as the same shall not exceed 8l. per cent. And for the better enabling the said committee to make re-payment of such moneys and the value of such plate, horse, and armes as shall be lent for the purposes aforesaid, and for the raysing, maintenance, and supplies of the said forces from time to time as need shall require, be it further ordained by the Lords and Commons, that the said committee, or any three or more of them, shall have power and authority to put in execution

within the said counties the severall ordinances of this present parliament hereafter mentioned; that is to say, the ordinance for sequestration of malignants', delinquents', and papists' estates; the ordinance for raysing of money by taxing such as have not at all contributed, or not according to their estates; the ordinance for the weekly assessments, and all other ordinances made this present parliament, for advance of money through the whole kingdome of England, and dominion of Wales, for the service of the King and Parliament, so farre forth as they, or any of them have not been already fully executed within the places aforesaid, except the ordinances for leavying of money by way of excise, or new impost, the proceed of all which raised, and to be raised within the said counties, shall be paid unto the said committee or any three or more of them to be issued out for the uses and purposes aforesaid, which shall be a sufficient discharge to the commissioners of excise in that behalfe. And the commissioners of excise are authorised and hereby required from time to time, to issue their warrants to their inferiour officers within the said counties for payment of the said moneys accordingly, and that the said committee, or any three or more of them take care of the full and due execution of the said ordinances, according to the tenure and true meaning of the same respectively; and for the more speedy raising of moneys for the repayment of such summes, and the value of such plate, horse, or armes, as shall be brought in by subscriptions as aforesaid: be it ordained by the lords and commons, that the said committees or any three or more of them, shall have hereby full power and authority to set, and let the lands, tenements and hereditaments of all malignants, delinquents, and papists, which shall be seized and sequestred according to the ordinance of parliament for sequestrations, within the said counties and city, from yeare to yeare, or by lease or leases for the intents or purposes aforesaid, so long as the said sequestration shall continue; and in case the said subscribers

and lenders shall not receive full satisfaction of their principall money, and interest to be lent and subscribed as aforesaid out of the estates of malignants, delinquents, and papists, and other provision as aforesaid, that then the said subscribers, and lenders, and every of them are by virtue of this ordinance to have the publique faith of the kingdome for the repayment of such summe and summes of money as shall be due unto them.

And be it further ordained, that the said committees or any three or more of them shall have full power and authority to name and appoint such treasurers, collectors, and other officers within the said counties and city, as they shall thinke fit and convenient for the better putting in execution of all and every the aforesaid ordinances of parliament, and of this present ordinance, as well for the receiving of all or any the said moneys as also for the issuing out of the same, for the purposes aforesaid, by warrant under the hands of the said committee, in such manner as the said committee, or any three or more of them shall appoint, and to call to account from time to time upon oath, all such treasurers, collectors, and other persons who shall receive any moneys, plate, horse, or armes, by vertue of this present ordinance of parliament for the services aforesaid and to give such fitting and reasonable allowances unto such persons as shall be employed in the execution of the ordinance aforesaid, and of this present ordinance, or any of them for their charges and paines therein, as the said committees or any three or more of them shall think fit: provided that such allowance shall not exceed the respective rates allowed by the said severall ordinances in other counties of the kingdome for putting the said ordinances in execution; and if any such treasurers, collectors or other person or persons shall refuse to accompt or pay in the moneys wherewith they are charged, then the said committees, or any three or more of them, shall return their names to one or both houses of parliament, and the said committees, or any three or more of them are

hereby enabled and authorized to call to accompt upon oath all such person and persons of the said severall counties, as have received any moneys by authority of parliament, which they have not made even payment of. And the said committees or any three or more of them are hereby authorized, to administer the severall oaths specified in the foresaid ordinances, to such commissioners or persons as have not already taken the same: and be it further ordained by the said lords and commons, that the personall estates of such malignants, delinquents and papists within the cities of London and Westminster, and within twenty miles of the same not yet sequestred nor discovered, and which shall be discovered by the said committees, or any three or more of them, or by such person or persons as they shall authorize under their hands and seales for that purpose, within three moneths next after the passing of this ordinance shal be allowed unto the said committees for the further advancement of the said service: provided that the said concealed estates exceed not the sum five thousand pounds; and that the said committees, or any person or persons authorized by them as aforesaid, nor any of them shall possesse themselves of the said delinquents' or papists' estates before he or they acquaint the committee of lords and commons for sequestrations therewith, or any three or more of them, whereof the chayrman to be one, to the end, they may judge of their delinquency before his or their estates be sequestred and taken away: And be it further ordained by the lords and commons that the said committees, or any three or more of them, shall have power and authority, and are hereby required to administer the late nationall covenant appointed to be taken by the three kingdomes of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to all persons within the said counties and city, who ought to take the same by the late ordinance and instructions for that purpose, and have not already taken it. And be it further ordained by the said lords and commons, that the said committees, or any three or more of them,

shall have power to call before them all ministers and schoole-masters within the said counties and city that are scandalous in their lives, or ill-affected to the parliament, or fomenters of this unnaturall war, or shall wilfully refuse obedience to the ordinances of parliament, or shall have deserted their ordinary place of residence, not being employed in the service of the king and parliament, and they shall have power to send for any witnesses, and examine any complaint, or receive any testimony against them upon oath of any person that shall be produced to give evidence against them, and upon such proofes of the aforesaid crimes the said committees, or any three or more of them, have hereby power to remove and eject all such scandalous ministers and schoole-masters, and in their places to nominate and appoint such learned, able, and godly persons as they shall think fit, and shall cause all such ministers and schoole-masters so nominated, appointed, and placed, to be put in possession of the said severall churches and schooles, who shall and may respectively take, receive, and perceive to their owne use, the profits and revenues belonging to the said severall churches and places in as large and ample manner as the severall ministers and persons in the said severall places have formerly used to do: And all maiors, sheriffs, constables, and other his majestie's officers and ministers, are hereby required to be ayding and assisting to the said committee as aforesaid, in the execution of this service; and tis lastly ordered, declared and ordained, that the good endeavours of the said committee in the execution of the premisses, are, and shall be taken as reall and publick testimonies to the publique weale, and themselves and such others as shall act, and be ayding and assisting to them according to the true meaning of this present ordinance, shall be for so doing, saved harmlesse and indemnified by power of parliament.

FINIS.

DIE MERCURII 2 OCTOBRI. 1644.

AN

ORDINANCE

FOR A

WEEKLY ASSESSMENT ON THE COUNTY OF GLOCESTER, AND ON THE
CITY AND COUNTY OF THE CITY OF GLOCESTER.

WHEREAS the committee nominated in a former ordinance of parliament, for raising and maintaining of horse and foote, for the garrison of Glocester, and for the county of Glocester, Hereford, Monmouth, Glamorgan, Brecknock, and Radnor, are not able by the ordinances of sequestration of delinquents' and papists' estates, and the ordinance of raising moneys by taxing such as have not contributed, or not according to their estates, to raise such present summes of money as are expedient for the maintenance of the present forces within the said garrison and county of Glocester.

It is therefore ordained, and be it hereby ordained by the lords and commons in parliament assembled, that the said committee nominated in the said ordinance, or any foure or more of them, shall have, and hereby hath power and authority to rate and taxe upon the said county of Glocester, the sume of one thousand pounds a weeke, and on the said city and county of the said city of Gloucester, the summe of one hundred pounds a weeke, to begin from the sixteenth day of August last past: and so to be weekly paid for the space of five months; unlesse the said houses of parliament shall make any other order concerning the same, to be rated, taxed,

leavied, and collected in such sort, manner, and forme, as is prescribed in the former ordinances of the weekly assessments; and in lieu of the said weekly assessments, and to be imployed for, and towards the maintenance of the said forces in the said garrison and county of Gloucester, and city and county of the city of Gloucester. aforesaid: and for preventing disorders in raising horse, leavying moneys, and taking and seizing goods without authority.

It is hereby ordered and ordained by the said lords and commons in parliament assembled, that from henceforth no horse shall be there raised, or money levied, or goods taken of any person or persons, without consent and order of the said committee, or the major part of them then present, expressed by warrant under their hands.

And that no free quarter shall be assigned, or taken of the inhabitants under contribution: by the commanders and officers of horse, and their troopers, but by like order and consent of the said committee by warrant as aforesaid, and so long time as any of the said troopers have free quarter, they are to have but halfe pay: and the officers to allow in proportion out of their pay.

And that all officers, and souldiers, both horse and foot, shall be paid according to the late establishment of my lord generall's army: and no commander or officer there, shall receive pay, but such as duely attend their charge, unlesse otherwise specially imployed in service of the parliament.

And that no other commander or officer shall be paid, but such as are received now into service, and such as shall be hereafter received, and approved of by the said committee, or the major part of them.

And that no officer or commander shall receive pay there as an officer and commander, both horse and foote, by vertue of any commission granted to any one person, for horse and foote, except Collonell Massey governouer of Gloucester.

And that all such horse, beasts and cattell, as shall be taken and driven by any of the forces in the said severall counties, out of the enemy's quarters, shall be delivered to the said committee, or such persons as they shall appoint; to the end, they may be employed towards the publique charge, according to the said ordinance, some reasonable reward to be allowed to the said souldiers, who shall doe the said service, as the said committee shall think fit.

And it is hereby ordained that all commanders, officers, and souldiers in the said garrison of Gloucester, and severall counties aforesaid, shall be, and are hereby required from time to time, ayding and assisting to the said committee in the execution of the said former ordinance, and of this present ordinance.

And that the said committee, and their agents, and assistants, in execution of the premises, shall be saved harmeles, and protected by authority parliament.

And lastly it is hereby ordained by the said lords and commons, that the said committee, or any five or more of them, may imprison all such as shall make any attempt, or doe any act tending to the disturbance of the proceedings of the said committee, or the peace of the said county, and them to fine, not exceeding the summe of ten pounds, upon every such offender; every such offender to remaine in prison untill he have satisfied and paid the said fine, which shall be employed to the uses exprest in the said former ordinance.

Hen. Elsynge, Cler. Par. Dom. Com.

13. MARTII 1644.

AN

ORDINANCE

FOR THE

CONTINUANCE OF A WEEKLY ASSESSMENT ON THE COUNTY OF
GLOCESTER AND ON THE CITY AND COUNTIE OF THE
CITIE OF GLOCESTER.

WHEREAS the committee nominated in a former ordinance of parliament, for raising and maintaining of horse and foote for the garrison of Glocester, and for the county of Glocester, Hereford, Monmouth, Glamorgan, Brecknock, and Radnor, are not able by the ordinances of sequestration of delinquents' and papists' estates, and the ordinance of raising moneys, by taxing such as have not contributed, or not according to their estates, to raise such present sums of money as are expedient for the maintenance of the present forces within the said garrison and county of Glocester.

It is therefore ordained, and be it hereby ordained by the lords and commons assembled in parliament, that the said committee nominated in the said ordinance, or any foure or more of them shall have and hereby hath power and authority to rate and taxe upon the said county of Glocester, the summe of one thousand pound per week, and on the said city and county of the said city of Glocester, the summe of one hundred pounds a week, to begin from the sixteenth day of January last past: and so to be weekly paid for the space of nine moneths from henceforth next ensuing unless the

said houses of parliament shall make any other order concerning the same, to be rated, taxed, levied, and collected in such sort, manner and forme, as is prescribed in the former ordinances of the weekly assessments : and in lieu of the said weekly assessments : and to be employed for and towards the maintenance of the said forces in the said garrison, and county of Gloucester, and city and county of the city of Gloucester aforesaid.

15. MARTII 1644.

WHEREAS by ordinance of parliament, bearing date die veneris 21. Feb. 1644. It is ordained (int. alia) that one third part of the profit that shall arise out of the customes payable upon currans shall be appropriated to the garrison of Gloucester. It is this day ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, that the commissioners of the customes, shall from time to time, during the continuance of the said ordinance, pay over all the said third part of the profit that shall arise out of the customes payable upon currans, unto Nathaniell Stephens, Thomas Hodges, and Thomas Pury, esquires, members of the House of Commons for the use of the garrison of Gloucester upon account (if the said garrison be continued a garrison) takeing their receipt for the same, which shall be to the said commissioners and every of them a sufficient discharge in that behalfe.

Hen. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. Dom. Com.

FINIS.

1

DIE LUNE, 3 APRIL, 1648.

AN
ORDINANCE
OF
THE LORDS AND COMMONS
ASSEMBLED IN
PARLIAMENT,
FOR
UNITING CERTAIN CHURCHES,
AND
FOR MAINTENANCE OF PREACHING-MINISTERS IN THE CITY OF
GLOCESTER.

ORDERED BY THE COMMONS ASSEMBLED IN PARLIAMENT, THAT THIS
ORDINANCE BE FORTHWITH PRINTED AND PUBLISHED.
H. ELSYNGE. CLER. PARL. D. COM.

LONDON, PRINTED FOR EDWARD HUSBAND, PRINTER TO THE
HONORABLE HOUSE OF COMMONS, APRIL 10, 1647.

DIE LUNÆ, 3 APRIL, 1648.

AN
ORDINANCE
OF
THE LORDS AND COMMONS
ASSEMBLED IN
PARLIAMENT,
FOR
UNITING CERTAIN CHURCHES,
AND
FOR MAINTENANCE OF PREACHING-MINISTERS IN THE CITY OF
GLOCESTER.

WHEREAS in the antient city of Glocester there are many parishes of very small yearly values, consisting of very few families, unable to maintain preaching-ministers, and for the most part served by singing-men, never bred schollers, ignorant, scandalous, and of loose life, whereby the people are kept in much ignorance; for remedy whereof, the mayor and burgesses of the city of Glocester, in the county of the city of Glocester, humbly pray, that it may please the lords and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, to order and ordain, and be it therefore ordered, declared and ordained by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the first day of May, Anno Dom. 1648, the several churches and parishes of St. Mary Cript, commonly called Cript Church, and of St. Owens, pulled downe and demolished imme-

diately before the late seige of Gloucester, and of All-Saints, commonly called All-holland Church, in the same city of Gloucester, shall be united, knit together, and consolidated into one church, and into one parish. And that from thenceforth all and singular the inhabitants which now are, or hereafter shall be resident and abiding within the limits and bounds of the said several parishes, shall repair and resort unto the church of St. Mary Cript aforesaid, and be for ever discharged and exempted of and from all repair and resort unto any other of the said churches, and of and from the cure, jurisdiction and authority of any other parson or curate, and of and from all taxes, impositions, tythes, oblations, charges, offices and employments, to, for, or in respect of any other the said parishes or parish churches in the said city of Gloucester: and that from and after the said first day of May, 1648, the several churches of St. Michael, and of St. Mary Grace, commonly called Grace Land Church, and of St. Aldats in the said city, shall be also united, consolidated and knit together, into one church, and into one parish; and that from thenceforth all and singular the inhabitants which now are, or hereafter shall be resident and abiding within the limits and bounds of the said several parishes, shall resort and repair unto the church of St. Michaels aforesaid, and be for ever exempted from the said churches of Graceland and St. Aldats, and from the jurisdiction thereof, and from the authority of any other parson or curate, and of and from any tax, charge, office, demand or employment whatever, to, from, or in respect of the said parishes or parish churches of Graceland and St. Aldats aforesaid: and that from and after the said first day of May aforesaid, the several churches and parishes of St. Nicholas, and of Trinity in the said city, shall be likewise united, consolidated, and knit together into one church, and into one parish: and from thenceforth all and singular the inhabitants which now are, or hereafter shall be resident or abiding within the limits and bounds of the said several parishes, shall resort and repair unto the church of St. Nicholas aforesaid, and be for

ever exempted from the said church of Trinity, and from the jurisdiction thereof, and from the cure and authority of any other parson or curate, and of and from any tax, office, demand, or imployment whatsoever, to, for, or in respect of the said parish, or parish church of Trinity aforesaid: and that from and after the said first day of May aforesaid, the several churches and parishes of St. Johns and St. Oswalds in the said city, shall be likewise united, consolidated, and knit together into one church, and into one parish; and that from thenceforth all and singular the inhabitants, which now are or hereafter shall be resident and abiding within the limits and bounds of the said several churches, shall resort and repair unto the church of St. Johns aforesaid, and be for ever exempted from the said church of St. Oswalds, and from the cure, jurisdiction or authority of any other parson or curate, and of and from any tax, office, demand, charge or imployment whatsoever, to, for, or in respect of the said parish or parish church of St. Oswald's aforesaid.

And be it ordered and ordained by the authority aforesaid, That one sufficient able preaching-minister, to be respectively in every of the said parish churches of Cript, St. Michaels, St. Nicholas, and St. John's, shall be perpetual parson in the said parish churches; and all and every one of them respectively, shall be incorporated and have perpetual succession, and shall be by authority of this ordinance enabled to sue and be sued respectively by the several names aforesaid, in all courts and places within this realm; and also to purchase, alien, acquire and demise; in such manner as other parsons perpetual of parish churches presentative within this realm, may do by the laws and statutes of this realm, and no otherwise: and be it further ordered, declared and ordained by the authority aforesaid, that the said several ministers or parsons of Cript church, St. Michaels church, St. Nicholas church, and St. Johns church aforesaid, shall so hold and enjoy respectively, the

said several churches, church-yards, and all the lands, tenements, annuities, rents, hereditaments, emoluments and profits whatsoever belonging, or in any wise appertaining unto the said several churches before mentioned, according to the union and consolidation aforesaid; and also, one annuity or yearly pension of fourscore pounds apiece of lawful money of England, to be paid quarterly by even and equal portions, unto the several and respective preaching-ministers and incumbents of the several and respective churches of Cript, St. Michaels, and St. Nicholas; and unto the preaching-minister and incumbent of St. Johns church aforesaid, threescore pounds per annum, to be paid quarterly as aforesaid; which said several annuities and yearly pensions, shall be from time to time duly paid in manner as aforesaid, out of all and singular the manors, messuages, lands, tenements, hereditaments, and rents hereafter mentioned and expressed, by the mayor and burgesses of the city of Gloucester, and their successors, according to the true intent and meaning of this ordinance, unto the several and respective ministers and incumbents of the said several and respective churches of Cript, St. Michaels, St. Nicholas, and St. Johns, as aforesaid; whose receipt or receipts for the same respectively, shall be a sufficient discharge unto the said mayor and burgesses, and their successors in that behalf. And it is further ordained by the authority aforesaid, that the manor of Tufley, and the yearly rent thereof thirty-six pounds fifteen shillings, the manor of Sainthurst, and the yearly rent thereof twenty-four pounds fifteen shillings sixpence halfpenny, the scite or farm of the manor of Abload, and the yearly rent thereof twenty-two pounds seven shillings four pence; which said manors and premises are lying and being in the county of the city of Gloucester, and of late belonging to the late dean and chapter of the cathedral or collegiate church in the said city of Gloucester; and, also the manor, scite of the manor, rectory of Churcham, in the county of Gloucester, and the yearly rents of them, being forty-one pounds

two shillings and sixpence, and eight pounds three shillings fourpence; the manor and rectory of Culn Ailwins in the county of Gloucester, and the yearly rents of them, being twenty-four pounds three shillings nine pence, and ten pounds six shillings eight pence; and also all the messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments, within the city of Gloucester and suburbs thereof, and the yearly rents of one hundred seventy-six pounds five shillings tenpence, commonly known to be under one rent-gather or bailiff, and in Anno Dom. 1637, were collected by Mr. Anthony Robinson now deceased; all which were parcell of the lands and rents belonging to the said late dean and chapter in Gloucester, with all and every of their appurtenances, of what nature or quality soever they be, together with all deeds, evidences and writings whatsoever, concerning the premises or any of them, are hereby vested and settled, adjudged and deemed to be, and are hereby in the real and actual possession and seisin of the said major and burgesses in the city of Gloucester, in the county of the city of Gloucester, and their successors for ever; and the said lands and premises, shall have, hold, possess and enjoy, to them and their successors, without any entry or other act whatsoever, in as large and ample manner as the said dean and chapter at any time had occupied, held or enjoyed the said manors, messuages, lands and premises, and every of them within ten years last past before the date of this ordinance, to be held of the king, his heirs and successors, as of his manor of East Greenwich in fee and common soccage, by fealty, and not in capite, nor by any other tenure or services; saving to all person and persons, bodies politique and corporate, their heirs and successors, and the heirs and successors of every of them, other than the said dean and chapter, and their successors, all such right, title, claim, possession, interest, rents, annuities, commodities, commons, offices, leases, pensions, portions, debts, fees, duties, and other profits, which they or any of them lawfully have, or of right ought to have,

or might have had, of, in, or to any of the manors, lands and premises, or of, in, or to any part or parcell thereof, in such like manner, form and condition, to all intents and purposes, as if this ordinance had never been had nor made, and as though the said dean and chapter had still continued and remained in their full being. Provided always, and it is hereby further ordained and declared, that whensoever both houses of parliament shall order, direct and appoint the manor, lands, tenements, and hereditaments of the deans and chapters in England and Wales to be sold, or otherwise settled for the maintenance of preaching-ministers throughout the kingdom of England and the dominion of Wales, that then the manors, lands and premises hereby settled as aforesaid, shall be lyable thereunto, any thing in this present ordinance to the contrary notwithstanding; and that in the meantime the said mayor and burgesses shall imploy all increase of rents, and other profits and advantages, to be made out of the said manors, lands and premises, to and for the use and benefit of the said preaching ministers and incumbents of the said several churches before mentioned, and for increase of their said yearly salary and maintenance, and not otherwise, nor to any other use, intent or purpose whatsoever, nor to grant any lease or estate of any of the said manors, lands and premises for above seven years in possession and being, but by special order and direction of both houses of parliament. And it is further ordered and ordained, that every one of the said ministers and incumbents shall have, possess and enjoy one of the prebendal houses, with the appurtenances belonging to the said cathedral or collegiate church, to inhabit and dwell in, with his family, for so long time as he shall continue minister and incumbent of the said several and respective churches united as aforesaid. And it is further ordered and ordained by the authority aforesaid, that the major and burgesses of the city of Glocester, and their successors for ever, shall have, hold and enjoy all and singular the

4

churches of Trinity, All Saints, Graceland, St. Aldats, St. Oswald, and St. Owens, and every of them, and all the land, ground and soyle of or belonging to the said several churches, and all the bells, goods, implements, and utensils whatsoever to the said churches, and every one of them respectively belonging, or in any wise appertaining, to be used, bestowed or employed for an English school or library, one usual place of meeting and assembling of the major, aldermen and common council of the said city of Glocester, or for or towards the placing, keeping, and preserving, the arms, powder and ammunition for the defence of the said city, and for the furnishing of a library with books, and for such or the like publique uses, as the major, aldermen and common-council of the said city of Glocester, or by the major part of them shall seem meet and convenient. Provided always, and it is hereby ordained and declared, that the said several and respective ministers, parsons and incumbents of the churches of Cript, St. Michaels, St. Nicholas and St. Johns aforesaid; and their and every of their successors respectively, for and in respect of the premises to them and every of them limited and appointed, shall pay first fruits and tenths according to the rate and value of eight pounds per annum apiece; and shall be accordingly taxed and contributory with the rest of the clergy, to all subsidies and other duties hereafter to be duly assessed or imposed, as for a spiritual and ecclesiastical possession, and not otherwise. And be it likewise ordered, declared and ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the said major and burgesses of the city of Glocester, and their successors for ever, shall have, hold and enjoy the advowsons, patronages and presentations of all and every the said churches of Cript, St. Michaels, St. Nicholas and St. Johns aforesaid. And shall and may present, according to law, as well the several incumbents first to be admitted, as also all other avoidances of the said several churches of Cript, St. Michaels, St. Nicholas, and St. Johns aforesaid, as often as they or any one

of them shall become void : and shall or may maintain all actions and writs, for or concerning the said several churches, and the advowson and advowsons of them and every of them, as a patron of any other church presentative may do by the laws and statutes of this realm of England (any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding). And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, that all letters patents, charters, and grants under the great seal of England, heretofore made or granted unto the major and burgesses of the city of Gloucester, of any manors, lands, tenements, liberties, franchises or other hereditaments whatsoever ; and also all customs, tolls, usages, liberties and franchises of the said city of Gloucester, are hereby granted, ratified and confirmed unto the said major and burgesses of the said city of Gloucester, and their successors for ever, in as full and ample manor and form to all intents and purposes, as they or any of them shall have bin granted, used, accustomed or taken.

Joh. Brown, Cleric.
Parliamentorum.

H. Elsynge, Cler.
Parl. D. Com.

APPENDIX.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

No. I.

FROM THE HARLEIAN MSS. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Letters of King Charles I. and his Queen Henrietta Maria.

(A.)

The Queen to the Marquess of Newcastle.

Oxford ce 13 August, 1643.

Mon cousin, jay reseu 3 de vos lettres
par tomkings et la reduction de lincoln: je pance
que vous croyes bien la joye que jay de vos pros-
perites. Le Roy est alle a glocester luy mesme
en persoñe, qui ne donne pas peu de mescon
tantement a tout le monde ysy: et avec
raison: de luy voir prandre des conseils sy
subits: et tout seux qui luy ont conseille
eux mesme le desavoue: je prie dieu quil
en aye un bon suces. il mavoit escrit de

36 en Southfolke

vous mander de aler 8 . 40 . 48 . 62 . 45 . 32 . 15 . 37 .

Norfolke

23 . 25 . 7 . 66 . 41 . 36 . 50 . 46 . 31 . 16 . 37 . 23 . 25 : 8 .

or Huntingdon shire
 ou 31 . 62 . 41 . 45 . 27 . 40 . 22 . 45 . 38 . 40 . 48 . 32 . 27.

8 . 50 . 8 . 69. je luy ay respondu que vous esties

mellieur juge que luy de cela , et que je ne
 le ferois pas: La verite est que lon porte
 envie a v^{re} armee: d'avenant est arive
 je nay point encore parle a luy a son retour
 jl vous informera de beaucoup de choses qui ne
 se peuvent escrire: mais je ne craindre point
 descire et que tout le monde le voye que
 je suis veritablement et constamment

(Addressed)

A Mon cousin le

Marquis de Newcastle

vre fidelle et bien

bonne amie

Henriette Marie. R.

(B.)

1D. 91.

The King to the same.

Newcastell/ this is cheefly to give credit to this bearer who amongst
 other things will tell you why I make a demur concerning S^r Wil-
 liam Savill; but in the meane tyme, I desyre you to send me a list
 of all such officers and country gentlemen who have done me good
 service, to the end I may remember to reward them when tyme
 shall serve: so referring the rest to this Bearer I rest

Matson 22: Aug: 1643 Your most assured constant reall frend
 I desyre you not to forgett Charles R.
 my 200: barrells of powder.

(C.)

ID. 116.

The King to Prince Maurice upon the surrender of Bristol.

Newtonne, 20 Sep. 1645.

Nepueu: what through want of tyme or unwillingness to speake to you of so unplesing a subject, I have not yet, (w^h now I must supply) spoken to you freely of your brother Ruperts present condition: the treuth is, that his unhansom quitting the Castell & Forte of Bristoll, hath inforced me to put him off those Comānds w^{ch} he had in my army, and have sent him a Passe to goe beyond sease; now though I could doe no lesse than this, for w^{ch} (belive me) I have too much reason, upon strikt examination; yet, I asseure you, that I am most confident that this great Error of his (w^{ch}, indeed, hath given me more Greefe then any Misfortune since this damnable Rebellion) hath no waise proceeded from his change of Affection to me or my Cause, but, meerly, by hauing his Judgement seduced by some rottenharted Villaines, making faire pretentions to him, & I am resolved, so litle to forget his former services, that whensoever it shall please God to enable me to looke upon my Fren des lyke a King, he shall thanke God for the paines he hath spent in my Armys: so much for him, now for your selfe; I know you to be so free from his present Misfortune, that it nowais staggers me in that good opinion w^h I have eve had of you, &, so long as you shall not be weary of your Imploiments under me, I will give you all the incouragement & contentment that lyes in my Power; however, you shall alwaies fynd me

your loving Oncle & most asseured frend
Charles R.

No. II.

EXTRACT FROM ARCHDEACON FURNEY'S MS. COLLECTIONS IN
THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

July 24. 1717.—One Thomas, called “Welch Thomas,” told me that he came with twelve more boys out of the town of Carmarthen, when he was but sixteen or seventeen years old, to besiege Gloucester: that Captain Morgan was his captain; that he lay at Newark, which was the place of rendezvous, and that before the siege great part of Lanthony priory was standing: that it was built in the same manner as the Cloisters of the Cathedral. It was at least two stories high covered with lead on the top: on one side was a chapel: that the priory was defended by gates; that a great number of French papists lived in it; that afterwards the present dwelling house was altered from being an outhouse, to what it is at present. The building of the Priory stood nearer Littleworth than the present dwelling house does: that there was a street without the north-gate almost as far as St. Margarets Hospital, called “Newland.”

The Grey Friars was much battered by the siege in August 1643; some of the buildings stood upon or near where the Bowling Green now is.—The Welch forces brought from Highnam, whereof he was one, were at least 1500; the soldiers then taken reached by two and two in rank, from Highnam almost to Gloucester: that they were locked up in St. Mary de Load and Trinity churches, with a very strong guard over them: those in St. Marys Church were used very ill, those in Trinity a little better: that he was confined in St. Mary's Church, and with his companions was forced to be glad with turnip tops, cabbage leaves,

and any such thing that they could get. If their friends sent them any thing the guards took it away, and if they desired to speak with them they were not allowed. Those that promised to fight for the parliament against the king were soon set at liberty.

That at the siege in August, the king kept his ammunition with a strong guard in Matson church: that St. Owen's church stood just behind the burying-place of the dissenters, where now a hillock is to be seen: that the top of St. Nicholas' steeple was beaten off at the siege by the cannons: that St. Mary de Grace Church was a very pretty one, but out of repair when he was brought to Gloucester: that Barton street reached as far as the World's End.

That the walls of the city were pretty high; as high, he said, as Mr. Brock's house, which is two stories. There were walks on the top of the walls; at the four gates, were four draw bridges. The city was reckoned one of the prettiest towns in England. The Blue regiment whereof Wise, the Mayor, was Captain, surrounded the Welch forces wherein he was taken, and was a noble stout regiment.

That the Welch forces, before they were at Highnam, endeavoured to undermine the city walls near Lanthony: that they lived very hardy under the hedges: that a great part of the building of the churches was pulled down when the walls were: that St. Catherine's was then pulled down: that St. Mary de Load's steeple was beat off (he thinks, but is not certain,) at the time of the siege.

No. III.

FROM THE RECORDS OF THE CITY OF GLOUCESTER.

Sirs,

Having made it our care and studye to provide both money and other things necessarye for the garison of Gloucester accordinge to the trust committed unto us by the house for that busines; and finding money and meanes at this tyme by reason of many pressing occasions upon the parliament to be somewhat short to satisfy all present occasions; and beeing given to understand by S^r Robert Pye that he hath a very good quantitie of plate in Gloucester which he is willing at 4s. 9d. p^r ounce to parte withall unto the publike, and hath given direction to that purpose to have it delivered and weighed unto your hands; wee have therefore thought good to desire you to receive the said plate into your custodye and deliver unto Collonell Massey so many ounces thereof as shall amount unto 300l. at 4s. 9d. p^r ounce if hee shall desire it; and further to deliver unto such officers of the regiment that was Collonell Stephens so much of the said plate at the said rate as cometh unto one monthes pay given unto them by the pliament; if they shall accept of payment in the manner which wee shall desire you to propose unto them; withall assuring them of the parliaments intention as soon as possibly they can both to satisfy the engagement due to the cittye, and to pay their former arreares. Wee shall desire to understand from you your proceedings in this busines. Not doubting of your concurrence with us in any things you

may by your paynes to promote the publique, wee for present rest
& remayne y^r very loving friends

Edward Exton.

November 30th. 1643.

To the right worshipfull the
major and Aldermen of Glou-
cester these to be delivered.

Rec. this letter 8 of Aprill
1644.

Robert Pye

Tho: Hodges Tho: Pury

Edw: Ownors

No. IV.

AN EXTRACT, SO FAR AS RESPECTS THE COUNTY OF GLOUCES-
TER, FROM A PAMPHLET ENTITLED "A CATALOGUE OF
THE LORDS, KNIGHTS AND GENTLEMEN THAT HAVE COM-
POUNDED FOR THEIR ESTATES. LOND. PRINTED FOR
THOMAS DRING, AT THE SIGNE OF THE GEORGE IN FLEET
STREET, NEARE CLIFFORD'S INNE, 1655."

A.

Atkins Richard, of Tuffey, Gloucest.	0140	00	00
Abington John, and Thomas his sonne, of Dewds- well, Glouc. Gent.	0364	00	00
Arnold Ant. of Westbury, Com. Glouc. Gent.	0414	00	00

B.

Brett Henry, of Hatterby, Glouc. Esq.	0873	00	00
---------------------------------------	------	----	----

Berckley Richard, Rendcombe, Glouc. Esq.	0661	00	00
Berckly Sir Maurice, Rendcomb, Glouc. Knight	1372	00	00
Bathurst, Sir Edward, Lachlare, Glouc.	0720	00	00
Basset Richard, of Benpread, Glouc. Gent.	0653	00	00
Bateson William, Boreton the hill, Glouc.	0700	00	00
Buck Tho. of Winterbourn, Glouc. Gent.	0198	00	00
Botaker Allen, St. George, Glouc.	0001	13	00

C.

Chester Tho. Annisbury, Glouc. Esq.	1000	00	00
Carter Giles, Turkdean, Glouc. Esq.	0968	17	00
Chadwell William, Bradwell, Glouc.	0030	00	00
Catchmay Sir William, Burvere, Glouc.	0335	00	00
Camberline John, Malgerbury, Glouc.	1246	00	00
Coxwell John, of Abynton, Glouc. Gent.	0223	00	00

D.

Dutton John, of Sherborn, Glouc. Esq.	5216	04	00
Ducy Richard, Froster, Gloucester, Gent.	0846	14	00

F.

Fisher Sir Edw. Mickleton, Glouc. Gent.	0116	13	04
Finch John, of Ruthocke Glocest. Gent.	0003	06	08
Finch Francis, of the same Esq.	0050	00	00
Fowler Walter and Dorothy, Recus. p. Rob. Ducy & Tho. Rogers purchas.	1130	13	04
Fitzherbert Anne and Dorothy, Rec. p. John Fitz- herbert, purchasers.	0079	06	08
Fowler Henry, of Hampton Gloc.	0001	08	03

G.

Gwynet Rich. Wormington, Gloc. Gent.	.	0034	10	00
Green Tho. of Gloc. Mercer	.	0169	10	00

H.

Hicks Thomas, of Cromhall, Gloc.	.	0060	00	00
Hughes Will. Wellastow, Gloc.	.	0020	00	00
Hanbury John, Preston, Gloc. Gent.	..	0100	00	00
Harvey John, of Winscomb, Gloc.	.	0012	00	00
Harnage Edward, Recus. p. Thomas Higgins, purchaser.	.	0080	00	00
Hobbs Thomas, Westerleigh, Gloc.	.	0031	13	04

I.

Jeyn Thomas, of Tewksberry, Gloc.	.	0031	10	00
Jones William, of Bodington, Gloc.	.	0040	00	00

L.

Leigh George of Wooten, Gloc. Gent.	.	0153	10	00
Lingen Roger, Radbrook, Gloc. Gent.	.	0283	00	00

M.

Masters Sir William, Cirencester, Gloucester, Knight.	.	1483	00	00
Mayer Robert Holwood, Amny, Gloucester	.	0065	00	00

P.

Pool William, Sapperton, Gloucester, Esq.	.	1494	06	06
Porter Endymion, of Ashton Under-hedge, County Gloucester, Esquire.	.	0679	00	00

Pool John, of Standish, Gloucester, Gentleman	0043	15	00
Pullen Richard, of Cirencester, Gloucester.	0035	06	08

R.

Rutter Michael, of Quinton, Gloucester, Esq.	0300	00	00
Rainsford Henry, of Clifford, Gloucester, Esq.	0900	00	00
Rogers Thomas, of Kingstanley, Gloc. Gent.	0130	00	00
Roberts Thomas Junior, Westerley, Gloucester, Gent.	0003	06	08
Robins Thomas, of Haresfield, Gloucester, Gent.	0001	15	00
Remington Thomas, of South Cerry, in the County of Gloucester, per John Shepard.	0057	00	00
Ranalaugh Viscount, Jones Art.	0005	03	04
Rogers Edward, Com. Gloucester.	0020	00	00

S.

Smith John, of Small Carbes, Gloucester, Gent.	0600	00	00
Sandis Thomas, Mysterdon, Gloucester, Gent.	0039	00	00
Stratford William, Faimot, Gloucester, Gent.	0763	14	00
Slaughter Edward, Winchcomb, Glocest. Gent.	0022	10	00
Sivedale William, Tainton, Gloucester, Gent.	0107	00	00
Stringer Anthony, Mickleton, Glocest. Gent.	0004	01	08

T.

Tracy Sir Hum. Stanway, Gloucester	1600	00	00
Tracy Sir Robert, of Toddington, Gloucester, Knight, with 7l. per annum settled.	0849	08	00

V.

Veel Thomas, of Alboston, Gloucester, Esq.	0704	13	04
--	------	----	----

W.

Willis William, of Cirencester, of Glo. Apoc.	0004	10	00
---	------	----	----

[The names of persons and places are not correctly spelt, but the Editor
has not interfered with the original.]

No. V.

FROM THE RECORDS OF THE CITY OF GLOUCESTER.

Julii Decimo Octavo : Anno Dom. 1646.

Delivered to the Judges.

A true collection made by divers of the sufficient inhabitants of the city of Gloucester, of the perfect value of all the losses sustained by firing, and pulling down of houses in the suburbs of the north, east, and south wards of the same city, also Kings Holm (at the late siege there) for the preservation of the said city and garrison, with the goods in the said houses there, being also consumed by fire.

WE, the Grand Inquest for the Body of the County of the City of Glouc^r. being very sensible of the greivous losses that have been sustained by the Owners and Tennants of Houses and Lands in the Suburbs of the City of Glouc^r. with the destroying of the Meads thereto adjacent, for the securing of that City and the Garrison therein kept, by the Parliament, against the enemy of our Religion and Liberties, by means whereof many of them have been extreemly impoverished, and the rest very much disabled to contribute to the Publick charges of that City and County—have thought good to inform this Honourable House, that upon an accompt taken it doth appear unto us y^t there were to the Number of two Hundred forty and one Houses (wherein so many several Families inhabited)

in the Suburbs of the said City ruined, whereof some were pulled down, but the greatest part thereof fired the same evening that the City was beleagured by y^e. Enemy, being upon the tenth day of August 1643, and many of y^m were very fair dwelling Houses, besides many Barnes, Stables, Out Houses, Gardens, Orchards, which were also destroyed for the necessary safety of the said City, (which the inhabitants of the said City willingly consented unto, and without which the City could not have preserved (in humane judgment) and we do humbly desire, that the sufferings of the several persons therby for the Publick (amounting in the whole as it is conceivd to the value of Twenty eight Thousand seven Hundred and twenty Pounds at the least which will appear by the several particulars underneath set down) may be taken into serious consideration, and represented unto the Honourable Parliament of England, to the end all and every y^e Owners of the said Houses and Lands may have Reparations of their damages according to the former declaration made by the Parliament, for the incouragement of the well affected; and the rather in regard the greatest part of the said persons that have so suffered have demonstrated their good affections in y^e assistance towards y^e fortifying of the said City before the Siege, and defending thereof during the Seige and ever since; and in regard the preservation of that City hath been of so great concernment to the whole Nation.

SOUTH WARD.

Fifty dwelling houses besides Gardens and Stables of Mr.	£.
Thos. Dennis and his Moth ^r . and their under Tennants }	3500
John Gelding, one house	150
Mr. Henry Ellis, six dwelling houses	300

APPENDIX.

381

	£
• Mr. Wm. Angel, two dwelling houses . . .	300
• Wm. Cooper, one house . . .	100
Mr. Atkinson, seven houses . . .	500
John Cleves, Widower, one house . . .	150
• Mr. Thos. Witcombe, one house . . .	150
• Executors of Alder Powel, one house . . .	340
• Bryel Gray, five houses . . .	700
John Surman, one house . . .	150
Thomas Wittingham, two houses . . .	140
• Mr. Jno. Cooke, two houses . . .	150
• William Allen, two houses . . .	150
• William Smith, two houses . . .	150
• Mr. Herbert, one house . . .	100
Jno. Niblet, one house . . .	80
• Wm. Adams, one house . . .	50
Mr. Scriven, one house . . .	50
The goods in all these houses then consumed with the houses were worth . . . }	1000
	£8210

EAST WARD.

	£
• Mr. Throne, four houses . . .	350
• Mr. Clent, one house . . .	100
• Mr. Richard Deighton, five houses . . .	900
• Mr. Thos. Witcombe, four houses . . .	550
• Mr. Richard Smith, three houses . . .	140
• Francis Burch, one house . . .	50

3 D

	£
• William Skillam, one house	60
• Mr. Hen. Fletcher, three houses	120
• Rich ^d . Hawx, two houses	60
Mr. Alder ⁿ . Webb, two houses	70
John Theyer, one house	60
John Hart, two houses	140
• Mr. John Scriven, six houses	400
• William Cowdel, seven houses	520
• Mr. Richard Howard, two houses	100
Anne Theyer, Widow, two houses	60
• Mr. Miles Keen, two houses	60
• Mr. William Angel, four houses	150
• Thomas Drinkwater, one house	80
• Mr. Walter Lane, three houses	140
• Mrs. Woodruff, Widow, one house	250
• Margaret Craker, Widow, seven houses	150
• Mr. Richard Smith, one house	40
• Mrs. Dennis, Widow, three houses	60
• The Barton Houses and Barnes belonging to the Mayor and Burgesses	2800
The goods in all those houses then consumed with the houses	1000
	£8470

NORTH WARD.

	£.
• Mr. Edward Mitchel, one house	500
Thomas Terrett, one house	200
* Mrs. Evans, seven houses	1500

* Mr. Brown, one house	40
* Mr. Smith, one house	30
* Robert Porter, one house	30
* Hen. Mercer, one house	200
* Anthony Tolson, one house	30
* Francis Yeates, two houses	50
* Mrs. Hayward, two houses	120
* Richard Jones, one house	40
* John Hunt, one house	20
* Mr. Tarne, two houses	60
* Mr. Thomas Cook, one house	300
Mr. Butt, one house	140
* Walter Harris, one house	200
* Thos. Terrett, one other house	20
Richard Tully, one house	150
* Mrs. Price, Widow, one house	30
* Thos. Terrett, one other house	30
George Stephens, three houses	300
* Mrs. Hayward, one other house	10
* Robert Hill, two houses	150
* Hen. Purlewent, four houses	120
* Mr. Anthony Edwards, two houses	280
Edw. Clements, five houses	200
* William Garnes, three houses	120
* John Hunt, two houses	80
* Mr. Lane, two houses	50
* John Pearce, one house	100
Twelve houses in Brook Street	500
* Mr. Tarne, one house	150
The goods in all these houses then consumed with the houses	2000
	£7750

KINGS HOLM.

	£.
• Mrs. Robinson, one house	100
• Widow Davis, two houses	150
• Widow Richmond, one house	60
• Widow May, one house	60
• Mrs. Hayward, one house	120
• Robert Porter, one house	50
Joyce Cowcher, one house	40
• Giles Pierce, one house	50
• William Angel, one house	150
• Mr. Palmer, one house	30
Mr. Clutterbuck, one barne	50
Tully Court, four houses, barnes and stables	500
• Ongate, two houses w th barnes and stables w th orchard and trees cut down	300
Corne and Goods at the Kings Holm then also burnt	500
James Cecil, one barne	150
The little Mead and Meanham and other grounds being drowned from the beginning of the wars and so re- maineth	2000
	£4310

	£.
South Ward	8210
East Ward	8470
North Ward	7750
Kings Holm	4310
Total	£28740

THE GRAND INQUEST.

Mr. James Stephens	Law. Allen
Mr. George Gwinnett	Mr. Rich ^d Messenger
Mr. Henry Ellis	John Webley
Mr. Rob ^t Paine	John Gythings
Mr. Rich ^d Undrill	Mr. Rob ^t Tayler
Mr. Giles Hayward	Mr. Stephen Clutterbuck
Wm. Lodge	Miles Huntly.

N.B. Those mark^d (*) tis supposed received the sums ag^t their names.

And this Grand Jury doth likewise humbly pray, that your Lordships will be pleased wth a convenient opportunity may be offered to present unto the consideration of the Parliament of England, the great charge this City and the County of this City have been at by way of contribution, Subscriptions and other extraordinary Charge for the defence of the common wealth, as it doth appear by the several accompts, put in to y^r Committee of Accompts for y^r City and the County by Ordinance of Parliament y^t they may receive some reasonable consideration by way of recompense wth y^r Parliament shall think fit, and they shall pray for your Lordships and this City and County thereof, will rest firm to the state in y^r affections &c. and lastly, the Grand Jury doth further humbly pray y^t when it shall please the Parliament of England to make a Search and True enquiry of the particular losses mentioned in this Certificate, that they shall rather find them to be under valued than over valued y^r truth of all which we humbly certifye.

No. VI.

(A.)

From the same.

To the hon^{ble}. Committee of Parliam^t. appointed to state the sufferings of Worc^r and Glouc^r.

Whereas the Contents of a petition lately presented to the parliament in the name of the maior & Burgesses & diverse inhabitants of the City of Glouc^r for Reparons of their losses by the burning & destroying of their houses uppon the appeare of the kings army to beseidge the said City in the yeare 1643 is by an order of Parliament referred to your consideracon; We the maior & Aldermen of the City whose names are subscribed doe crave leave to Represent unto you under the seale of the office of maioralty of this City for your better satisfaccon touching the greate charges & losses sustained by the Inhabitants of this City & suburbs in the maintenance & defence of this City that uppon a calculacon thereof in the year 1645 the whole some did amount unto thirty four thousand pounds & upwards as by the copy of a peticon they presented to the Parliam^t. & hereunto annexed may appeare; besides the losses of the keep of the Northgate being the Comon Goale of this City by meanes of the discharge of prisoners & the damages done to the lands lying neare unto the said City towards the satisfaccon of the City debts contracted for the support of the garrison heare. We confesse we have received an ordinance of the Parliam^t. for 4000^{lb.} of

which we have received but a small part, besides the summes of money acknowledged to be received in the said peticon; And that afterwards in 1646 uppon a more particular survey of the losses by burning and destroying of the North East and South Wards thereof, as also the kings holme and the overflowing of the meadowes on the west and north sides of the same city together with the goods consumed in the said houses, the grand inquest presented to the Lord Chiefe Baron the damage thereby to amount to 26000^{lb.} & upwards; for the Recompence of which damages susteined in the Parliament service & not yet satisfied we humbly entreate your honors favour & furtherance; and take leave this xvith day of December in the yeare of our Lord one thousand sixe hundred and fiftye, and subscribing ourselves

your humble servants

Wm. Singleton maior
Wm. Caple
Tho. Gill
Dennis Wise
Laur. Singleton
Jasp. Clutterbooke
James Stephens
Antho: Edwards.

(B.)

(Found behind a Wainscot at Sudley Castle.)

I do declare and promise that I will be true and faithfull
to the Common Wealth of England as it is now esta-
blished without a King or House of Lords.

These are to certifie that of in the
County of Gloucester did on the day of Anno Dni.
1650 before us two of the Justices of the Peace for the said County
take and subscribe the said Engagem^t. according to the Acte of
Parliam^t. In testimony whereof wee have hereunto set o^r hands
and seales the day and year above written.

[Seal]

[Seal]

(These Engagements were ordered to be subscribed by every Member
of Parliament October 11, 1649; and they were afterwards taken and
subscribed by every Member of the Council of State, and by the Army
and Garrisons. Commons' Journals.)

No. VII.

 FROM THE RECORDS OF THE CITY OF GLOUCESTER.

City Glouc.
& County } In pursuance of an order of pliam' dated the 25th Sep-
tember 1649 authorizing the Counsell of State to give
power and instruccons to such persons within the severall & par-
ticular Counties in England and Wales as they shall think fitt for
preserving the peace of the Comonwealth & preventing of all
Tumults Insurrections & invasions, we have resolved upon these
Instruccons following, and have nominated and appointed Willm
Lenthall, Esq', Speaker of the Parliam', Anthony Edwards, Maior,
James Stephens, Thomas Hill, Thomas Pury, Dennis Wise, Jasper
Clutterbook, Aldermⁿ S^r William Constable, Baronet, Willm Shep-
pard, John Dorney, John Wade & Thomas Hodges Esqrs & George
Gwinnett Gent. to putt the said Instruccons in execucon.

1. Inpris you or the major part of you shall meete the first
Tuesday in every month in some convenient place within your
respective Counties Cities and Townes, & oftner if neede shall
require in your severall limitts &c.

2. And you and every of you before you act on these In-
struccons hereafter following are to subscribe the late engagem ap-
pointed by the Parliam' to be true & faithfull to the Comonwealth
as it is now established without a king or house of Lords in the
presence of any three of you ; and then any two of you are to cause

the said engagement to be subscribed by such Collonells and lieutenant Collonells and Majors (whose names you are speedily to returne to this Counsell) & by the Captains & other officers as shall be thought fitt to be employed, and by such Common Souldiers and Troopers as you shall think fitt to be intrusted wth armes; and uppo reco^mendation of the officers to the Counsell of State they are to have Comissions, if the Counsell shall approve of them; and they being soe comissionated, you or any three of you may grant Comissions to their inferiour officers, who are to recommend them unto you and are to approve of them.

3. You or any three of you are to informe yourselves of all Conspiracies and practices of secret meetings of disaffected persons, and frō time to time any of you that are in the Comissiō of the peace are to take Informations & Examinations uppon oath in writing as you shall see cause, whether expressed by words or actions, spoken printed written or published Wheresoever against the Peace and Wellfare of the Comonwealth by securing & dispising or Committing the parties whom you finde to be especially active & dangerous or to use any other lawfull ways and meanes for the dispising or securing of them as you shall see cause.

4. You or any three of you are authorized and required to disarme or Committ all Papists and other ill affected persons that have of late appeared in their words and actions against this present Pliam^t or against the govern^t thereby established, or shall hold Correspondency with Charles Stuart the sonne of the late king, or with any other person or nation tending to the disturbance or altering of this present government, or in raising any Tumults or Insurrections: for your fuller and better dire^ccons therein you are hereby referred to the severall Articles orders & declarations made ag^t persons & offenders herewith printed and sent you which you are to cause to be putt in full and effectual execution.

5. You shall informe yourselves what horse and Armes are

in your respective Counties, Cities, townes &c. & in whose hands, how and where charged formerly; and are to cause such horse and Armes and all other horse & Arms fitt for service in your respective Counties, Cities &c to be putt into the hands of well affected persons and fitt for war uppon all occasion of muster and service, & then to train & muster them in severall Troops and Companies and forme them into Regiments from time to time, as any three of you shall see cause, and to resist kill and slay all such as shall invade this Commonwealth or make or raise any Insurrection or Rebellion within the same, and shall call to your assistance such persons as you shall thinke fitting that are trusted with the Militia to be ayding & helpfull to you in carrying on of the worke, & shall from time to time keepe Correspondency as occasion shall be with the cheife Commanders of the Pliam'. forces in your respective Counties, Cities or Townes &c. or in the Counties Cities or Townes adjacent and shall further as from time to time receive orders from the Parliam' or Counsell of state settled by their Authority.

6. As to your direcons how to charge the persons of estates with horse and foote, and in what manner to pay them when they are in actuall service, and for enjoyning those that are charged what orders to observe together with other particulars necessary for the perfecting of this worke, they are at this present under serious consideration and as soone as they shall be pfected, you shall have them sent to you, but in the mean time we desire all things preparing hereunto & conducing to the safety of the County according to the Instruecons now sent you, may be carefully attended unto by you.

Signed in the name & by order of
the Counsell of State appointed
by authority of parliament.

Jo: Bradshawe President.

(No date but clearly 1651.)

No. VIII.

From the same.

Gentlemen,

The Parliament taking into consideration the designes that are carried on against the peace of this Commonwealth by the enimies thereof have thought fitt & ordered that the Counsell of State shall have power to raise out of the severall militia forces of this nation three thousand horse & one thousand Dragoons for the time of six moneths from the first of May, to be payd as the rest of the established forces of the Army, whereby they may be alwaies in greater readines against all attempts of those Enimies of the Commonwealth then the Militia forces could be; In pursuance of which order we desire you out of the Militia horse of your citty to draw forth ten able & sufficient horse which you are to take together with Compleate furniture of good and serviceable armes, (viz) back & breast, pott, pistols & sword, of those who being appointed to finde horse by the present Act for the Militia, are persons most disaffected to the present Government; And that you have a speciall care to select & make choyce of such persons to ride the said horses as being of unquestionable fidelity & good affection to the Commonwealth and present Government thereof are also of greatest experience & fitness for such service, & such as are not listed in the Army in Scotland And the said horse soe

mounted & armed you are to cause to appeare at a rendezvous for them & other appointed at your most usuall place of meeting uppon the first of May next; At w^h time & place there shall be officers present appointed by this Counsell to receive them into their charge & the pay of the Com^{on}wealth: we desire you to use all diligence that the same may be effected by the time appointed, that the Enemy may have noe opportunity to effect their designs for want of a force ready to resist them; & we desire you to certify us frō time to time of your proceeding in this affaire.

Whitehall 15^o Aprill
1651
For the Com^e of the
Militia for the City
of Gloucester.

Signed in the name & by
order of the Councell of State
appointed by authority of
Pliam

Jo: Bradshawe. Prsid^t.

30^o Aprill } The names of the psons who were charged with and did
1651 } pvide the horses furniture & Armes thereunto belonging
according to the Instrucons sent from the Councell of State.

- | | |
|--|-------------|
| 1 The Lady Bridgeman with her Grandchild the sonne
and heire of George Bridgeman deceased & Mr.
Heavingham Bridgeman guardian of John Bridge-
man | } one horse |
| 2 Mr. Robins one horse and Armes | |
| 3 Mr. Atkins of Tuffleigh one horse & armes | |
| 4 William Guise Esq. one horse & armes | |
| 5 Mr. William Compton one horse & armes | |
| 6 Mr. William Laurence one horse & armes | |
| 7 Mr. William Hynson one horse and armes | |

- 8 Mr. William Cooke 2 pts & the Lady Cooke }
 one pt of a horse & Armes
 9 Mr. Miles Clint Mr. John Clint Mr. Terrett
 and Mr. Poulton one horse & Armes
 10 Mr. Robert Dobbes & Mr. Henry Guise one horse and Armes.

Gentlemen,

The proportion of horse to be raised by you being in number ten, which the Councell directed you to have in readines. with Riders and Armes by the first of May next, are to be delivered by you unto Captaine John James or whom he shall appoint.

Signed in the name & by order of the
 Councell of State appointed by authority
 of Pliam^t.

Whitehall 22^d
 Aprill 1651

Jo: Bradshawe, P^rsid^t.

For the Com^t. of the
 Militia for Citty &
 County of the Citty
 of Gloucester.

The names of the Riders.

8th May
 1651

Langhorne Reade
 Stephen Davis
 Robert Edwards
 Robert Lane
 William Swaine
 Walter Hindy

No. IX.

From the same.

Gentlemen,

The Parliament hath thought fitt for the better carrying on of the service in Ireland (which through the blessing of God is in a good measure advanced) to passe an Act for the pressing of ten thousand men for recruits to the Regiments already there which Act you receive inclosed. In pursuance of which Act we have thought fitt that four hundred men as pt of those ten thousand should be raised & impressed in your County & conducted to Bristol, & there delivered to such officers as shall be there to receive & transport them into Ireland; & to the end that your County may be at noe charge for the said men, we have ordered that there shall be two pence uppon each mile allowed from the place of impresting to the place where they shall be delivered, out of w^{ch} the souldier is to be paid eight pence p diem till he be delivered as abovesaid, to the end they may iustly pay their quarters which you are to give strict command to the Conductors of them to take care may be observed. And therefore that you may make choyce of such Conductors as will be like to give a good account thereof, & that they specially see the order of Pliam^t ag^t quartering in private houses to be punctually observed and the rest of the money for the Conductors & all other charges, And have taken order with the Treasurers at wars, that mony accord^t to that propor^con (vizt) one hundred pound shall by the Direc^cons of the said treasurers at warres according to their Bill of Exchange or letters of Credit enclosed be paid unto you or any such pson or psons as you or any two of you shall under your hands appoint: And to the end that in the execu^con of this service noe advantage may be taken by Constables or disaffected persons to imprest

or send away psons either uppon pticular ill will or for their good affeccion to the Comonwealth and any special forwardnes to appeare in their service, we desire you to appoint some psons that are honest & well affected to the present govern'. to take up in y^e severall divisions such numbers of men as you shall appoint uppon them, & appointe the Conbles to be assisting unto them to bring the said men before you & by you to be there imprested for that service; in the impresting of whom besides the qualifications of excepcons expressed in the said Act we desire you to take care that such may be sent away as may best be spared; And that such as have heretofore freely listed themselves for the service of the Comonwealth or otherwise specially manifested their good affeccion to it may may not be sent away in this service; And that in case the proportion of money appointed to you shall not be sufficient to answer the full allowance of two pence a mile as afores^d for soe many Recruits as shall be delivered uppon Accompt of what shall be further due, the particulars being certified to the Councell under your or any two of your hands, order shall be taken that the same shall be paid by the Trears at Warres to such pson as you or any two of you shall appoint; And to the end you may the better make your Eleccion of the fittest psons as aforesaid you are in the distribution of your numbers (charged uppon your County) uppon the severall divisions to appoint such an over number to be brought before you as out of them you make your best eleccion as afores^d.

Signed in the name & by order

of the Councell of State

appointed by authority of Pliam^t

Whitehall Aprill 1651

Jo: Bradshawe P^rsid^t.

For the Com^r of the Militia for the County of Glouc.
& the City of the County of Gloucester

(Here are inserted the names of thirty persons imprest for the service of Ireland, May 21, 1651.)

No. X.

From the same.

S^r,

You are hereby required to give speedy notice to the Gentlemen mentioned in the Instructions enclosed that they meete with you at some usuall meeting place by you to be appointed uppon the tenth of this instant, there to consider and prepare to putt in speedy & effectuall execution the said Instructions: you are also by or before the 20th of this moneth to give us notice of your and the rest of the Com^{rs} proceedings herein, & w^{ch} of them uppon your sommons faile to attend: this service being of soe greate importance for the publique peace & safety, hereof you may not faile.

Signed in the name and by order
of the Councill of State
appointed by authority of Pliament

Jo: Bradshawe P^{rsid}.

Whitehall, 4^o
July, 1651.

For the Maior of Glouc.

City & County
 of the City
 of Glouc'.

Instructions for Wm. Lenthall Esq: Speaker of the
 Pliam', the Maior for the time being, S' Willia^m Con-
 stable Baron', Anthony Edwards, James Stephens,
 Thomas Pury, Thomas Hill, Dennis Wise, Jasper Clutterbucke,
 John Wade, W^m Sheppard, John Dorney, Thomas Hodges,
 Esqrs, George Gwinnett Gent. to be putt in execucon in the
 Cittie of Glouc' in pursuance of an order of Pliam' of the first
 of this instant July.

1. You or the maior p^r of you shall meete on the tenth of this instant July & upon the first Tuesday in every moneth in some convenient place within your city, & oftner if neede shall require in your severall Limitts.

2. You or any three of you are to informe yourselves of all Conspiracies & practises of secret meetings of disaffected p^rsons, & from time to time any of you that are in the comission of the peace are to take informacons & examinacons uppon oath in writing as you shall see cause, whether expressed by words or actions spoken printed written or published wheresoever against the peace & wellfare of the Commonwealth, by securing and disp^sing or committing the p^rties whom you finde to be especially active & dangerous, or to use any other lawfull waies and meanes for the dispersing or securing of them as you shall see cause.

3. You or any three of you are authorised & required to disarme & secure or committ all Papists & other ill affected p^rsons that have of late appeared in their words or actions against this present Pliam' or ag^t the governm^t thereby established, or shall hold corresponding with Charles Stuart son of the late king or with any

other p'son or nation tending to the disturbance or altering of this p'nt Governm't, or in raising any tumults and Insurrections ; & for your fuller & better direction therein, you are hereby referred to the severall Articles orders & declarations made in that behalfe.

4. You shall likewise from time to time observe what straingers or p'sons from other Counties doe resort unto your Citty, and to what p'sons they apply themselves, & you are to informe your selves as neer as you are able of their busines & occasions in those parts, & in case you are not well satisfied with the Reasons & an account given you, you are then to acquainte the Councell with the names of such p'sons and where they are.

5. Whereas many Arms were raised and provided by the authority of the late Militia which remain dispersed in severall and many of them untrusty hands, of which there may be dangerous use made, if occasion be offered, to the disturbance of the peace of this Commonwealth, for prevention whereof you are to take especial care that all those Arms soe as aforesaid raised and all other Arms in your Citty as well horse as foote and also all Trophies that were provided with the publique Monies, be secured either by putting them into safe hands, in such a way as you upon the place shall iudge to be most for the peace and safety of the Commonwealth, & that such Inventories shall be taken and kept by you of all the Arms soe secured and left in the owners hands to prevent imbezlm't and misconversion of the same, and to the end there may be assurance of having them in readines for publique use uppon all needfull occasions.

6. And for the better enabling you to putt these Instruccōns in execucon you are to require the sheriffe of the County to be assistant unto you, and you are also to keepe Correspondency with

the Commanders of the forces in the Pay of the Commonwealth who are hereby required if there be cause and that you make your applicacon to give you assistance for the execution hereof.

Signed in the name & by order
of the Councell of State
appointed by authority of
Pliam'.

Jo: Bradshawe President

Whitehall
first July 1651

City Glouc'. } At the Meeting of the Com^{rs}. specially appointed
} uppon the tenth day of July 1651 according to the
Instruccions received from the Councell of State there being p^{nt}
Anthony Edwards Esq. Maior, S^r W^m Constable, Baronett, Thomas
Hill, Dennis Wise, Jasper Clutterbooke, James Stephens, Aldn, &
John Dorney, Towne Clerke, & afterwards George Gwinnett Gent.
It is ordered that all the armes in private hands within this City
and County of the same be brought into the publique Magazine
within this City and delivered to the Storekeeper, & inventories to
be taken and kept of the same, and the Copy thereof to be delivered
to the severall owners of the said Armes for so much as concerne
them respectively.

5th day of August 1651.

It is ordered that the form^r order for the securing of the Armes
in private hands in this Citty & County thereof be putt in p^{nt} exe-

cucon & that S^r William Constable be desired to take Care for the effecting thereof by appointm^t of some of his officers for the gathering of all private Armes as well of horse as of foote together with all Trumpetts Drums Colours & other Trophies bought with publique monies both within this City and County thereof. And all Conbles in the said City & County are to be aiding & assisting to such officers in the searching for collecting and carrying away of the said Armes & Trophes, the wth Armes and Trophes are to be brought into the publique Magazine in this City there to be inventoried to the end the iust interest of the severall owners thereof may be preserved. It is ordered that enquiry be made by all good waies and meanes that the Com^{rs} may have informacon of all Papists & other ill affected p^{rs}ons that have by words or acccons expressed their disaffecon to this Commonwealth, to the end the said p^{rs}ons may be p^{re}ceeded wth all according to the Instrucons received.

18th August 1651

It is ordered that all Innekeepers & Alehouse keep^{rs} in this City shall returne the names of all the guests that they shall entertaine in their houses for any night to the Maior of the s^d City for the time being till they have order to the Contrary.

It is ordered that three Common Councillmen of this City shall be overseers of the Workemen at the fortificacons of this City from day to day by their Turnes & to begin according to the p^{re}cedency in the list of names of the gent. of the Common Councill of the s^d City.

No. XI.

(A.)

From the same.

S^r,
Upon Intelligence on Tuesday last of the enemies advance hitherward the Inhabitants of this City expressed very much their good affection to the p^{nt} Governm^t and to oppose the Scotts king & all his Army and Adherents in case any attempt should be made by them upon this place. And to that end upon a publique summons they very readily came and in p^{son} every day & sometime in the night laboured to repaire all the Bullwarkes & fortifications in and about this guarrison, for the effecting whereof also the souldiers unanimously did their utmost endeavours—soe that it is to be admired how much hath bin done in soe fewe dayes in regard they were all very ruinous—we also thought it most necessary to putt the City forthwth in a posture of defence, And in two daies space we raised listed mustered & armed neare upon seven hundred able souldiers & putt them into seven p^{ticular} Companies under the Governour & not regimentally for the more unanimous carrying on of the service, and such as were able to find their own armes and to beare their owne charges during the time of their actuall service were listed on a distinct company under the p^{nt}

4

mayor Mr. Anthony Edwards consisting uppon neare two hundred, the other six companies doe containe one hundred in each company and are listed under six severall Captains who freely came and offered their service to us & to the gov'nour by whose app'bation all things here have bin unanimously effected. The said Captains names* appeare in the postscript who with their companies are already in actuall service & have their severall posts allotted them alike to the rest of the companies round along the s^d fortificacons. And truly S^r thus much we may confidently assure you that we finde both Citizens and souldiers as unanimously agreeing & ready to defend this City against the present enimies as they form'ly were at the last siedge & we all rest assured in the Lord of Hoasts our most good and gracious God that he will p'serve this City at this time & give us the same good successe & to destroy all these our enimies that come ag^t us our humble request at p^{nt}† to the Pliam^t is that Commissions may be graunted to the severall Captains according to the Act to warrant their services for you: And in regard the other six Companies doe consist of handicrafts men & other labourers & servants, who leave of their Callings during this exigence to serve the publique having noe other maintenance for themselves and their families, that some order may be given to the Treasurer here for weekly pay of the said six companies during the time of their actuall Service in this guarrison, we knowing noe other way how they may be mainteined and kept together.‡ Thus as our accons will manifest the Constancy of our affecons to the

(Notes in the Margin.)

* They are before mentioned.

† To the Councell of State.

‡ A Copy of this letter was then sent likewise to the Counsell of State by an expresse Messinger, and two duplicates thereof by the Post for feare of Interrupcon.

Pliam' soe we hope the Lord will give a blessing to the Endeavours of

your humble servants

Antho: Edwards, Maior.

Tho: Hill

Tho: Pury

Tho: Pury iun.

John Dorney

George Gwinnett.

Glouc' 23^d August

1651

To W^m Lenthall Esq

Speaker of the Pliam'.

(B.)

Gentlemen

Although it be the Duty of all such as are well affected to the Cause of God and the welfare of their country especially in such combustions as are now kindled amongst us to lay themselves out to the uttermost for the support and preservacon of both, yet since the Parliament findes by one of the 23^d p'sent from the Maior and Aldermen of that yo' Cittie what extraordinary Care you have taken, and what provision you have made to put yo'selves in such a posture as by Gods good hand may secure you from violence and the Parliament of yo' good affecons, they have required me to lett you know how sencible they are hereof, and

therefore (w^{ch} hereby I doe) to give you their very hartly thanks
with which I rest

Yo^r assured loveing friend
& servant,

W^m Lenthall,
Speaker.

Parliam^t. house the
25th of August, 1651.

Ffor my hon^{ble} friends
the maior Aldermen &
Cittizens of y City of
Glouc^r.

No. XII.

From the same.

City Glouc. } A Noate of the dozens of Bread sent by the severall
bakers in this City to Tewkesbury ffor the L^d. Generall Crom-
wells Army.

John Gilbert	lb.	06	—	0	.	45	dozen
Mrs. Jennings	.	.	0	.	60	} dozen at 1 ^y dozen.	
Edward Palmer	.	.	0	.	60		
Sam. Pace	.	.	0	.	20		
Cartwright	.	.	0	.	40		
Mr. Perkes	.	.	140	.			
John Marten	.	.	0	.	60		
Tho. Partridge	.	.	0	.	60		
John Jordan	.	.	0	.	60		
Tho. Whittingham	.	.	0	.	40		
Ric. Broade	.	.	0	.	80		
Tho ^r . Parker	.	.	200	.			
Tho. Jelfe	.	.	0	.	40		
Ric. Whitfield	.	.	0	.	60		
W ^m . Cooke	.	.	0	.	80		
Henry Edwards	.	.	140	.			
Lea James	.	.	0	.	20		
W ^m . Hurleston	.	.	120	.	0		

S
1300, 25 dozen amounts to lb. s. d.
066 . 05 . 00

May it please your excellency.

We present our humble service and therewithall forty barrels of stronge beere to your excellency, praying your favourable acceptance thereof as an argument of the good affection of this corporation, who doth congratulate your seasonable coming into these partes, for the reliefe thereof against the violence of the Comon enemy, and wish prosperous successe to you & your Army: we desire to know from your excellency wherein we may be any waies serviceable to you, and your commands shal be readily observed by

your excellencies most humble servants

Anthony Edwards, maior
W^m. Singleton
Thomas Hill
Thomas Pury
Dennis Wise
Laurence Singleton
Jasper Clutterbooke
James Stephens
John Dorney.

Glouc' 1st Septemb.
1651.

To his excellency the Lord
Generall Cromwell
these
humbly p'sent.

No. XIII.

From the same.
/ ———

To the Supreme Authority the Parl' of
The Comonwealth of England.
The humble Peticon of the Maior & Burgesses
of the City of Glouc'.

Humbly shewing/

That we thankfully acknowledge the Testimonies of yo' favo' to this city, whose service and sufferings for yo' Interest is so well knowne unto you that we need not to make any particular Enumeracon of them; seeing this City hath during all the late warres & in tymes of the greatest Exigence from the first to the last expressed their constant resolucon and employed their utmost Endeavo' for yo' safety, and for the preservacon of this Comonwealth; preferring the publique before their owne private interest, to the silencing of all Detractors. And now by the P'vidence of God, and by the prosp'ous Successes of yo' armies the whole nacon is brought into so peaceable a posture that no City herein is wholly kept a Guarrison (as we know of) being by yo' Wisedomes thought altogether unnecessary; and forasmuch as we find by sad exp'ience, that the continuance of this City to be a Guarrison, & the mis-carriages of the souldiers therein hath caused the Trade of this

City to be very much impaired, & it is in continuall Decay, to the utter undoing & impoverishing of many the Inhabitants hereof, as may particularly be made appeare by sev'll Instances,

May it therefore please this Hon^{ble} Parl'. to take into their Consideracon the p'mises, and to apply a Remedy to yo^r Peticoners in that behalf.

And y^r Peticoners as in duty they are bound shall remayne faithfull to you & pray for the happines of this Govmt & Com^{on}weall.

No. XIV.

From the same.

The Copy of the
High Stewards
Patent. } Know All men by these p^{nts}, that wee the Maior
& Burgesses of the cittie of Gloucester, as well for
and in consideracion of the singular favour & bene-
volence which his excellency Oliver Cromwell, Captaine generall of
the forces levied by the Parliament, hath had & manifested to us &
to this Cittie, as for the continuance of the same favour & bene-
volence for tyme to come towards us and our successors in defend-
ing & protecting the said Cittie and the liberties and priveledges of
the same, have elected and chosen his said excellency Oliver
Cromwell, high steward of this cittie ; & have given and granted &
by these presents for us and our successors doe give & grant to his
said excellency Oliver Cromwell one annuity or annual Rent of

one hundred shillings of lawfull money of England issuing out of all and singular our mannors, lands, tenements & hereditaments whatsoever, with the appurtenancies in the Cittie of Gloucester, and County of the said Cittie of Gloucester, or in any place else within the Commonwealth of England, to have, hold, levy & receive the said Annuity or Annual Rent of one hundred shillings out of & from the said mannors, lands & tenements and hereditaments whatsoever, to his said excellency Oliver Cromwell & his assignes during the naturall life of him the said Oliver, to be payd at or upon the nine & twentieth day of September yeerely during the said terme: And if it shall happen the said annuity or annuall rent of one hundred shillings, or any part or parcell thereof to be behind and unpayd in part or in all at the said day on which it ought to be payd, then it shall be lawful to his said excellency Oliver Cromwell and his assignes into the aforesaid mannors, lands, tenements and hereditaments whatsoever, or in any part or parcell thereof to enter and distreine, & the distresses there found or taken to carry, leade, drive away, and in his power to reteine, untill the said annuity or Annuall Rent together with all arrerages thereof, if any, shal be fully satisfied and payd. In witness whereof to this our present writing we have sett the common seale used for the said Cittie, dated the eleventh day of October in the yeare of our Lord, according to the English computacion, one thousand six hundred fifty and one.

May it please your
Excellency,

The bearer hereof Mr. Anthony Edwards, one of the Aldermen of the Cittie of Gloucester, is desired by the Maior Aldermen and Common Counsell of the said Cittie to p'sent unto your Excellency the Tender of their humble service, together with a small token of

their thankfull acknowledgement of your favours and their desire of the continuance thereof. We humbly request your favourable acceptance of this manifestacion of their respects, and together with them shall remayne

your excellencies most

humble servants

William Singleton maior

Tho. Hill:

Tho: Pury De: Wise

Luke Nourse,

Lau: Singleton

Jasper Clutterbook

He: Cugley James Stephens

Glouc^r 11th October
1651

To his Excellencie
the Lord Generall
Cromwell

These humbly
p'sent.

23 Novemb^r 1652

Recd of the Maior and Burgs of Glouc^r by the
hands of Mr. Dorney Townclerke of the said City
the day and year aboves^d the some of five pounds as
being a fee due to me as Lord high Steward of the
said Citty, I say Recd

£. s. d.
05 00 00

O. Cromwell.

No. XV.

From the same.

Gentlemen,

Wee doubt not but ye have heard before this tyme of the good hand of God going along with us in defeating the late rebellious insurrection, soe that as wee have certaine intelligence from all parts the risings are every where suppressed and dissolved, and some hundreds of prisoners in custody, and daily more are discovered and secured; and wee hope that, through the blessing of God upon our labours, an effectual course will be taken for the total disappointment of the whole designe. The readiness of the honest people to appear hath been a great encouragement to us, and of no less discouragement to the enemie, who had he prevailed would, without doubt, have made us the most miserable and harrassed nation in the world; and therefore wee hold ourselves obliged to return you our hearty thanks for your zeale and forwardness in soe readily appearing and contributing your assistance; wherein, although your Country & your own particular as to outward and inward happiness were concerned, yet we are fully persuaded that a more general principle respecting the Glory of God and the good of all these nations hath been the motive to insite you; and therefore your account goes upon the higher and more noble account. You have desired that we would consider of waies how to find money to carrye on this worke: if the business had not been allayed, we must have found out a way and means to supply that want. But otherwise, indeed, we make it, (as we hope we

ever shall,) our design to ease this nation, and not to burthen it; and are tender (as we conceive your selves have been) of putting the good people thereof to any unnecessary charge; and therefore as you shall have fitting opportunity, you may recommend our thankfulness to your honest willing countrey-men (as wee hereby doe to yourselves,) for this their forwardness; and to let them know that when any danger shall approach, (as wee shall be watchfull to observe the enemies stirrings,) we will give you tymely notice thereof; and we trust those good hearts will be ready (being called out by you) to appear upon all such occasions. In the mean time they may continue at their homes, blessing God for his mercy, and enjoying the fruit and comfort of this happy deliverance, & the other benefits of Peace; and I doe hereby let you know that letters are directed to the Justices of Peace of several Counties that diligent watches be kept, such as the law hath appointed for taking a strict accompt of all strangers, especially near the Coast; which will not only be a means to suppress all loose & idle persons, but may probably cause some of those that come from abroad (to kindle fires here) to be apprehended and siezed; especially if care be taken to secure all them that cannot give a good account; and may also breake all dangerous meetings and assemblings together. And indeed if what by Law ought to be done were done with diligence in this respect, the continuance of such dangerous designes as these would be frustrated in the birth, or kept from growing to maturity: having said this, with remembrance of my hearty love unto you, I rest

Whitehall, 24 March,
1654.

Your very affectionate friend,
Oliver P.

For Major Wade, Major Creed,
the Mayor and Aldermen of the
Citty of Gloucester.

What had been done at Gloucester in the way of preparation, is shewn in the following letter.

THURLOE. STATE PAPERS. III. 239.

Colonel (Major) Wade to General Disbrowe.

Sir,

I had a meetinge yesterday with captain Nicholas concerninge the raiseinge of forses for the defense of our county, to which I answerd him, that there is no doubte, if authority be given for that purpose, and provision made for accomodation, force will be speedily raised; and therefore if you thinke it will be with anie advantage to the publicke, noe doubt by God's assistance, men of a sufficient number shall be forthwith raised for the safe keepeing of Gloucester, whereby the horse heare may be spared for servis abroad. I came to Gloucester this day, beinge sent for by the mayor and aldermen of the citty, and am a puttinge the well affected of the citty in a posture of defence, which at present is foure hundred men. I doe thinke to goe into the forrest againe tomorrow, to put things in the best condition possible. What you conceive me fitt or capable to doe in order to the raiseinge of men, lett me have commaund and authority, and there shall be noe want in me. I conceive it were not amisse, if there were a forbearance of raising of those for the present, money being a precious thinge with you, and rawe iron a vendible commodity. Your forge is on worke. Thus, desireinge your answer to what you shall thinke fitt, I rest

your faithful servant,

Gloucester, March 14, 1654.

JOHN WADE.

The superscription,
To the right honourable general John Disbrowe,
these be presented.

In his absence, to col. John Clarke, at Whitehall.

No. XVI.

FROM THE RECORDS OF THE CITY OF GLOUCESTER.

Gentlemen,

The late parliament having by their Act (published the 4th of Aprill, 1693,) prohibited the planting of Tobacco in England, his Highnesse, with the advice and consent of his Councell, did on the 11th of Aprill, 1654, passe an Ordinance for authoriseing certaine persons therein named to put the fore recited Act in execucon; being induced thereunto from consideracon then had of the prejudice, and loss ariseing to the English plantacons abroade, and to Trade at home by the planting Tobacco in this nacon. After that ordinance was passed, it appeared to his highnes, by the peticon of severall p'sons about Winchcombe in Gloucestershire, and other places adjacent, that severall quantities of Tobacco had beene planted that season in those p'tes, and it was prayed thereupon by the peticon, that they might enjoy their Crop of Tobacco then growing, promising withall to forbear the planting of any more for the future without license granted them in that behalfe. Whereupon the Com^{rs} appointed by the s^d ordinance, and all others employed under them, or by their authority, had direccon from his Highnes and his Counsell to suspend the further execucon of that Ordinance and Act of Parliament as to the Crop then growing, till further order. Lately his highness hath been addressed unto by severall Merchants, and others, relating to Virginia, &c. complaining of the greate damage that hath accrewed to the English plantacons abroad by the great Quantities of English Tobacco; the

Trade to those parts being alsoe thereby discouraged; in the consequences whereof Naviga^{ti}on will be impaired, the Customes of this Com^{mon}wealth lessened, and the people thereof inhabiting those planta^{ti}ons impoverished. On considera^{ti}on of which his Highnes, upon advice with his Councell, hath determined to leave the Com^{ma} appointed by the s^t Ordinance to see the said Act of Parliament putt in effectual execu^{ti}on; and not to license the planting of any Tobacco in England contrary to the teno^r and purport thereof. And therefore to the intent the persons concerned may not (through want of seasonable warning,) draw inconvenience upon themselves by further planting of Tobacco in yo^r parts, the Councell doth hereby commend it to yo^r care that this resolu^{ti}on of his Highnes be published within yo^r City and County at such places as you shall judge most convenient, and in such a way as noe person concerned may give iust cause to pretend ignorance thereof; and that all such p^{er}sons be lett to understand, that his Highnes doth require, and will expect the due conformity herein; and that in case any of them shall p^{re}sume the Contrary, they must charge the detriment that will thence ensue upon their owne default, which will be the lesse excusable, considering his Highnes Indulgence as to the last yeares Crop, and their owne undertaking to plant noe more without speciall license obteyned.

Signed in the name & by

Order of the Councell,

He: Laurence, Presid.

Whitehall,

27 March, 1655.

To the Maior and Justices of
the Peace for the Citty and
County of the Citty of Gloucester.

No. XVII.

From the same.

To his Highness the Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and
Ireland.

The humble Petition of the Maior, Aldermen, and Common Council
of the City of Gloucester.

Sheweth,

That the lot of your petitioners for the satisfaction of £1275 in rebell's lands in Ireland, is fallen in the Barony of Stradbally in Queen's County, where there is not land to satisfy more than a small part of their debt;

That what remains unsatisfied in the Barony where their lott is fallen, ought of right, by the Act of Parliament on that behalfe made, to be supplied out of the surplus lands of any other Barony in the same County;

That those adventurers whose lotts are fallen in the Barony of Portnyhinch in the same County, next adjoining to the barony of Stradbally, are fully satisfied, and there is a remaine of Lands in that Barony sufficient to supply what your petitioners want to complete their lott, being the first in number to be satisfied in the said barony of Stradbally;

That your petitioners, as they humbly conceive, have a clearer

right to be satisfied with the remainder of their lott in the aforementioned surplus of land than any other of the adventurers;

1st. Because that Barony of Portnyhinch is contiguous to noe other Barony in that County consigned to the adventurers but Stradbally;

2^d. Your petitioners lott, according to the rules and order of Parl. made by the Committee of lotts, ought to be sett out before any other lotts of the same barony, being the first in number as afores^d.

3^d. Your petitioners have already received part of their satisfaction in Stradbally; and if they should be lyable to a second allotment for the rest, the rule and causion for the preservacon of contiguity, so carefully preserved hitherto in all distribucons of lands to adventurers and souldiers, wilbe broken; and the remainder of your petitioners lott may possible fall 100 miles from what they now have;

And consequently your petitioners will be much more injured thereby than others, who, being entirely deficient, will probably by a new allotment receive entire satisfacon;

4th. That your petitioners receiving their satisfaction as they humbly desire, is no infringement to the Act, nor injury to any of the adventurers, but a benefit to the Comonwealth in expediting your petitioners settlement, and putting them thereby in a capacity forthwith to plant and people their land;

Your petitioners therefore pray, that your Highnes will be pleased to authorize and appoint your Highness council for the affairs of Ireland, to cause soe much of the afore mentioned surplus lands within the Barony of Portnyhinch be forthwith sett out and settled upon your petitioners, and with what they are already possessed of in the Barony of Stradbally clear of incumbrances, shall compleat the satisfaction by the aforementioned act of Parliament, justly due unto them;

And your petitioners shall pray, &c.

No. XVIII.

From the same.

Oliver P.

Trustie and welbelovèd, Wee grete you well ; I doe heare on all hands that the Cavaleir Partye are designing to putt us into Blood.—Wee are, I hope, taking the best care wee can by the blessing of God, to obviate this danger ; but our intelligence on all hands beinge, that they have a designe upon your Citie, Wee could not but warne you thereof, and give you authority (as we doe hereby) to putt yourselves into the best posture you can for your owne defence by raising your militia by virtue of your commissioners formerly sent you, and putting them in a readines for the purpose aforesaid ; letting you also know that, for your better encouragement herein, you shall have a troope of horse sent you to quarter in or neare your towne. Wee desire you to lett us heare from you from tyme to tyme what occurs to you touching the malignant party ; and soe we bid you farewell.

Given at Whitehall, this seconde of Dec^r. 1657.

To our trustie and welbeloved the Maior,
Aldermen, and Co^mon councill of our
Citye of Gloucester, &c. &c.

May it please yo^r Highnes,

Upon Munday last wee received your Highness commands touching the raising of our Militia, and presently wee called

together the Common Councill of our City and communicated the same to them, and they doe return their most humble and hearty thanks for your most gracious respects and care of this City; and thereupon we appointed foure Captaines formerly commissioned to putt themselves and their Companies in the best posture for our defence: but there are not in their custody or our owne above one hundred and fifty musketts, and noe pikes at all; by reason they were formerly seized upon and sent to Chepstowe Castle; and this Citye is also unfurnished of arms; by reason (as it is now discovered to us) that one Stephen Earlye, Master of Bridewell in Abington, hath bought up a great quantity of Musketts in this city under pretence of selling the same to the gunsmith in London. Wee see at present noe appearance of verry imminent danger; yet being forewarned by your Highnes we shall be vigilant, and have an especiall eye upon all persons we may justly suspect; and shall, as occasion is offered, certify your Highnes, what occurs to us touching the malignant party; and we doe assure your Highnes, we shalbe alwaies very ready to serve your Highnes to o' utmost powers, as we acknowledge ourselves obliged thereunto; and soe with our most hearty prayers to Almighty God for yo' long life and happines to the Glory of God, and the great comfort of the people committed to your highnes protection, we doe in all humble and dutifull manner subscribe ourselves

Yo' Highness most loyall

and obedient servants,

Laur. Singleton, Maior.

Glouc. 9th Decr. 1657.

The Captaines comissionated are,
Dennis Wise, Alderman.
Mr. Willm. Clarke.

William Singleton.
Will. Caple.
Thomas Pury.

Mr. Robert Hill.
Mr. Godfrey Ellis.

De: Wise.
Luke Nourse.
Jas. Clutterbooke.
James Stephens.
Antho. Edwards.

If yo' Highnes please to make any addicon to o' Militia, wee prnt Mr. Thos. Peirse, formerly Capt. of Horse, and after of Foote, at the time of the Insurrecccon at Salisbury, Mr. Toby Jordan, and Mr. Edw^d Nourse, all of this Comon Councill, as fitt men for the same.

To his Highness Oliver, lord Protector of the Comon Wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, these humbly present.

No. XIX.

From the same.

Gentlemen,

We are informed that the Enemy from Flaunders intend to invade us very suddainly, and to that purpose have 22 Ships of Warr ready in the Harbour of Ostend, and are preparing others also w^{ch} they have bought in Holland, and some men are ready to be putt on board them; and at the same tyme an insurrection is

intended in this nation; and the tyme for the executing these designes is intended by them to be very suddain. We have therefore thought fitt to give you notice hereof; and to signify to you our pleasure, that you putt your selves into the best posture you can for the securing the city of Gloucester, and to putt the armes into such hands as are true and faithful to us and this Comonwealth. We desire you to be very carefull, and to lett us heare from you of the receipt of this, and what you shall doe in pursuance of this letter. I rest

Y^r very assured friend,

Oliver, P.

Whitehall, 11th March, 1657.

For the Com^{ms} of the Militia of the
Citty of Glouc. these.

May it please your Highnes,

Upon Saturday last we received your Highnes Commands, signified by y^r Highnes letter dated the 11th Inst. and immediately thereupon taking the contents thereof into serious considera^{con}, as the exigency thereof did require, we ordered that Capt. Wise, Capt. Clarke, Capt. Hill, and Capt. Ellis, being the persons formerly commissionated on the like occasions, should with all expedicoⁿ putt themselves and their companies into a convenient posture for the defence and safety of this City; and we found in them a very ready compliance thereunto: and upon examina^{con} of the store of armes within this City, we found them very fewe, the publiq^{ue} magazeene, together with all armes remayning in private hands, having bene heretofore removed hence by publique order

at the tyme of the dismantling of this Guarrison; however, by our earnest endeavors we have bought and provided about three hundred Musketts, and doe hope to make them up sufficient for the furnishing of the said fower companies; and we do further humbly certify that, besides the persons that have voluntarily listed themselves under the said fower Captaines, there are, as we are informed, sundry able citizens, who are willing to provide and beare their owne armes under the command of one of the Aldermen of the said city, for the defence and safety thereof; and thereupon we humbly present Rob^t. Tyther, Alderman, to be captaine over them, soe that he may be speedily commissioned thereunto. We shall, upon all occasions, as much as in us lye, have a speciall care of the peace and safety of this City, and of the continuance thereof, in a due submission and obedience to your Highnes' Government, as becometh

Glouc^r. 15th March, Y^r highnes most humble
1657. and faithfull serv^{ts},

Lau: Singleton, Maior.	Thos: Pury, Sen ^r .
W ^m . Caple.	Thos. Pury, Jun.
Jo. Dorney.	

No. XX.

From the same.

After our very hearty Comendations:

Whereas it hath pleased the most wise God in his Providence,

yesterday about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, to take out of this world the most serene and renowned Oliver, late Lord Protector of this Commonwealth, to the unspeakable grieffe of our hearts, and the invaluable loss of these nations; but in this sore affliction it doth much releive our spirits, that his sayd late Highness in his life tyme, according to the humble petition and advice, did appoint and declare the most Noble and Illustrious Lord Richard, eldest sonne of his late Highness, to succeed him in the government of these nations, a person who hath given such eminent testimony of his faithfullness and great affection to the cause of God and the publique Interest of these Nations, as quite as abundant cause of rejoycing, that the Lord hath provided such a successor to undertake the government, in whose prudence and moderation we may acquiesce, and under whom we have not only hopes but much confidence, that the Lord will make these nations happy. We therefore of the Privy Councill, together with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of London, the Officers of the Army, with numbers of principal Gentlemen, have, with one full voyce and consent of tongue and heart, this day published and proclaimed the sayd noble and illustrious Lord Richard to be rightfully Protector of this Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging, to whom we acknowledge all fidelity and constant obedience according to Law, and the humble petition and advise, with all hearty and humble affections; and therefore have thought fitt to signifie the same unto you, willing and requiring you to assemble the Magistrates of your City immediately on receipt hereof, and to cause his sayd Royal Highness to be proclaymed according to the forme here inclosed, mutatis mutandis, with such solemnity as becomes a business of such a nature; and to take all due care for the preservation of the peace, and securing the same against all insurrec-

tions and disturbances that may be made by evill minded men upon this change.

Signed, in the name and by

Order of the Councell,

He : Laurence, Presid^t.

Whitehall, 4th Sep^r.
1658.

The manner of the solemnity in the proclaiming of his Highness the Lord Protector.

I. A large Scaffold to be erected at the North end of the Wheate Markett, the breadth of the Markett house, and to be continued within the Markett house unto the second pillar thereof, and to be about 16 or 18 foote without the Market house towards the High Crosse; the ascent to it to be by Staires at that end next to the High Crosse; the Scaffolde to be about 4 foote high.

II. The sides of the Scaffold to be boarded to about 3 foote and a half high, and to be covered decently with red cloth: about the middle of the Scaffold, under the Markett house, against the middle Pillar thereof, to be placed a faire chaire for the Maior, and behind it a square table with a chaire and stoole betwixt the table and Maior's chaire for the Towne clerke and his man: the Table to be decently covered with a good Carpett, and on each side of the scaffold and behind the Maior's chaire, formes for the Aldermen and Common Councill.

III. The Persons to attend this solemnity;

1. The Maior, Aldermen, and Common Councill, in their scarlett (such as weare scarlett) and the rest in their Festival or best robes:—the Mayor to have his upper robe of scarlett upon his

gowne.—2nd. The Masters, Wardens, and the rest of the severall companies within the City with their pendants or streamers:

3^d. The Constables of the severall Wards with their staves.

4th. about 6 or more trumpets, and the waites or loud musicke of the City.

5th. About 12 or more Halbertires.

IV. The time and place for the meeting together of the said persons to be on Saturday, 11th July, 1657, at 12 o'clock at noone, in the Colledge Church.

V. After they are fully mett, to go from thence to the Markett house in the order following, viz. 1st. Three, or the one halfe of the Trumpetteers; next all the Halbertires; then the one half of the constables: next the one half of the Companies of the City; then the other half of the Trumpetts, next the other half of the Constables; and then the other half or remainder of the companies; after all these the Cities loude musicke or waites; and then the sarjeaunts with their maces, and the sword bearer with the sword; and lastly, the Maior, Aldermen, and Common Council in their due order and rankes, to go up along the Mercer's Row, and so round by the Crosse to the Scaffold.

VI. The order to be observed on the Scaffold during the solemnity to be as followeth, viz. the Maior to seate himself in his chayre; the Aldermen, and eldest of the common councill on the forms on each side the Scaffold; the rest behind the Maior, or as is room;—the two Sheriffs to stand, one on the one side of the Maior's chaire, the other on the other; the Towne clerke in the chaire before the Maior next the table, and his clerke on the stoole on his left hand; the sword bearer (still holding the sword erected) on the right side the Maior, a little advancing betwixt the maior and towne clerke; and the foure Sergeaunts, two on the one side of the table, one before the other, and the other two on the other side, bearing their maces still on their shoulders; the trumpetts

and musicke to stand at the entrance of the Scaffold, the one half on the one side thereof, the other half on the other; and the Halbertyres below in the streete, at the entrance up to the scaffold, to cleare the passage and keepe order according to the constables directions, who are to stay with them.

VII. When the Maior and rest are fully seated—to sit still for some convenient time in a solemne manner; then one decently habited to get up on the Table, and (a Trumpet being appointed to sound three times) he is thereupon to make the proclamation and publish the Petition and advise, and at the end of all to say, “God save the Protector;” and hereupon all people to make three acclamations, the trumpets sounding and the musicke playing during this whole assound; the Maior and all others to stand up bare headed.

VIII. This being done, all to take their places as at first, and so to continue for some short time; then the person that stood upon the Table is to go to the edge of the Scaffolde and to say, “Long live Oliver, Lord Protector of the Common Wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging,” and thereupon to ensue three acclamations as before.

IX. After a short pause, the Maior, Aldermen, and Common Councill, to go up to the Tolsey with the Trumpets, Musicke, Halbertyres, maces and swordes only before them, where wine and cakes are to be ready provided for them; the trumpets and musicke to sound and play all the time on the Tolsey leads; and the Cross to run at two Cocks with Clarett wine, and the Colledge bells only to ring about this time.

* It will be observed throughout, that this is the old form drawn up for the proclamation of Oliver; and therefore his name is retained to be altered upon the proclamation of any successor. The expression “*mutatis mutandis*” in the preceding letter, is in allusion to it.

X. Two Gallons of French Wine to be allowed to each company of the severall companies of the City, and a biscuit under the Stewards' hands to be delivered to the Master of each Company, who are to have it ;—and rewards to be given to the Trumpetters, 5s. a piece or thereabouts.

XI. At night, Bonfires and ringing of Bells throughout the whole City.

XII. If the Troope of horse do thinke fitt, to be there to draw up in the Northgate Street, neare and facing towards the High Crosse.

Be it remembered, that the proclaiming of his Highness the Lord Protector, was done and acted on the eleventh day of July, 1657, in manner and form as aforesaid.

Right Hon^{ble}.

Your honourable letters of the 4th of this instant September, which brought us the sad newes of his late renowned highness decease were received this morning, and forthwith communicated to the Aldermen and Common Councill of this City for that purpose assembled, by whose free and full consent, the most noble and illustrious Lord, the Lord Richard, eldest sonne of his sayd late highness, was according to his appointment and declaration in his life time, in obedience to your lordships' command, in solemn manner proclaimed within this City, to succede him in the government of these nations according to the form sent unto us, whom the Lord of Heaven and Earth protect and prosper in the weighty employment to which he is called, and soe we humbly take leave, resting, &c.

Your lordships' further
Commands.

Glouc. this 10th of Sept. 1658.

To the Right honourable
the Lords of the Privy Councill,
these
humbly present.

No. XXI.

From the same.

Gentlemen,

The Committee take in consideration of the present pressing necessities of the souldiery quartering in and about your City, and to the end they may not be reduced to too great extreimity till pay can be provided for them, they have thought it necessary hereby to desire that you take order for the quartering of them in private houses, or such other places whereby the same can be done with conveniency, and be least burdensome to the people; and that they may have provision of Fire and Candle upon their guards, or that for their subsistance, and defraying the charge of fire and candle you would acomodate them with the sume of Money; for the reinbursement hereof out of their pay, all due care shallbe taken by the Committee, to whom it will be a service at this tyme very acceptable.

Signed, in the name and by

Order of the Committee of Safety,

Whitehall,

Houston, President.

19 November, 1659.

To the Maior and
Ald^r of the Cittie of
Gloucester.

Gloucester.

Right Honourable,

We received your hon^{ble} letters of the 19th instant touching the quartering of Souldiers, and provision of fire and candle for their guards, in answer whereunto we crave leave to represent to your honours, that for the later provision hath beene, and yet is made by us hoping the charges thereof wilbe reimbursed; as touching the former, that there have beene for about six weekes here quartered upon publiq^{ue} houses, 3 foote companies of Coll: Cockrines regiment, who have been much straightend in their quarters, by reason of a troope of Horse of Coll. Berryes regiment that have beene, and yet are also quartered in the sayd houses, and the owners of the sayd houses have beene and are much overburthened thereby; in regard the quarters of the sayd foote, and the greatest part of the sayd horse have not beene paid for. We were willing to apply a remedy hereunto, but could not persuade nor compel quarters in private houses, there being an Act of Parliament for the contrary; therefore we borrowed money upon interest to pay the foote Souldiers for some time, which being not accepted of, many of the sayd foote souldiers are now quartered upon private families of the comon council men of this city to noe small grievance.—We humbly desire that considera^{cion} may be had, that the suburbes of this city were burnt downe at the seidge thereof, and this city much lessened thereby, and that by reason of the greate charges thereof, and debts contracted during the late warres, the continuall burthen sithence, besides the late providing of Arms and advance-monies, and quartering of horse and foote occasioned by the late insurre^{cion}, the greate decay of trading here, and the increase of our poore by many families, in regard of the marriages of Souldiers during the former troubles; this city is much impoverished, and therefore our humble request is, that the sayd troope of Horse now quartered with us may be

removed to some other place, and the rather, sithence almost all the Hay of this city is eaten up, and the sayd publiq^r houses much unprovided to give entertainment to guests; and that also some speedy course may be taken for the satisfacon of the quarters of the sayd foote companies, in regard that without supply many persons are not able any longer to beare the burden thereof.—Your favour herein shall engage us to rest

at your honours' further

Glouc^r. Nov^r 24th,
1659.

W^m Caple.
Luke Nourse.
James Stephens.

Commands,
Toby Jordan, maior.
De: Wise.
Laurence Singleton.
Antho. Edwards.

To the right hon^{ble}
the Committee of
Safety these
humbly
present.

Sir,

The Committee of Safety having sent your letter last weeke desiring your effectuall care for supplying the Souldiers quartered in your city with convenient lodgings and provisions of fire and candle for the guards, which we are informed hath not found that due regard and observance which was expected, but the poore Souldiers are still exposed to all kindes of extreamities in this sharpe season, and many of the poore victuallers who are necessitated to receive greater numbers of them than they can lodge or provide for, are undone thereby; for remedy whereof, and that they may not be necessitated to provide themselves free quarters to your far greater disadvantage, the Committee of Safety have

thought fitt to cause the inclosed act of Parliament, which is still in force, to be reprinted, and to send you a copy thereof, that y^e may know their former desire to you is not without good and warrantable ground; and they doe hereby reinforce their former letter, and require you to take care forthwith upon receipt hereof to relieve their necessities with such supply of money for payment of their quarters, and providing fire and candle for the guards, which shalbe repaid out of the first money received for their pay, or else to provide them necessary fire and candles for their guards and quarter in such persons houses as may provide for them, and forbear payment for some small tyme while they receive their monies.

Whitehall, 26th
November, 1659.

Signed, in the name and by
order of the Committee of
Safety,

Houston, President.

For the Maier and Aldermen
of the Cittie of Glouc^r.
Gloucester.

No. XXII.

(A.)

CLARENDON. STATE PAPERS. II. 491.

Mr. Richard Watson to Mr. William Edgman.

My dear brother,

I was lately, you would little think it, the only man invited to a Captain's chamber at dinner; where I met Massie,

Graves, the king's jailor at Holmby, Alderman Bunce of London, and Alexander, the great cheat, that was their receiver at Goldsmiths' Hall. The Captain that invited us, was a presbyterian too; and judge you what work I had to deal with such gamesters, who fell to play, as soon as they sat down, with the publick divisions, more than they did to work with their good cheer. I bated them not an ace; yet was so cautelous, as to give offence to none by the liberty I used. They all pretended their good meaning to the murdered king. I asked them why they did not shew it, when it was in their power? I did not particularise the time to Massie, when the king was before Gloucester, nor to Graves, when he had him in his custody: but they both might guess very well what I reflected on. There was a picture in the chamber, which Massie took to be little David cutting off Goliath's head. Says he, "He has given him one blow, and yet it will not do!" "The next will to the purpose," said Alexander, like a rogue; for in my conscience they both meant it of the king. Graves carried it fairly, and desired farther acquaintance, and a right apprehension; which I think had improved to some good end, if he had not been under Willoughby's wing, and durst not be familiar with an incorrigible Cavalier. Bunce, a good merry and honest fellow, if honesty can be in a Presbyterian, did nothing but hug me, and carry me to a corner to tell me stories, and argue: which Massie, I observed, still interrupted; and overhearing him speak somewhat by way of accommodation, saith Massie, "Talk no more." The truth is, the Presbyterians have cozened the kingdom, the Independents the Presbyterians, and the Cavalier must have his turn to cozen one or both; or else there never can be peace. Judge you what these rogues are, when in their wine they can drop this truth, for they drank pretty devoutly, among the rest, the king's health, which Massie begun, and the Duke of York's, and at last, the Queen of

hearts, which was a mystery among themselves, whereof I could not pick the meaning. I am, dear brother,

your faithful friend,

Breda, Sept. 7, 1649.

Fitzw.

(The writer of this Letter was Chaplain to Lord Hopton. By the "Queen of Hearts" is meant the Queen of Bohemia, who was so called from her gracious and winning deportment.)

(B.)

FROM A TRACT, ENTITLED "A LETTER FROM THE KING OF
SCOTS TO MAJOR GENERALL MASSEY," &c.

The King to Major General Massey.

Major Gen. Massey,

I am informed that by some mistake, a clause is added to the Letter from the Presbytery of the army, to the ministers of Lancashire, which may be very dangerous by breeding division amongst those that would own me.

For I heare they do adde to the Letter, a desire that consideration be taken of mens former malignancy. How dangerous this may be, and how inconsistent with a former expression of the Letter of the Kirk of Scotland owning this army, I leave you to judge.

Therefore I would have you burn the letter, and then I am sure it is lost and can do no hurt.

Haste you to the army, where you will be of very great use the way we are to march. I am

your affectionate Friend—Charles R.

From Stoke, three miles from Nantwich,
the 18th of August, late—22 August, 1651.

(C.)

FROM A TRACT, ENTITLED "THE DECLARATION OF MAJOR
GEN. MASSEY UPON HIS DEATH-BED AT LEICESTER," &c.

Major General Massey to the Countess of Stamford.

Thrice Noble and Most Vertuous Lady,

These are the humble request of your poor servant, whom it hath pleased God at present deeply to afflict; and by his Providence being cast into these parts, full of anguish and pain, by reason of my wounds and weakness got before the defeat at Worcester; I resolved to cast myself upon the favour of my Lord Grey, which by your Ladyship's intercession (and of which I dare presume, knowing your charity to all men) I hope I shall finde from his noblenesse; that I may have leave as his prisoner, to stay and repose my sick body, and refresh my wounds, either here, or where his lordship shall please to command, being unable to ride or travel further at present. I shall be a faithfull prisoner with or without guard, as his lordship shall please.

This is the humble request of your Ladyship's most
humble, and devoted servant—Ed: Massey.

(D.)

 THURLOE. STATE PAPERS. I. 306.

Colonel Edward Wogan to Major General Massey.

Deare Sir,

Oure condiction heere att preasintt is such, that for nines wee know not whatt to writt, nor scares whatt to thincke. Yeatt I do not despayre, butt that God will order the matter soe withoutt, our assistanch, will find a way to reaintrone our king agayne; and I believe the greattes reason of your sicknes is of your impatiency and freatting your seaffe in matters that cosearnes the king. It is true, you doe noe more thin what is your duty, in endeavoring to sarve your master: butt youe most give God leave to take his one time. It is a most sartine tokenen that God will one us at last, if wee be in a condicson to be in some maner worthy of his mercy. Youe may observe, how God deales with the kinge's inameys, and how he findes a way to pones thim on amoung aneather. I am sure youe cannott butt take nouthies of it, and now in your affliction be a comffortt to youe to see how God ones us. The last post butt wan I sentt a leater to youe from his ex. inclosed in myne, wich I hope is come to your handes.

The last night theare had licke to be beane a most sad ackidinch: the king, ducke, and princh Rupertt beaing a swiming, princh Rupertt had licke to beane drountt, had it nott bene for on Hamelton, that saved him whin he was quitte gon under watter, tooke him up bey the hayre of the head and swome asore with him. Wee have not a sartinttey as yeatt of our reamoving. Fore or five

dayes agone magor Bosell came heather, and whin the king and quine was att super he preasinted your sirves to him. Thoe the king toke it kindly from youe, I most confes I was mouch con-searned in the matter, that youe should whantt one to preasint your duty to his masey, and not one that is soe heley sospecktted as Bosell is. The duke of Bouckingame is gone for Calles, and is thought he will goe for England. Dear Sir, I am

your most affectionatt humbel sarvatt,

Edward Wogan.

Vale royal, the 19th of Jonge, 1653.

(E.)

THURLOE. STATE PAPERS. III. 165.

Capt. Geo. Bishop to secretary Thurloe.

MR. SECRETARY.

I received yours, and had the last post given you a farther intimation of Massey and the other person I mentioned, but the scouts employed to look after them were not returned till this evening. This is certayne that about a fortnight since Massey came to one Thomas Dimmock's house, an inn-keeper of Henton, 6 miles from this place, and sitting downe amongst some company ther drinking, hee asked what newes; wher Waller was, and wher Massey was. The inn-keeper being formerly under his command.

and one Edward Lockston, a butcher of the same place, whispering with each other, knew that it was Massey himself, hee haveing lately shaved his beard. Sayd the innkeeper thereupon, you are the man, your name is Massey. Hee endeavoured to putt it off; but paying the reckoning called for a chamber, and then sent for Lockston, and confessed himself to bee the man, and told him, he had been privately 10 dayes in Bristoll, and had heard great matters of treason urged against him, but to London hee was bound, to answer all, haveing, as hee said, the lord protector's letter; only he would goe by the way of Gloucester to see some friends first; and desired him to convey him in the way thither, which he did. This Lockston himselfe gave account of to an honest man, from whence I received it. For the other, the barber that trim'd him, is still of opinion, that it is the duke of York: his man being somewhat in drink sayd, that his master had left his mother in France, and did little think wher hee was now; which when his master had heard hee should say, he called for the meate, being but halfe ready, and a reckoning, and departed. Since that wee have intelligence of two places wher hee hath been.

Wee have every day confirmations of what wee signified concerning the designe here to bee executed. This day 24 new musquets and 10 pikes were informed to bee in one house on the bridge, the cheife place whence the late tumults and insurrections in the citty have arisen, which the man of the house being examined, hath confest. Wee hear of some persons of quallity, that the last night made a remove out of the suburbs of this citty. Certaynly very many of quallity were here, waiteing for the execution of the designe; and I am assured, that had the designe tooke, tuesday night last the rising had been here: for besides what I have already intimated to you, and might further add now, but cannot, because the post is departing, those 400 horse (whereof many were officers of the King's) came in that night upon pre-

tence of the buriall of the Lady Newton (whose son is a notorious cavileer) and just as they came by the castle gate, a reake of hay in the graft was set on fire, which made such a smother, that the gate of the castle could not be seen. Yesterday major Boteler with his owne and captain Robinson's troop marcht into this towne, and some other men have visited him, and alsoe discoursed. I shewed him your letter, and brought the man to him about Massey. I intend to waite upon him to Henton's to examine the busines further. Wee shall be as vigilant as wee can, and you'l find it seasonable to put this place in a condition of security. As any thing occurs, that is fit for your notice, you shall have an account. Major Boteler desir'd me to present his service to you. I must needs desire your excuse for this in much hast, from, sir,

Your assured frend and servant,

GEORGE BISHOPE.

Bristol, Feb. 21,
1654.

Extract of another letter from the same to the same.

ID. P. 177.

MR. SECRETARY,

On fryday last I went with a party of horse to Henton, wher haveing secured Edward Lockston and John Dimmock the inn-keeper, the officer that commanded the party and myselfe examined them both. Lockston confessed, that about 3 weekes since a strainger came into the inn at evening, wher hee and others were sitting by the fire; that when they would have risen, hee would not permit them, but sate and drank with them: that in discourse hee asked, wher was Waller, and what was become of

Massey : that thereupon hee the said Lockston and John Dimmock whispered together, that hee was the man. Dimmocke sayd he was too young. Lockston replied, hee had been newly shaved ; and sayd to the strainger openly, you are the man. That he payd the reckoninge, went upp into his chamber, sent Dimmock to call Lockston to him. Lockston coming upp hee desired him to convey him towards Gloucester ; and that hee and another did convey him the next morninge to Nimpsfield to one Pearce, an inn-keeper, whoe was sometime clerk to collonel Rayman, and ther left him, but denyed, that he owned himself to be Massey in the chamber, or that hee said hee heard treason was layd to his charge, or that haveing a letter from the lord protector hee would goe to London ; which the honest man before major Boteler, myselfe, and half a dozen more related from his mouth ; but confessed, that hee sayd he had been 10 dayes in Bristoll, and came thither from Ireland. Dimmock sayd at first, hee would say nothing till hee came to Whitehall ; but afterwards confest to us, that in the entry hee acknowledged himselfe to him, that his name was Massey. Here-upon wee brought them both to towne prysoners that night, and I desired the mayor, that the honest man, that had it from Lockston's mouth, as I wrote you in my last, might bee sent for, and they confronted ; but what account they gave to the mayor on saturday, I leave to the mayor's owne relation ; for I was not present ; but what is sayd afore quartermaster Ashton that commanded the party, and myselfe are ready to justifie. What this may amount to, I knowe not ; but this relation of Massey coming to us from honest and discreet persons soe positively, as I have formerly signified, at the very time that both by my lord Lambert's letter by his highness's order the intimation of the designe was given to the garrison, and our other knowledge thereof, and observation of danger at the doore here, which we never had one more reall in our apprehensions, or greater, or that would have fallen upon us

with greater fury, or to higher prejudice of the common safety, I could not but give you an account thereof impartially, as I found it; (and in such a juncture blame not your friendes, if they should at any time be over jealous out of tenderness to the commonwealth) and I went myself purposely to drive it as farr as I could; and you have the account.—

Bristoll, Feb. 26,
1654.

(F.)

THURLOB. STATE PAPERS. I. 695.

Major General Massie to King Charles II.

May it please your Majesty,

It was the necessity of my condition that commanded me to look abroad for a future support (yet still with refference to your majesty's good will and pleasure) as a thinge, by which I might the better be enabled to render myself more serviceable, when at any time I should bee made happy with your Majesty's commands; and that I might with more dexterity and conveniency answere thereunto, I conceived, that by engageing in his majesty of Denmark's service (unto which also I was invited by some persons of quality belonging to that kingdom, giving me good hopes to finde a handsome reception at that court, then indeede I found his Majesty beinge in a actuall levyinge of force, though with much privacy) I might finde the best of conveniencies to that purpose, and so resolved to take my journey to his court at Copenhagen, your Majesty haveing gratusiously been pleased to further my desines,

and to honour my address with your letters recomendatory unto his Majesty there; and since my duty commands me to give your Majesty a true and just account of the same, I have more at large wrote my lord Rochester who will give your Majesty the same, when you shall please to command, not daring to trouble your Majesty in these with any relation of that, which can give you so little satisfaction. But leaveing Denmarke, *et re infecta*, am returned to Hamburgh, wher I am enforced to take up my former resolution, in disposing of myself to some other parte, which noe perswasion could drive me to, if meere necessity constrayned me not for a future support, especially to any remote service, that might put me out of a capacity of answeering your Majesty's call, at any time, when the Lord shall please to prepare the way for your Majesty towards the possessing of your owne kingdomes; and therefore, according to my duty, shall humbly offer it to your Majesty's consideration, that if I may noe way be found for the present of use to or in your Majesty's service, that with your Majesty's goodleave I may looke out for my best conveniency of a livelyhood, (endeavouring as neare as I can) that way, which may most probably render me usefull to your Majesty's service hereafter, humbly powring out my poore prayers at the throne of grace, (in the performance of which Duty, God willinge, I shall never fayle) that the Lord of Lords and King of Kings in the establishing your royall hart in his feare, would also establish your feete upon the throanes of your kingdomes, and make your people truly happy in the enjoyment of so good, so gracious a kinge: such shall be the constant prayers of

MOST ROYAL SIR,

your MAJESTIES

most faithfully devoted,

and most humble subject and servant,

Edw. Massie.

(No date; but placed among
the papers of 1655.)

(G.)

CLARENDON. STATE PAPERS. II. 646, 647.

The King to Major General Massey.

Since the distractions in England continue, and so many interests are on foot, I hope some good opportunities will be offered to promote mine; and therefore I am well content that you venture yourself thither once again, in hope that you will find our friends better prepared than they were the last time, and better resolved to free themselves from the servitude the whole nation groans under. I must leave you entirely to your own discretion, and the judgment you will make upon conference with your friends upon the place, whether you shall stay in the city, or go into the country. If the city be ready for action, I believe they will be glad of your company and assistance, and you will understand in what method that work is to be carried on. If you find it counsellable to go into the country, and that there is life in the business of Bristol and Gloucester, and that other places are ready to do their parts, you shall then take with you a commission for commissioners for the county of Gloucester, and upon consultation with such persons of quality there as are willing to act, proceed thereupon for putting that county into a posture, and for the seising upon the city of Gloucester, whereof we have made you Governor by our commission; and we doubt not but the Commissioners appointed by us will make choice of you to be Commander-in-Chief in that County, and that they and the Commissioners of the adjacent Counties will unite and associate themselves in the best manner they can for the carrying on, and advancing our service, until by our own presence,

4

or a farther signification of our pleasure, they shall receive more particular directions. You shall give those who adhere to you and join with you assurance, that we will requite and reward their good affections, and that we desire nothing more than to see them happy under the protection and security of those they were born under. What we resolve to do ourself, and what you may depend upon from us you well know, and I hope we shall shortly meet again.

I am,
your's, &c.

Brussels, Jan. 14, 1659-60.

THE END.

INDEX.

A.

Abbott, Archbishop, clxvii.
 Aber Cromy, Captain, 239. 244.
 Abergavenny, 122. 137.
 Acrostic, by Dorney, clix.
 Adams, Lieutenant Colonel, 212.
 Adderbury, 238.
 Adlesthorp, lxvii. clxxi.
 Aldermaston, rout at, 270.
 Alford, Captain, 168. 170.
 Allen, Mr. cxc.
 Alney, Isle of, 211.
 Alresford, battle at, lxxiv.
 Alvin gate, lxii. cxvii. cxx.
 Ambassadors, Dutch, c.
 Ammunition, sent to Gloucester, 90.
 Anagram, by Dorney, 230.
 Anderson, Lieutenant, clxvi. 218.
 Andover's ford, affair at, 38.
 Arlingham, 72. 308.
 Arms of Gloucester, clxxx.
 Armistice, articles of, xxxiv.
 Array, commission of, xxiii. cxxxviii. 7.
 Arrow, shot into Gloucester, 224.
 Arrows, use of, clxvii. cxcv.
 Arundel Castle, clxii.
 Ashby de la Zouch, do. 169.
 Ashfield, Captain, lxxxiv. clxxxi.
 Assessment, clxxv.
 Astley, Sir Jacob, at the siege of Gloucester, lv; wounded there, clxvi. 45. 213; quartered at Cirencester, plunders Gloucestershire, xcix. 130, et seq. marches towards Chester, 137; enters Herefordshire, and forest of Dean, 142, et seq. between Worcester and Bewdley, 146; defeated at Stow, cxiii.; anecdote of, clxvii.
 Aston, William, ejected, xx.
 Atkyns, Sir Robert, cxvii.
 Aulborn Chase, encounter at, lxxiv. 241. 264.
 Aust Passage, xxxviii. 108. 114.
 Aylesbury, lxvii.
 Ayleworth, Captain, clxxxi. 333.
 Aynhoe, lxvii.

B.

Bacon, Mr. Robert, xcii. clxxxi.
 Backhouse, Lieutenant, Captain, and Major, commands the great horses, xxiv. lxiii. cliv; beats up the quarters of the Irish, 68; his plot, and letters, lxxxi, et seq. 76, et seq. 284, et seq. in the battle at Ridmarley, 111; ditto, near Monmouth, 120; mortally wounded at Ledbury, ciii. 144; his widow and children, cvii; other particulars, clxxxi. clxxxviii.
 Badminton, xci.
 Balls, red hot, lxv. clxvi. 51. 220.
 Banbury, lxvii. 106.
 Banner of Nath. Fiennes, cliii; ditto of William Cooke, clxxviii.
 Barkley, Colonel, 246.
 Bard, Sir Henry, xcix. cv. clxxxvii. 132.
 Barnold, Colonel, killed, cix.
 Barnwood, 209.
 Barnwood, John, 223.
 Bartlet, Mr. John, plundered, cxli. clxxii.
 Basset, Captain, mortally wounded, clxvi. 217.
 Bath, 113. 203.
 Baxter, Richard, his account of Worcester and Gloucester, xxi; of the state of Gloucester, xci, et seq. observations on the effects of the war, cxv.
 Bayard's Green, clxxi. 254.
 Bayly, Captain, 120.
 Baynton, Sir Edward, 155.
 Baytie, Major, ciii.
 Beachley, xcvi, et seq. 116. 117. 124.
 Beaconsfield, lxvii. 226.
 Beaumont, Sir John, 155. 178.
 Bedford, Earl of, lx.
 Beher, Colonel, Commissary General, lxxxiv. 91. 147. 238.
 Bell, Mr. of Sandhurst, clxxxi. 219. 280.
 Bellingham, Lieutenant Colonel, clxxxviii.
 Berkeley, Castle and town, xxxviii. lxxxi. xcix. cix. cxii. cliv. 26. 63. 64. 88. 108. 173. 229.

- Berkeley, George, Lord, impeached, cxvii.
 Berrowe, (al. Barrough) Col. clxxvii. 26.
 Beverstone Castle, lxxxi. lxxxviii. 65. 98.
 186. 331.
 Bicester, lxxvii. clxx. 237.
 Biddle, John, cxxvi.
 Birch, Colonel John, cxii. cxiii.
 Birkenhead, Sir John, clxvii. clxix.
 Blaxton, Colonel Sir William, 120.
 Blount, (al. Blunt) Colonel, cvi. 152.
 ——— Captain, 49. 203. 218. 333.
 Boats, flat-bottomed, 28.
 Bodington House, 71. 308.
 Bosbury, 132.
 Bossuet, quotation from, cliv.
 Boteler, Major, 246.
 Bouchier, Mr. George, hanged, xl. xlii;
 his heart preserved at Bristol, clii.
 Bourne, Major, 278.
 Hourton on the water, lxxxviii.
 Boza, Major, 240.
 Brackley Heath, lxxvii. 237.
 ——— Colonel Alexander, 241.
 Bampton Bryan Castle, 91.
 Brayne, Captain John, cxxviii.
 Bredon, 107.
 Brereton, Sir William, cxiii.
 Brett, Major General Sir Jerome, xxxiv.
 27.
 ——— Mr. expelled the parliament, clxxvii.
 Bridges, Colonel, clxviii.
 ——— Captain, xxix. 19.
 Bridge of boats, xxxviii. clxxiii. 32.
 Bridges on the Team and Severn, cxcvii.
 Bridgeman, Dowager Lady, lx. 209.
 Bridgewater, stormed, cxc.
 Brigade, Massey's, disbanded, cxc.
 Bristol attempted by P. Rupert, xxxv;
 alarmed at Waller's defeat, xlv; stormed
 by P. Rupert and Maurice, xlv; effect
 of this event in Gloucester, 40; Prince
 of Wales keeps his court there, c; sur-
 rendered to Sir T. Fairfax, cx; arms on
 the approach of Charles II. cxii.
 Broadgate Castle, cxcviii.
 Broadway, plot at, cxxvii.—hill, cxiii.
 Brockthorp, lii. lxxxi.
 Brockworth, 309.
 Broughton, Colonel, 128.
 Brown, Major General Sir John, cxcv.
 Browne, Lieutenant, 248.
 Buck, Captain, cl. 164.
 Buckingham, Duke of, cxciii. cxcvi.
 Buildings destroyed in Gloucestershire,
 clxxxvii.
 Buller, Major, 111. 147.—Captain, 278.
 Burford, cvii. 155. 178.
 Butler, the poet, quoted, lxxxiii. cxxxvii.
 clviii.
 ——— Colonel, cix.
 ——— Captain, 94.
 Byron, Sir John, xxv. 165. 171.
 ——— Sir Thomas, 164.
 ——— Major, 203.
- C.
- Caernarvon, Earl of, xliii. clxi. 164. 170.
 181. 182.
 Campden House, xcix. 132; burnt by
 Bard, cv.
 Canon Froome stormed, cix. 132.
 Cannons, xxvi. clxiii.
 Cannoniers, royalist, killed, 227.
 Capel, Lord, 87.
 Carew, Sir Matthew, xxxiii. xxxviii. 30. 33.
 Carre, (al. Karre) Lieutenant Colonel,
 cliv. 20. 163.
 Carte, the Historian, clx.
 Cary, Colonel Horatio, 65.
 Cassie, Captain, 97.
 Castleditch, taken, 136.
 Cathedral of Gloucester, xcii. cxxviii. clx.
 Chandos, Lord, xxii. lxxxix. cxix. cxxxviii.
 cxliii. 7. 69. 177.
 Charles I. (King) at York, xxii; at Shrews-
 bury, xxvi. 13; at Oxford, xxviii; at
 Bristol, xlv; marches to Gloucester, l,
 et seq. summons and besieges the city,
 lii. 43, et seq. withdraws, lxxviii, et seq.
 at Sudley Castle, lxxix; pursues Essex,
 lxxiv; eludes Essex and Waller,
 lxxxviii. 102; his advantages over them,
 xc, et seq. 106; parts with the Prince of
 Wales, c; marches to relieve Chester,
 civ; defeated at Naseby, flies to Hereford,
 cviii; in the midland counties, cix; dis-
 misses Prince Rupert, cxi; returns to
 Hereford; his death, cxiv.
 Charles II. (King,) at the Hague, ciii; his
 reception of Massey there, clxxxvi; re-
 pairs to Scotland; subsequent transac-
 tions to the restoration, cxciii, et seq.
 Charlton Kings, affair at, 69.
 Cheltenham, lxxviii. lxxxi. 30. 240. 259.

- Chepstow, xxxviii. lxxxi. xcvi. 71. 116. 127.
 Chillingworth, Doctor, lxi. clxii. 225.
 Chipping Norton, 236.
 Sodbury, 129. 141.
 Churcham, 84.
 Churches, fortified, stormed and destroyed, lxxxvii. 72. 92, et seq. 327, et seq. receptacles for prisoners, xxxi. xxxvii. 21. 188. 184; collections in, c.
 Cirencester, xxiii. xxviii, et seq. xxxii. lxxiv. cxc. 16. 18. 22. 75. 130. 155. 161, et seq. 241. 262.
 Civilities, mutual, between opposite parties, cli. 72.
 Clare, Earl of, lx.
 Clarendon, Earl of, xlvii. liii. lxxxix. c. clxxxvi.
 Clarges, Doctor, cxxviii.
 Clergy, parochial, attacked, xx; plundered, xxv.
 Clerke, Captain, cxx.
 Cleveland, Earl of, 169.
 Clewerwall, 122.
 Clothiers' packs taken, 138.
 Clubmen, lxii. ci. cxc. 138.
 Coberley, xci.
 Cochrane, Colonel Sir Brice, cxxxii.
 Colchester, Mr. his house stormed, lxxxvi. 327.
 Colebrook, 236.
 Coleford, xxxiv. cxlix. 26. 66.
 College Tower, lights burnt on the, lxxviii. 231;—cross destroyed, cxvii.
 Colours taken at Marston Moor, clxxxvi. at Newbury, 244.
 Commission, form of, clxxvii.
 Committees, lxxviii. lxxix. cxxiii.
 Commons, house of, lxx. lxxv. lxxxv. xcvi. cvii.
 Composition for estates, 375, et seq.
 Compton, Serjeant Major, 168.
 Conduit pipes cut, 212.
 Confiscations, c. cxlix.
 Congrave, Lieutenant-Colonel, killed, lxxxvi. 98. 328.
 Coningsby, Colonel, xli. 36.
 The Conqueror, Sir W. Waller so called, xxxvi. clii.
 Constable, Colonel Sir William, cxvii, et seq. cxcv.
 Contributions, monthly, 173.
 Cooke, Sir Robert, xxxix. 16. 172; case of his widow, lxxx.—William, Esq. ib. clxxxviii.—Col. Edward, wounded, ib.
 Cooke, Solicitor General, his assertion respecting Charles I. cxlv.
 Copley, Commissary, 244.
 Corbet, John, Memoir of, prefixed to his Historical Relation; his controversy with Bacon, xcii. clxxxiii.
 Cornish foot, their humanity, cxlv.
 Corse lawn, 73. 82. 109.
 Covenant taken, cli.
 Craford, Lord, 202.
 Crane, Sir Richard, 165. 169.
 Crawford, Major General, killed, cxi. cciv.
 Cricklade, lxxiv.
 Crispe, Sir Nicholas, lxxiv. clxxiv. —Captain, 46. 66.
 Crofts, Sir William, xli. 36.
 Cromwell, Oliver, civ. cx; marches into Wales, cxviii; appears before Worcester, and defeats Charles II. cxxi, et seq. appointed High Steward of Gloucester, cxxiii; his letters to Gloucester, and death, cxxvii. cxxix; other particulars, clxxxi. clxxxv. cxc. cxcli, et seq. cxcvii;—Richard proclaimed, cxxix.
 Cropredy Bridge, affair at, xc.
 Crown Inn, anecdote respecting, 220.
 Culpepper, Lord, xlix.

D.

- Dacre, Sir Richard, cxl.
 Dacres, Edward, xl.
 Dalbier, Colonel, 147. 237. 244.
 Davenant, Sir William, knighted, lx. cxli.
 Davis, Captain Thomas, posted on the gallows, 75.
 Davison, Captain, cli.
 Dean and Chapter, motion for removing, xxi.
 Dean, Forest of, xxxviii. lxxxi, et seq. lxxxvi. cxxvii, et seq. cxxx. cxli. clxxxix.
 Denbigh, Earl of, 114. 169.
 Denham, Sir John, the poet, quoted, clii. clxix.
 Deputy Lieutenants for Gloucestershire, cxxxviii. 7.
 Derby, Earl of, cxvii.
 Devereux, Colonel, lxxx. 105. 184.
 Devizes Castle, 184.
 Dewxell, Mr. xxvi.
 Dialect of Gloucester, specimen of, clxxxi.
 Digby Lord, xxv. 78. 109; his letters to Backhouse, 80. 295.
 Disbrowe, Major General John, cxxvii.
 Dispute, theological, xcii.

Dobbs, Mr. his corn seized, 308.
 Dorchester, clxii.
 Dorney, John, his speeches quoted, cl.
 clviii, et seq. clxvii; his tract, 206, et
 seq.
 Doyley, Cornet, 244.
 Draper, Captain, ib.
 Droitwich, cxcviii.
 Ducie, Sir Richard, lxxviii.
 Dudley Castle, 114.
 Duel between Hammond and Grey, xciv;
 between Crispe and Enyon, clxxiv.
 Dutton, Sir Ralph, xxiii. xci. clxxxi.
 clxxxiii. 308.
 Dymock, 68.

E.

Eastington, 70. 72. 89. 308.
 Ebeneser, (Tract,) 325, et seq.
 Edge Hill, battle of, xxvi. 13.
 Edwards, Lieut. Colonel, killed, clxvi.
 Edwards, Anthony, cxxv.
 Eikon Basilike quoted, cxlv.
 Eldersfield, 110.
 Ellis, Captain, cxx.
 — Godfrey, cxxiii.
 Engines, military, lxi. clxii. 54. 225.
 Enyon, Sir James, killed, clxxiv.
 Epigram, Latin, circulated at Oxford, xlv;
 remarks upon, cliii.—upon Messrs. Bell
 and Hill, 280, et seq.
 Epitaphs, on Troilus Kingacote, Gent.
 and Paine the clothier, cxlv; on
 White and the Purys, clxiv, et seq.
 on Major Price, clxxx; on Major
 General Crawford, cciv.
 Essex, Earl of, marches to Worcester,
 xxiv. 13; fights at Edge hill, xxvii;
 marches to London, 16; at Reading, xl;
 his army inactive, xliii; recruited by the
 commons, lxv; marches to Gloucester,
 and raises the siege, lxxvii. 55. 235. 240.
 251. 260; draws off to Tewkesbury,
 lxx; his letter to the commons, lxx;
 surprises Cirencester, lxxiv. 57. 241.
 263; fights at Newbury, 243. 266; re-
 turns to London, lxxv; his campaign with
 Waller against the King, lxxxviii. 102;
 reverses in the west, 113; other particulars
 concerning him, cxlv. cxlviii. clxxii.
 clxxxii.
 Essex, Colonel Thomas, xxvii. xxxv. cxlii.
 cl. 14.

Evans, Captain, cxx.
 Evesham, xxxix. lxix. lxxxiv. xci; stormed
 by Massey, cvi. clxxxviii. 147, et seq.
 Experiences of Sir W. Waller, quoted,
 xxxviii. xc.

F.

Fairfax, Lord, xliii.—Sir Thomas, appointed
 Lord General, civ; his proceedings in
 the West, cvi, et seq. cxc, et seq.
 Falkland, Lord, at the siege of Gloucester,
 lx; his account of the skirmish at
 Powick, cxli; his humanity at Edge
 hill, cxlv; his death, clxii.
 Faulkner, Captain, 47. 216.
 Ferrer, Constant, Serjeant Major, after-
 wards Lieut Colonel, lxiii. lxxvii. lxxxiv.
 xc. clxiv. clxxxiv. 90. 222.
 Fettiplace, Colonel John, 16. 163. 170.
 Fiennes, Colonel Nathaniel, xxv. xxxv, et
 seq. xli. xlv. cxi. cxl. cliii.—Captain
 John, xxxvi. xxxviii. 27. 30.
 Fincher, Quarter Master General, cix.
 Fife, County of, military operations in, cxcv.
 Flanders, cxxix.
 Forbes, Lieutenant Colonel, xxix. cliv. 20.
 Fort Royal, (Bristol) cx.
 Fortescue, Major, 246.
 Forth, Earl of, liii. lv. lxi. lxiv. clxxxvi.
 211, et seq.
 Forster, Henry, Rector of Minchinhampton,
 plundered, xxxv.
 Foster, Serjeant Henry, his Tract, 251, et
 seq.—Colonel, clxxxviii.
 Framilode passage, xxxvi. 28. 195.
 Frampton upon Severn, 63. 70. 72. 308.
 Frier's orchard and barn, 215, et seq.
 Frigate upon Severn, clxxxix. 62. 71.
 Froome Gate, (Bristol) xxxvi.
 Frocester, 70. 72. 308.

G.

Gainsford, Captain, 120.
 Gamme, Colonel, killed, 137.
 Gangrena, Tract so entitled, clxxxiv.
 Garrett, General, lii. 208.
 Garrison of Gloucester, lxii. 42; their
 difficulties, lxxvii. cxvi. cxxiii; dis-
 mantled, cxxv.
 Garrisons, numerous, of both parties, in the
 county of Gloucester, lxxxi. 66.

- Gaudy Green, entrenchments and battery in, lix. 212. 214, et seq.
 George, Mr. xl, et seq. 170. 172.
 Gerard, Captain, 166.
 Gerrard, Sir Gilbert, cxlix.—Colonel Charles, ci. 66. 113. 126. 142.
 Gifford, Captain, ciii. cxviii.
 Gloucester, County, state of, at the breaking out of the war, xix, et seq.—City, first preparations, 7; fortifications, lvi, et seq. 11; ditto, repaired, lxxxiv. cxx; cost of repairs, clxxx; state of the works, 42; razed, cxxxii.
 Godfrey Colonel, killed, 101.
 Golard, Captain, 242.
 Goodman, Doctor Godfrey, bishop of Gloucester, xx. cxxxv, et seq. his losses, clxiii.
 Goodrich Castle, 97. 125. 127.
 Gookin, Vincent, cxviii.
 Goring, Lord, civ. cvi. cxc. 146; defeated at Langport, cxc.
 Grandison, Lord, xxvi. xxxviii. 30. 32. 128.
 Gregory, Mr. 171.
 Grenadoes, 47, et seq. 171. 217. 220. 223.
 Grey, Lord, cxviii. 162. 239. 241, et seq.—Major, xciv;—Captain, clxxiii.
 Grey Friars, Massey's quarters, lxiii.
 Groby, cxviii.
 Guyse, Mr. his corn seized, 308.
 Gwynne, Ensign, clxvi.
- H.
- Hacket, Captain, 242.
 Hale, Captain, 237.
 Hales, Sir Edward, lxxviii.
 Halford, Mr. clxvii.
 Hall, Mr. of High meadow, 118.
 Hamburgh, cxcii.
 Hamilton, Major, 241.
 Hammond, Major, xciv. clxxxiv. 100. 109.
 Hampton road, affair at, 131.
 Marcus, Captain, lxiii. 208. 215.
 Harlow, Colonel, (q. Harley?) clxxxviii. 105. 108. 112.—Major, ciii.
 Hart, Mr. xcii.
 Hartpury Court, 73; field, 110.
 Harvey, Colonel, 238. 75.
 Hastings, Lord, 142. 162.
 Hatton, a Cannonier, clxxiii. 218.
 Havock at Sudely Castle, xxix.
 Haslerig, Colonel Sir Arthur, 34. 197. 202.
- Herbert, Lord, xxiii, et seq. xxxiv. xxxvi. cxlii. cli. clxii. 16. 26. 31. 68. 68.
 Hereford, County, xxi.—City of, occupied by Earl of Stamford, 13; taken by Waller and Massey, xxxix. 36; occupied by Sir Williamavasour, 59; insurrection against the governor, 138; besieged by the Scots, cix; taken by Birch and Morgan, cxii.
 Hertford, Marquess of, xxviii. xliii. xlv. 156. 179.
 Heylin, his description of Gloucester, clix.
 Hicks, Baptist, first Viscount Campden, cv. clxxxvii.—Noel, cv.
 Highleden, lxxxi. 68. 72. 74.
 Highmeadow, 129. 143.
 Highnam, xxxiv. xxxvi.
 Hill, Mr. xxiii. 219. 260.
 Hobbs, Doctor, cxlvii.
 Hodges, Mr. cvi. cix. 75. 133.
 Holborn, Colonel, 246.
 Holland, Earl of, lx.
 Holtby, Colonel, 119.
 Hopton, Sir Ralph, xliii. xcix. civ. 37. 90.—Colonel, 136.—Castle, 91.
 Horse, supernumerary, cxviii; subscription, cxl; Lord Herbert's taken at Highnam, cli; ditto, attacked at Berkeley, 64.
 Horses of Lord Herbert, seized at Gloucester, xxiv.
 Horsley, 308.
 How, John, Esq. cxxix. cc.
 Howard, Colonel Henry, 98. 99. 334.
 Humanity, traits of, during the war, cxlv.
 Hungerford, Sir Edward, 195.
 Hunt, Captain, lxxxv.
 Huntley, 75. 196. 308.—hill, cii.
 Humphrey, Jasper, Vicar of South Cerney, plundered, cl.
 Hurricane, 239, 259.
- I
- Impeachment of Lord Berkeley, cxvii; of eleven members of the commons, cxci.
 Inchiquin, Lord, 72. 88.
 Innes, Colonel, 169.
 Instructions for the City and County of Gloucester, 389. 398.
 Ireland, cxix. cxv. cxviii. cxxxi.
 Irish forces land at Bristol, 67; various movements of ditto, 68. 88. 307; defeated at Ridmarley, 111.
 Ireton, Lady, cxxiii.

- Iron mills burnt, 329; settled on Massey, civ. clxxxviii.
 Iter Carolinum, extract from, clxxvi.
- J.
- Jackson, Mr. preacher in Gloucester Cathedral, xciii.
 Jones, Colonel Philip, cxxviii.
 Jonson, Ben, cxlv. cliii.
 Jordan, Tobias, liii. clvi.
- K.
- Kennet, sword maker at Hounslow, 197.
 King-catching, clxxxii.
 Kingscote, T'roylus, cxliv.
 Kingsholm, lv. clviii. 212. 216.
 Kirke, Colonel Lewis, 165.
 Kyrle, Lieut. Colonel, ciii. 117, et seq.—Mr. cxxviii.
- L.
- Lambert, Major General, cxcv, et seq.
 Lancashire, cxcvi.
 Lancut, affair at, xcvi. 137. 341, et seq.
 Langdale, Sir Marmaduke, ci, et seq. 114. 142.
 Langport, battle of, cxc.
 Lansdown, battle of, xliii.
 Lanthony, xlii. lv. lxiv. 45. 212, et seq. 372, et seq.
 La Roche, Mr. 162.
 Laud, Archbishop, cxxxvi.
 Lawley, Major General, killed, xxxiv. 26.
 Layton, Lieut. Colonel, 165.
 Leap, Wintour's, xcvi.
 Ledbury, affair at, c, et seq. 92. 139. 145.
 Legge, Colonel William, xlix.—Colonel Robert, clxxxviii. 148, et seq.
 Legg, Major, 170.
 Leicester, stormed, cv.
 Lenthall, William, Speaker of the Commons and Recorder of Gloucester, xxi, et seq. clxxvii.
 Leominster, xxxix.
 Lestwithiel, xcvi.
 Letters, and extracts from, original and others, xl, et seq. l. lxx. lxxv. lxxxvii. ci. clxviii. 78. 80. 153. 193. 199. 220. 273. 289 to 321. 369. 370. 374. 392. 395. 397. 402. 404. 412. 414. 415. 419, et seq. 429 to 444.
 Leven, Lesley, Earl of, cix. cxii.
- Lidney house, lxxxi. lxxxvii. cvi. clxxix. 39. 68. 95. 129. 133. 143. 147. 329.
 Lilburn, Colonel, cxcvi.
 Lingen, Colonel Sir Henry, 114.
 Little Dean, xxxviii. lxxxvi. 93. 328.
 Lloyd, Colonel Walter, cvi. cviii.
 London, panic and alarm in, lxx. cxliii. clxix. cxci.
 Longford, 212.
 Losses, estimate of, during the siege of Gloucester, cxvi. cxxiii. 380, et seq.—do. at Worcester, cxxiv.
 Loughborough, Lord, ciii. cxciii.
 Love, Mr. executed, cxcviii.
 Lowe, Mr. xci. 535.
 Lucas, Sir Charles, cix. cxii. 170.
 Ludlow, Major General, cxlvii. cxc.
 Luke, Sir Samuel, clxviii. 279.
 Lunsford, Lieut. Colonel, 162. 164. 170. 172.
 Lypiat, 131. 308.
- M.
- Mace-bearer of Gloucester, clxxxiii.
 Mackworth, Colonel, cxcvi.
 Magazines, cxxxviii. clxxvii.
 Maise more bridge, 91.
 Mallery, Captain, 46. 214.
 Malmesbury, xxxvi. lxxxviii. 98. 173. 195.
 Marches of King Charles I. clxxv, et seq. ditto, of Cromwell, cxcvi.
 Marshfield, lxxxi. 88.
 Marston Moor, battle of, xcvi.
 Maseres, Baron, remarks of, cliii.
 Massey, Colonel, afterwards Major General Edward, made deputy governor of Gloucester, xxviii. 15; takes Sudley Castle, 19; refuses Prince Rupert's summons, 22; his various operations with Waller, xxxvi, et seq. 32, et seq. appointed governor of Gloucester, xl. 37; defends it against Charles I. lxii, et seq. 45, et seq. thanked and rewarded by the Commons, lxxi; his exploits and difficulties, lxxxi. et seq. repairs to London, xcvi; other military actions, xcvi, et seq. quits Gloucester, cvii; his reception by Charles II. clxxxvi; memoirs of, clxxxix, et seq. Captain George, xc. xcix. 74.—another of that name, 268.—Captain Robert, clxxxv.—Captain Hugh, cxcviii.
 Masters, Sir William, clxxxv.
 Matson, lx. clx. 208.
 Matthews, Lieut. Colonel, 208.
 Maurice, Prince, at the taking of Cirencester, 171; made governor there, xxxii;

harasses Gloucestershire, xxxiv ; his operations against Waller, xxxvii, et seq. 32, et seq. marches into the West, xlv ; at Worcester, xcix. civ ; other particulars respecting him, clii. 137. 142.
 Meldrum, Colonel, 242.
 Merrick, Sir John, 247.
 Message of the king disregarded, clxxxiii.
 Messenger, severely treated, clvi.
 Middleton, Lieut. General, cxcix.—Colonel, 237. 241—Captain, 242.
 Militia, ordinance of, 7.
 Mills burnt, lv.
 Milton, quoted, xxxv. cxxxviii.
 Min, (q. Myne ?) Captain, 165.
 Mines, clxvi. 51. 221, et seq.
 Ministers, committee for scandalous, xx.
 Miserden House, 76. 131.
 Monmouth, xcvii. xcix. 31. 68. 120. 128.
 Montgomery, battle of, xcvi. clxxxv.
 Moore, Captain, lxiv. clii. 218.
 Mordaunt, Hon. Mr., cxxx. cc.
 Morgan, Colonel Thomas, cviii. cxii. cxiii. cxvii. cxxix.
 Morrison, Captain, 167.
 Mortar-piece, 214.
 Morton, Sir William, lxxxix. 104.
 Myne, Colonel Nicholas, lxxx. lxxxvii. xciv. 72. 90, et seq. to 112.—Major, 101.
 Mythe hill, lxxiii. 34.

N.

Naas, cii. 129. 143.
 Naseby, battle of, cv.
 Neale, Sir William, 167.
 Newbury, first battle of, lxxiv. clxxv. 243, et seq. 266, et seq.
 Newent, lxxxi. 68. 72. 75. 91.
 Newnham, xxxviii. lxxxvii.
 Newport Pagnell, 147.
 Noland, Lieutenant, 170.
 Northampton, Earl of, cxxxv.
 Norton, lxviii. 260.
 Norton, Colonel, 242.
 Note from Prince Rupert to the Earl of Essex, 250.
 Nurse, Luke, cvi. 152.
 Nympsfield Hill, cxxxi. cci.

O.

Oath to abjure the parliament, 145, et seq.
 Odington, 88.
 Offa's Dyke, xcvi.

Officers, Scottish, cxliv. cxcv.—list of, in the Earl of Stamford's regiment, clxiii.
 Oglethorpe, Colonel, 97. 330.
 O'Neale, Lieut. Colonel, 162. 165.
 Ordinance, for the Militia, xxii ; respecting Lord Herbert's horses, xxiv ; troops for Gloucester, 345 ; a weekly assessment, 351. 354 ;—the union of certain churches, 357.
 Ordnance, xxiii. xxvi. clxiii. 11.
 Over bridge, 85.
 Overtures for a treaty, clxxxiii. clxxxv.
 Oxendon, lxxiii.
 Oxford, xxviii. xxxii. xliii. lxxxviii. cxlvi. 15.

P.

Padsworth, xxxiv. cxlix.
 Painswick, xx. lxviii. lxxxi. 74. 88.
 Pamphlets, falsehood of certain, cxliii ; scurrilous respecting Massey, cxcii.
 Parliament, Gloucester declares for the, xix.
 Page, Lieutenant, 120.
 Papists, 6. 119. 401.
 Parsons, Doctor, error of his MS. xcvi. clxxxv.
 Passes for travellers and soldiers, cxlix. cxcii.
 Passey, Lieut. Colonel, killed, xciv. 111.
 Payne, a clothier, killed, cxliv. 170.
 Pembroke Castle, 128.
 Penriddock, Colonel, executed, cxcix.
 Percy, Sir Thomas, cxii.
 Pershore, xxv. clxxvi. 115.
 Petition of Cirencester, 187.
 Philpot (or Philipot) John, liii.
 Phillips, Captain Grifantius, cxxiv. cxxvii.
 Pincock, Lieutenant, 217.
 Plots, xxxv. clxxiii. cc.
 Plundering, xxxii. xxxv. lxi. c. cxli. cl. clxxii. 64. 184, et seq.
 Poole, Sir Neville, lxxix.—Sir Henry, cxvii.
 Poore, Colonel, xcix ; drowned, 187.
 Poyntz, Major General, cxii. cxcii, et seq.
 Presbury, lxvii. 63. 70. 239. 258.
 Presents to officers and governors of Gloucester, and others, lxix. cxvi, et seq. cxviii. cxxiii. cxlii. cli.
 Prinknash, lx. 209.
 Prior's Hill Fort, (Bristol) stormed, cx.
 Prisoners, treatment of, xxxi. xxxvii. cxlv, et seq. 91. 30. 91. 183. 334. 372. 373.
 Proclamations, lxvi. cliii.
 Prodigies, cxxxvii.

Protestation, cli.
 Pudsey, Serjeant Major, liii. 44. 211. 216.
 Purefoy, Colonel, lxxxv. cxix. clxxxi. 91.
 Pury, Thomas, senior, xxi. xlii. li. lxiii.
 lxxviii. cxxxi. cxxxviii. cxlii. clxiv. 207.
 216. 230, et seq.—junior, lxiii. lxxvii.
 cxxxi. clxv. clxxvii. 208. 221.
 Pye, Sir Robert, xlii. 262.—Sir Walter,
 xli. 69. 303.
 Pym, Mr. clxix.—Captain, 244.

Q.

Quarter Sessions, cl
 Queen Henrietta Maria, xlviii. cliv.
 Queen of Bohemia, cxciii; why called
 Queen of hearts, 434.

R.

Radcliff, Captain, 166.
 Ragland Castle, ccv. 119. 122. 127.
 Rainesborough, Colonel, cxii.
 Raleigh, Doctor Walter, clxi.
 Ramsey, Sir James, lxxiii. 237.
 Rapin, the historian, xlviii.
 Read, Captain, 77.
 Reading, 248. 270.
 Recusants, collections among the, clxxix.
 Regiment, Earl of Stamford's, their loss at
 Cirencester, 21; the blue of Gloucester,
 27. 36. 373; red and blue of London, 245;
 blue, red and orange auxiliary, 253,
 et seq.
 Rhymes on the king's successes, cliii.
 Ribadavia, siege of, clxii.
 Ridmarley, battle at, xciv. 111.
 Rignall style, 213, et seq.
 Ripple field, xxxix. lxxiii. 38.
 Roberts, Lord, 245.
 Robinhood's hill, lii. lv.
 Rochford, Captain, 120.
 Ross, xxxviii. lxxxvii. xciii. cii. 92. 97. 98.
 128. 140. 196. 329, et seq.
 Rossiter, Colonel, cxii.
 Rotterdam, ciii.
 Rouden House, xcix. 134. 136.
 Roundway down, xliii. cxc.
 Rowle, William, lxxx.
 Ruar Dean, 129.
 Rudhall, clxxxiv.
 Rumney, Captain, killed, clxvi.
 Rupert, Prince, his victory at Powick,
 xxv. 12; summons and storms Ciren-
 cester, xxx. 20. 156. 162. 179; sum-
 mons Gloucester, xxxii. 22; attempts

Bristol, xxxv, et seq. storms it, xlv;
 quarrels with the Marquess of Hertford,
 xlvi; at the siege of Gloucester, liii. 44.
 211; sent to oppose Essex, lxvii. 238.
 257; pursues him, lxxiv; at Evesham,
 92; advances out of Shropshire, lxxxiv;
 —escapes from Marston Moor to Bristol,
 xcvi. 113; fortifies Beachley, xcvi.
 118; re-enters Shropshire, c; wastes
 the forest of Dean, ci. 142, et seq; de-
 feats Massey at Iledbury. ciil. 144; es-
 corts the king from Oxford, civ. 146;
 loses Bristol, and is dismissed from the
 king's service. cx, et seq. other par-
 ticulars respecting him, cxli. clxxi, et
 seq.

Russell, Sir William, xxxiii. xciii. clxviii.
 24. 108. 114.—Lieut. Colonel, 168.
 —Mr. College schoolmaster, cxix.
 Rysell, Captain, cxx.

S.

Saint Bartholomew's Hospital, lxii. cxxxix.
 Saint Johns, Lieutenant, 165.
 Saint Johnston's, cxcv.
 Saint Leger, Colonel, lxxx. clxxviii. 67.
 Saint Margaret's Hospital, lv. 214.
 — Martin's gate, (Worcester) cxcvii.
 — Mary de Crypt, lxii. clx.
 — Mary de Lode, xxxvii. ccv. 372, et
 seq.
 Sallies from Gloucester, lxiii. 46, et seq.
 213, et seq.
 Salperton, xci. 68. 75.
 Sands, Colonel, killed, 12.
 Sandys, Captain, 108.
 Savage, Captain, 108.
 Sconces levelled, cxxv. clx.
 Scotland, cxciii, et seq.
 Scotch army advances to Hereford, cix;
 retires, cxl.—officers, cxcv.
 Scrimmour, Colonel, 169.
 Scriven, Captain, cxli.
 Scudamore, Lord, xlii. 36.
 Seager, Captain, cviii.
 Seamore, Sir John, 16.
 Seimor, Captain, 164.
 Shepherd, Major, 278.
 Shibborne, Captain, 244.
 Ship-money, case of, xix.
 Shop-windows shut, lxvi. clxix. 54.
 Shrewsbury taken, 137.
 Sidbury gate, (Worcester) cxcvii.
 Siege of Gloucester, lv, et seq. clxx, et seq.
 45, et seq. 205, et seq.

- Singleton, Alderman, cvi. 77. 152.
 Skippon, Serjeant-Major-General, xxii.
 cxxxix. cxci. 239. 245.
 Slater, Colonel, 162. 197.
 Slaughter, 38.
 Slimbridge, 73. 141.
 Smith, Doctor Miles, Bishop of Gloucester,
 cxxxvi.
 Smith, prison-marshal at Oxford, cxlvii.
 Soldier, anecdote of a royalist, cxlviii.—sol-
 diers of king and parliament, lxi. clvii.
 cxlii. cxci.
 Somerset, Lord John, xxxvi.
 South, Doctor, his sermons quoted, cviii. clv.
 Southam, lxvii.
 Spaniard, a cannonier, killed, 169.
 Spencer, Colonel, lxxiv. 241.
 Spies, lxviii. clxviii. 54. 222.
 Spillar, Sir Henry, 308.
 Springate, Colonel Sir William, 278.
 Stamford, Earl of, xxvi, et seq. cxlii, et seq.
 clvii. 13. 15. 39.—Countess of, cxcviii.
 Stanfield, Mr. 171.
 Stanford, Edward, his plot, 76, et seq. 287,
 et seq.
 Stanway, 114.
 Stapleton, Sir Philip, 237. 242, et seq.
 State's arms taken down, cxxv.
 Stephens, Colonel Thomas, 35. 105. 108.
 124. 136.—Colonel Henry, 37. 39.—Mr.
 cvi. cix. 16.
 Stevenson, Captain, lxiv. 48. 218.
 Stirling park, cxciv, et seq.
 Storms, lxviii. cxxlii.
 Stow on the Wold, xl. lxvii. 38. 155. 238,
 et seq. 257. 277.
 Strange, Colonel, 142.
 Strode, Colonel, clxii.
 Stroudwater, 65. 74. 97. 135.
 Subscriptions for Gloucestershire, xxxiii.
 Subscribers of the answer to the king's sum-
 mons, clvi.
 Suburbs of Gloucester burnt, liv. clviii. 45. 211.
 Sudley Castle, xxix. lxix. lxxxi. lxxxiv.
 lxxxix. xcix. 19. 63. 103. 173. 180.
 Sully house, 133.
 Summons of various places, 43. 147. 156.
 179. 210. 331, et seq.
 Sunderland, Earl of, l. lx. clv.
 Swig, Sir William, xxiii.
- T.
- Tarquin, young, Charles II. so called, cxcv.
 Taff, Lord, 169.
 Tainton, lxxix. cxvii. 68. 72, et seq.
 Talbot, Sir Henry, clxxix.
 Tarporley, cxcvi.
 Taunts of both parties, lxiv. clxvi, et seq. 53.
 Taunton, civ. cvi.
 Temple-bar, 271.
 Temple, Doctor, clxxxii.
 Tetbury, lxxxi. 65. 98.
 Tewkesbury, xxxiii. xxxviii, et seq. lxviii,
 et seq. lxxx, et seq. lxxxviii. 23. 24. 30.
 33. 37. 62. 101. 173. 197. 240. 261.
 Thanksgivings, xxv. xliii. lxxii.
 Thornbury, clxxviii. 68.
 Throgmorton, Lieut. Colonel, 330.—Major,
 126.
 Tidenham, xcvi, et seq. clxxxv.
 Tipper, Lieutenant, clxvi. 217; desperate
 act of a soldier of that name, 94, 298.
 Titles, new, not acknowledged, clxxxiii.
 clxxxv. clxxxvii.
 Tobacco, cxxiv, et seq.
 Toghill, clii.
 Tolsey, hospitalities at the, lxxxv. cxi.
 cxviii. cxlii; burnt, clxvi.
 Tompeon, Lieut. Colonel, shot, 253.
 Torwood, cxciv.
 Tracey, Sir Humphrey, 108.
 Trained bands, xxii. xxv. 11. 54. 57.
 Trappes, Lieutenant, clxvi.
 Travillian, Major, clxxxviii.
 Tredworth, lii. 208. 209. 226.
 Trenches, clxxx.
 Troop of shew, clxii.
 Tucker, Captain, killed, 266.
 Tuffley, lii. 208.
- U.
- Upton upon Severn, xxxix. lxxiii. cxcvii.
 —Saint Leonard's, lv. 208.
 Usk, 81, 122.
 Usser, Colonel, 164, et seq.
 Uxbridge, treaty of, c.
- V.
- Vangerris, Colonel, killed, 137.
 Vaughan, Mr. xcii.
 Vavasour, Sir William, lv. lxxviii. lxxx, et
 seq. xciii. clxxxi. 45. 59. 62. 68. 69. 72.
 75. 81, et seq. 88. 90. 303. 306. 307.
 311.—Captain, 167.
 Veal, Sir Peter le, clxxxix.—Colonel,
 xciii. 72. 83. 114.—Mr. cxxxi.
 Verses, satirical, 224. 280, et seq.
- S N

- Veterans held in [high estimation, xxviii. cxliv.
- Vieuville, Marquess de, killed, 242. 264.
- Villiers, Captain John, 155. 180.
- Vindication of Massey by Waller, clxxxii. cxci.
- Vineyard, xxxvi. lv. xc. clxiii. 45. 91. 211. 212.
- Volunteers of Gloucester, cxxxix. 11.
- W.
- Wade, Major, cxxi. cxxviii.
- Wainload hill, beacon upon, 220.
- Wales rises for the king, 15.
- Wales, Prince of, c. cx.
- Walham, 209. 211. 221. 222.
- Waller, Serjeant-Major-General Sir William, his sentiments respecting the war, xxxi; enters Gloucestershire, xxxiii; his various military operations in the counties of Gloucester, Monmouth, Hereford, Somerset, Wilts and Hants, xxxvi. xxxviii. xliii. lxxxiv. 28 to 37. 39. 90. 195. 201; campaign against Charles I. lxxxviii, et seq. 102, et seq. defeated at Cropredy bridge by Charles I. 108; other particulars respecting him, cxlviii, et seq. cli, et seq. clxxxii. cxci, et seq.; assists in the restoration of Charles II. cc.
- Warham, cxc.
- Warnford, Captain, 170.
- Warning piece, xxxvi. 28. 55.
- Warrants for burial of the slain, clxxvi.
- Warrington bridge, skirmish at, cxvii.
- Warwick Castle and town, clxviii. cxcviii. 68. 188.
- Washington, Colonel, xlv. lxxxiv. 69. 167.
- Wells, Serjeant-Major, killed, clxvi. 219.
- Welsh troops, 26, et seq. 45. 196. 372. 373.
- Welsh Thomas, his narrative, 372. 373.
- Wentworth, Lord, 164. 167.—Colonel Henry, 162.
- Westbury, lxxxi. 70. 75. 93. 308. 327.
- Wharton, Lieutenant, 168.
- White, Captain William, lxiii. clxiv. 49. 208. 218. 323.
- White Cross, clxxix.
- Whitstone, hundred of, clxxviii. 87. 307.
- Widdowes, Thomas, College schoolmaster, ejected, xx.
- Wigmarah Gate, (Hereford) 26.
- Wigmore, Captain, killed, lxxxvi. 28.
- Wildman, Major, cxxiii.
- Willet, Captain, 264.
- Willoughby, of Parham, Lord, cxciii.—Sir Francis, lxxxiv.
- Wilmot, Lieut. General, Lord, xliii. lxxvii. 164. 165. 237.
- Wilton bridge, 97. 229.
- Winchcomb, lxviii, et seq. plundered, c.
- Wincupp, John, passage in his will, cxlii.
- Windebank, Serjeant Major, 165.
- Winter, Lieut. Colonel, xxxiv. 26.
- Wintour, Sir John, lxxxi, et seq. lxxxvii. xcvi, et seq. civ. cvi. cxviii. cxxiv, et seq. cxxviii. clxxix. clxxxviii. 39. 63. 64. 66. 75. 93. 94. 95. 97. 122. 124. 133. 137. 143. 147. 302. 304. 311. 319. 321. 329. 341. 342.
- Wintour, Lady, her reply to Massey's summons, lxxxvii.
- Wise, Dennis, Mayor of Gloucester, xxxii. xxxvi. lxiii. cxx.
- Witcombe, Thomas, cxxiv.
- Wivell, Captain, 166.
- Wogan, Colonel, cxcix.
- Women, behaviour of, at Bristol and Gloucester, xlv. lvi. 42. 48. 50. 227; petition for peace in London, lxx.
- Wood, Major, cxcviii.
- Wood's mill, clviii.
- Woodhouse, Colonel, puts his prisoners to death, 91.
- Worcester, County of, for the king, xxi;—City of, xxxix. cxxii. cxcv, et seq. 12. 26. 149.
- Worcester, Marquess of, clxxxv. 119. 121. 133; his Century of Inventions, clxii.
- Word of battle, at Stow, cxiii. Addlesthorpe, clxxii. Cirencester, 165. Newbury, 269.
- Workman, Giles, cxxxvi.
- Worthies, the nine, 29.
- Wotton, 208.
- Wotton-under-edge, lxxxi. 65. 68.
- Wroughton, Colonel, 69.
- Wye river, xcvi et seq.—bridge, (Hereford) 26.
- Wylde, Serjeant, cxvi.
- Y.
- Yate Court, 129.
- Yeomans, Mr. George, executed, xl, et seq. clii.
- York, Duke of, llii. cxciii. 44. 211.

